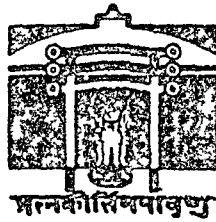




# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. VI.—1900-01.



PUBLISHED BY  
THE DIRECTOR GENERAL  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA  
JANPATH, NEW DELHI-110011

1981



*Reprinted 1981*

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
1981

**Price : Rs. 90.00**

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
AS A SUPPLEMENT TO THE "INDIAN ANTIQUARY."

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# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

EDITED BY

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VOL. VI.—1900-01.

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CALCUTTA :

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF GOVERNMENT PRINTING, INDIA.

BOMBAY EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS

LONDON LUZAC & Co and KEGAN PAUL,  
TRENCH, TRUBNER & Co

NEW YORK: WESTERMANN & Co

CHICAGO: S. D. PEET

LEIPZIG: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ

VIENNA A. HÖLDER & Co

BERLIN A. ASHER & Co

PARIS E. LEROUX.

CALCUTTA  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA CENTRAL PRINTING OFFICE,  
8, HASTINGS STREET

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# ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

## A.—VOLUME V

- Page 16, text lines 12, 13 — Professor Kielhorn has told me that, in line 41 of the Kautilian plates of A.D 1009 (*Ind Ant* Vol XVI p. 23), he takes what I have presented as *Karlara-rana-stambhau*, "the two pillars of war of Karkara," as meaning "Karkara and Ranastambha," and that he would interpret in a similar way the passage, specified above, in the Managôh inscription of A.D 1161. This latter passage, indeed, when considered apart from the bias created by my previous rendering of the other passage, makes the point quite certain. And, in the abstract of contents (p 20, lines 5, 6 from the bottom), there should be read "annihilated king Kakkara and king Ranakambha, the sun and moon in the Râshṭrakûṭa sky"—It is due to Mr Wathen, who brought to notice the Miraj plates of A D 1024 which include the verse given in the Kautilian record, to add that the translation put forward by him presents "Karkara and Ranastambha, rājās both of the Râshṭra-kûṭa race," see *Jour R As. Soc*, F. S, Vol III p. 269 — The idea naturally occurs, to take Ranastambha as a northern kinsman and ally of Kakka II, and to connect him with the Jaipur territory in Rājputāna, in which there is the fortress of 'Ranthambhor,' = Ranastambhapura,—the 'Rintimbore or Rantamboor' of Thornton's Gazetteer of India, Vol. IV (1854), p 320 — J F. F.
- " 21, line 18,—for of the race of Vājins, read of the Vājivamśa; and cancel note 2. As has been brought to my notice by Professor Kielhorn, the Vājivamśa is mentioned elsewhere, and the Jain Hulla or Hullapa, a minister of the Hoysala prince Narasimha I, belonged to it, see, for instance, *Inscr. at Śrav.-Bel.* Introd pp 52, 54 — J F F
- " 71, line 13 from bottom,—for summer-solstice, read winter-solstice.
- " 77, line 8,—for °नाम[मति\*], read °नाम[मत\*].
- " 96, " 12,—for summer solstice, read winter-solstice.
- " 150, line 9 — Mr. Krishna Sastri corrects *jagaḍavāḍu* into *jāgaḍavāḍu*, which would be the same as *jayaghaṇṭavāḍu*, 'one who strikes the gong;' compare *jāgamṣa* or *jēgamṣa* in Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, and *jāgaṣe* or *jēgaṣe* in Kittel's *Kannada Dictionary*
- " 168, line 7,—for Bellary, read Anantapur.
- " 201, paragraph 3 — The identification, which I put forward in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 378, of Bhandāragavittage with 'Kowtch,' a small village six miles south-west-by-west from Shōlāpur, on a stream (the 'Adeela Nulla') which flows into the Sina, which again flows into the Bhimā, is wrong. I cannot recall the circumstances in which I made the mistake, or the book and map which I then consulted. But it is clear, now, that Bhandāragavittage is the modern 'Bhundarkowtch' of the Indian Atlas sheet No 40 (1852), on the north bank of the Bhimā itself, in lat 17° 27', long. 75° 44', about twenty miles south-west from Shōlāpur — J F. F.

## B.—VOLUME VI.

- Page 6, line 2,—for ānnbhāv-, read ānnbhāv-
- " 11, note 6,—for °sañchanna-, read °sañchhanna-
- " 26, line 9 from bottom,—for Sāmāṅgad, read Sāmāṅgaḍ
- " 27, line 9,—for Kṛishṇarāja I, read Kṛishṇarāja I.
- " 53, note 7, line 6,—for Maṇḍalikatrīnētra, read Maṇḍalikatrīpētra

Page 57, note 9, line 3,—for Vol V., read Vol. III.

- " 66, line 9,—for Nalambādhirāja, read Nalambādhirāja
- " 67, note 4, line 3,—for -Permmānāḍigaḷ=, read -Permmānāḍigaḷ=.
- " 68, " 6, " 2,—for Permanadi, read Permanadi.
- " 69, line 11,—for Kyātanahalli, read Kyātanahalli.
- " 70, " 8,—for Kīṣukād, read Kīṣukād
- " 83, " 16,—for king, read kings
- " 93, " 7,—for Malapas, read Malapas.
- " 105, verse 1, and note 8 — Professor Kielhorn has now fully accounted for the description of Vishnu here as *Purandara-nandana*, "son of Indra," see *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1900, p 350 ff, where he has shewn that it may be traced back to the use of *Ākhaṇḍala-sūnu*, in the *Kīrātārjuniya*, i. 24, to denote primarily Arjuna, "the son of Indra," and secondarily Vishnu, "the younger brother of Indra" As he has said, in conclusion,— "If a poet like Bhāravi could use *Ākhaṇḍala-sūnu* as a name of the god Vishnu, we cannot wonder that some petty poet should have employed its exact synonym *Purandara-nandana*, in just the same sense"—J F F
- " 110, note 7.—Mr. H Krishna Sastri aptly identifies Symandary with Simhādri, i.e. Simhāchalam in the Vizagapatam district, compare Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1899-1900, p 27.
- " 111, line 7 f. from bottom.—Mr. H. Krishna Sastri states that Pāranandi Bhāskarādhānū at Nellore possesses a complete copy of the *Ohaṇḍrikā*, a commentary on Kṛṣṇa-misra's *Prabōdhachandrodāya* by Nāḍindla-Gōpa, the sister's son of Sālva-Timma. The colophon of the first act reads as follows — *Iti śrīmad-rājādhirāja-rāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Virapratāpa-śrī-Kṛṣṇarāja-mahārāja-sāhmajāya-dhuraṇḍhara-śrī-Sālva-Timmarāja-daṇḍānyaka-bhāgīnīya-Nāḍindla-Gōpa-maitrīśekhara-virachitāyām Prabōdhachandrodāya-vyākhyāyām Ohaṇḍrikā-ākhyāyām prathamō-ṅkah ||*
- " 113, line 3 from bottom,—for Mōtupalle, read Mōtupalle
- " 117, note 11 — *Vṛitrahīd-aīman* is synonymous with *indra-nīla*, 'a sapphire'
- " 128, " 6, line 4,—for -Kṛṣṇu, read -Kṛṣṇa
- " 131, verse 33, line 3 f — Read "If not, why (*dost thou*) whose emblem is the Garuda (*assume*) this (*ensign of the hawk*)?"
- " 132, verse 42,—for "whose deep compassion with heroes was," read "whose heroism and compassion were"
- " 135, line 20,—for *sāmvachchīhaa*, read *sāmvachchhara*
- " 157, text line 191,—for *सैवरणं*, read *सुैवरणं*
- " 169, the last line, and page 170, first line, and throughout subsequent references—I have recently had occasion to look up Mr. H H Dhruva's article on the records of A.D. 915, in the *Jour. German Or. Soc.* Vol XL p 322 ff His introductory remarks shew that these two records were obtained at Bagumrā. And they ought, therefore, to be referred to as "the Bagumrā plates of A.D 915," and not by a title connecting them with Nausārī as their find-place. His remarks further shew that the seal of each of these two records presents, not only the god Śiva as stated by Dr. R G. Bhandarkar in *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol XVIII p 253, but also a *svastika* and a *Ganapati* and the legend *śrīman-Nityavarsha* — J F F.
- " 169, note, line 14 — Cancel the words "while his own illustrious queen was prospering" The correct translation of this passage is given in *South-Ind Insér* Vol II. p 92
- " 185, line 7 from bottom,—for -Bassappa read -Basappa
- " " note 14,—for 7, 8, read 6, 7
- " 189, " 1 — It might have been added here that *Ratnāvalōka* occurs as a *biruda* of the *Mahāśānta Bappavarasa* in the *Mahākūta* inscription of A D 934 see *Ind Ant*

Vol. X p. 104, No. 96, text line 2; the *biruda* has there been translated, by "he whose glances were (*as bright*) as jewels."—J F F

Page 225, line 10 from bottom,—for Eastern India, read Southern India.

„ 251 ff., the Didgûr inscription—In editing this record, I overlooked a fact to which Professor Kiellhorn has kindly drawn my attention. Just as here we have Dosi as the name of the governor of the Banavâsi province under king Kattiyara, so also we have Dosarâja as the name of the person at whose request, as recorded in the Vakkalêri plates of A.D. 757 (see Vol V. above, p. 201), the Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman II. granted the village of Sullyûr, which was in the Pânungal *visaya* and consequently in the Banavâsi province. The Dosi of the Didgûr inscription may well have been a grandson of the Dosarâja of the Vakkalêri plates. At any rate, the identity of these two names Dosi and Dosarâja, and their connection with the same part of the country, is another point in favour of the view that Kattiyara was a Chalukya.—J F F.

„ 286, line 20 f. from bottom — Professor Kiellhorn contributes the following remark on this date — "For Śaka-Samvat 789 expired it corresponds to the 23rd December A.D. 867. On this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half of Pausha ended 12 h. 3 m after mean sunrise, and the Uttarâyanâ-Samkrânti took place during the same *tithi*, 1 h. 10 m. before mean sunrise."

„ 286, line 18 ff from bottom.—In *Ind. Ant* Vol. XXXI p. 254 f Dr Fleet has shewn that Kâmpilya, Chokkhakuti, Dabbhellanka (this is the correct reading), Apasundara and Kâlûpallikâ correspond to the modern villages Kaphleta, Chokhad, Dabhel, Asundar and Karoli, and that the river Mandâkinî is now called Mindhola.

„ 321, line 15 from bottom,—for Kasâkûdi, read Kâsâkudi.

„ 324, note 1, line 4 f., and page 325, line 5,—for Ommapa-Udayar, read Jammapa-Udayar.

„ 327, line 23,—for -Udaya[r\*], read -Udaya[r\*].





# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

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## VOLUME VI

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### No 1 — AIHOLE INSCRIPTION OF PULIKESIN II., SAKA-SAMVAT 556

By F. KIELHORN, PH D, LL D, C I E, GOTTINGEN.

This inscription is on the east side-wall of an old temple called Mēguti, at Aihole in the Hungund tāluka of the Bījāpur (formerly Kalādgi) district<sup>1</sup> It was first edited, with a photo-lithograph, by Dr Fleet in *Ind Ant* Vol V p 67 ff, and a revised version of the text and translation, with an improved photo-lithograph, has been given by the same scholar, *ibid* Vol VIII p 237 ff, and *Archæol Surv of West India*, Vol III p 129 ff I re-edit the inscription at the suggestion of, and from an estampage supplied to me by, Dr Fleet himself, who was anxious to publish the accompanying photo-lithograph which is the first true facsimile of this record In common fairness I am bound to state that Dr Fleet's edition, published more than twenty years ago, was an excellent piece of work, which has been of great assistance to me, and I would wish it to be understood that I consider any improvements in the reading or interpretation of the text which I may be able to offer, to be mainly due to the rapid advance of Indian epigraphy, brought about to no small extent by Dr. Fleet's own exertions

The inscription contains 19 lines of writing, of which nearly the whole of line 18 and the short line 19 apparently are a later addition of little importance, which may be left out of consideration in these introductory remarks The writing covers a space of about 4' 9½" broad by 2' ½" high, it is well engraved, and generally in an excellent state of preservation The size of the letters is between ⅙" and ⅕" The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets, they are of the regular type of the characters of the Western Chalukya records of the period to which the inscription belongs Of initial vowels, the text contains the signs for *a*, *ā*, *i* and *u*, and of the signs of the ordinary Sanskrit consonants, all excepting *ḍh*, but *chh*, *ḥh* and the rare *ḡh*<sup>2</sup> (in =*ḡḡhati*, l 7) occur only as subscript letters The alphabet also includes the signs of the *ḡhṡmāliya* (e g in *Raviḡrttiḥ*=*kavitā*- at the end of line 17), the *upadhṡmāliya* (e g in *yaḥ*=*prabhavaḥ*=*puruṡa*-, l 1), and the Dravidian *ḷ* (e g in *Māḷava*-, l 11, and *pulina*-,

---

<sup>1</sup> See *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains Bombay Pres*, p 183

<sup>2</sup> It is strange that none of the published palmographic Tables should give a single instance of the southern form of *ḡh* from an inscription The form of the subscript *ḡh* used in the present inscription is almost identical with the one employed in the first Cambodian inscription (in the word *ujḡḡṡta* in line 7, *Inscr. Sanscrites du Cambodge*, p 13, and Plate), the alphabet of which in other respects essentially differs from that of the Western Chalukya inscriptions

l 12), and of final *m* (e.g. in *ratnânâm*, l 1, and *suchiram*, l 2), final *t* (e.g. in *prakarshât*, l 3), and final *n* (in *iv=ābhavan*, l 11, and *divyân*, l 15). Besides we have the ordinary signs of punctuation, one or two vertical lines, but they are employed irregularly.—The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and the text is all in verse, the metres employed in the 37 verses being the ordinary Ślōka, in vv 20, 22, 27, 31, 33, 34 and 36, Anupachchhandasika, in vv 9 and 26, Āryā, in vv 1-4 and 7, Āryāgīti, in v 37, Upajāti, in v 6 and v 19 (Indravajrā), Rathōddhatā, in v 8, Vamśastha, in v 12, Drutavilambita, in v 10, Praharshinī, in v 30, Vasantatilakā, in vv 11, 14, 28 and 35, Mālinī, in vv 13, 15 and 23-25, Harinī, in v 13, Māndākrāntā, in v 17, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, in vv 5, 29 and 32, Mattēbhavikrīḍita, in v 18, and Sragdharā, in v 16. So far as I am able to judge, the author has properly observed the metrical rules, and his choice of the metres in some instances, as when he uses the metre Sragdharā in v 16, appears most appropriate.—The orthography calls for few remarks. *Visarga* has everywhere been changed to the *jihvāmūliya* before *h*, and to the *upadhmāniya* before *p*, and has been assimilated to a following sibilant. The final *m* of a word is at the end of a verse or half-verse always denoted by the special sign of the final *m*, except in *trayānām* at the end of verse 25, and in the interior of a Pāda before a consonant it is either changed to *anusvāra* or to the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs (before *ch*, *chh* and *j* it is always changed to *ñ*). At the end of the first and third Pādas of a verse the rules of *sandhi* have occasionally not been observed, and they have once or twice been neglected in other places. The letter *n* is employed instead of *anusvāra* in *Jayānha*, l 3, *v* instead of *b* in *vibhatsa*, l 11, and *=vvalarkh*, l 14, and *j* instead of *y* in *chirañ=jātaḥ* (for *chiram yātaḥ*), l 2. Before *r*, *k* is always doubled (e.g. in *parākkrama*, l 5), and before *y*, *dh* is similarly treated in *āiādhyā*, l 15. The Dravidian *l* is used in the names *Kālidāsa*, l 18, *Ālupa*, l 9, *Kēraḷa*, l 15, *Chōla*, ll 14 and 15, *Nala*, l 4, *Mālava*, l 11, and *Kaunāla*, l 13, and also in the words *antarāla*, l 13, *ali*, l 8, *āvalī*, l 9, *lālarātri*, l 4 (but not in *kāla*, l 16), *pulna*, l 12, and *ngalita*, l 11. Clerical errors there are few, and they can be easily corrected.

The inscription is a poem by a certain Ravikīrti, who during the reign of the Chalukya Pulikēśin Satyāśraya (i.e. the Western Chalukya Pulikēśin II), whom he describes as his patron, founded the temple of the Jaina prophet Jinendra on which the inscription was engraved, and who uses the occasion to furnish a eulogistic account (*prasaśti*) of the history of the Chalukya family, and especially of the exploits of Pulikēśin II. As a translation of the poem will be given below, it is unnecessary to burden this introduction with an abstract of the contents, the more so because the historical facts related in this record have been fully discussed by Prof Bhandarkar and Dr Fleet,<sup>1</sup> but I may draw attention to one or two statements of our author which are made in verses of which either my text or translation differs from those of the previous edition. From the restitution of the true reading, *Bhaimarathyāḥ*, in verse 17, it appears that the two invaders Āppāyika and Gōvinda, of whom one was repulsed by Pulikēśin II, while the other was made an ally, had come to conquer the country north of the river Bhaimarathī, usually called Bhīmarathī, and that no horses from the northern seas are spoken of in that verse. Again, from the wording of verse 22 it would appear now that the Īṭas, Mālavas and Gūrjaras were not conquered by force, but submitted to, or sought the protection of, Pulikēśin of their own accord. Of greater interest perhaps is my interpretation of verse 28. It will be seen that that verse speaks of a piece of water, apparently containing some islands, which was occupied by Pulikēśin's army, and is called the Kaunāla water, or the water (or lake) of Kunāla. The position of this piece of water is indicated by the sequence of events recorded in the poem. Pulikēśin according to verse 26 subdued the Kalingas and Kōsalas, he then according to verse 27 took the fortress of Pishtapura, the modern Pithapuram

<sup>1</sup> See Prof Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dehkan*, 2nd ed, especially p 51, and Dr Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, 2nd ed, especially p 349 ff.

in the Gôdâvarî district, after that, in verse 28, comes his occupation of 'the water of Kunâla,' this again is followed, in verse 29, by his defeat of the Pallava ruler near Kâñchîpura, and in verse 30 he crosses the river Kâvêrî Pulikésin's march of conquest therefore is from the north to the south, along the east coast of Southern India, and the localities mentioned follow each other in regular succession from the north to the south. This in my opinion shews that 'the water of Kunâla' can only be the well-known Kolleru lake, which is south of Pithâpuram, between the rivers Gôdâvarî and Kṛishnâ. To that lake the description of 'the water of Kunâla,' given in the poem, would be applicable even at the present day; and we know from other inscriptions that the lake contained at least one fortified island which more than once has been the object of attack. In the Chellûr plates<sup>1</sup> of the reign of the Eastern Chalukya Kulôttunga-Chôda II of Śaka-Samvat 1056 (exactly five hundred years after the date of the present inscription) we are told that in the Vengî-mandala there is a great lake in which, like Vishnu's city Dvâarakâ in the ocean, is a town named Śarasîpurî, unconquerable by enemies, and that at the time of the inscription that town was possessed or governed by Kâtama-Nâyaka of Kolanu, a Telugu word meaning 'lake,' which according to other inscriptions<sup>2</sup> must undoubtedly be connected with the Kolleru lake, and which in my opinion is identical with Kunâla.<sup>3</sup>

Regarding the date of the inscription as given in verses 33 and 34, I have nothing to add to what Dr Fleet already has stated about it. It corresponds, for the expired year 3735 of the Kalyuga, here described as the year 3735 since the Bhârata war, and—which is the same—for Śaka-Samvat 556 expired, to A D 634-35.

Important as this inscription is as an historical document, to myself it seems almost more interesting from a literary point of view. The statement in verse 37 that it raises its author to the level of Kâlidâsa and Bhâravi, is surely an exaggeration, but in my opinion this poem indubitably places him in the very front rank of court-poets and writers of *prâśastis*. Ravikîrti is thoroughly conversant with the rules of the Alamkāra-śāstra, and like a true *dâkshinîdyâ*, he is unsurpassed in some of his *utprêkshâs*. He is familiar with the works of India's greatest poets, and seems to have especially profited by the study of that most perfect poem of Kâlidâsa's, the *Raghuvamśa*. That this *kāvya* of Kâlidâsa's about A D 600 was well-known in widely distant parts of India, and even beyond the confines of India proper, there can be no doubt now. I have elsewhere<sup>4</sup> had occasion to shew that one of its verses (XII 1) has been present to the mind of the author of the Bôdh-Gayâ inscription of Mahânâman, dated in A D 588. I have also drawn attention to the fact<sup>5</sup> that another verse of the same poem (VI 23) has been imitated in one of the Nâgârjuni Hill cave inscriptions of the Manikharî Anantavarman, which for palæographic reasons cannot be placed later than the first half of the sixth century. Besides, so far as I can judge, part at least of the text of the *Raghuvamśa* was

<sup>1</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> See Dr Hultzsch, above, Vol. IV. p. 37, and *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II p. 308.

<sup>3</sup> We may compare (see Hémachandra's *Prâkṛit Grammar*, II 116 ff.) *dlâna*=*ândla*, *Achalapura*=*Alachapura*, *karênd*=*kanêrd*, etc.—*Kundla* very probably is the *Kundla* of the grammarians, which according to Ujjvaladatta is the name of a locality, and according to Hémachandra (*Uddigana* 476) the name of a town—Moreover, notwithstanding the difference of spelling, I have no doubt whatever that the *Kaundla* of our inscription is identical with the *Kaurdâka* in line 19 of the Allâhâbâd pillar inscription of Samudragupta (*Gupta Inscr.* p. 7), which in that inscription is enumerated immediately before *Paishâpurâka*, just as in the present inscription the *jalam Kaundlam* is mentioned immediately after *Pishtapura*. (An antiquated statement, lately repeated in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part I p. 68, induces me to add that by the inspection of an excellent estampage I have convinced myself that *Kaurdâka*, as published by Dr Fleet, is the true reading in Samudra Gupta's inscription.)

<sup>4</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX p. 190, and *Gupta Inscr.* p. 276.

<sup>5</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX p. 190, and *Gupta Inscr.* p. 224.

familiar to the composer of the first Cambodian inscription,<sup>1</sup> which according to the most competent authorities belongs to the commencement of the seventh century. And turning to Chalukyan inscriptions, it is sufficient to say that the half-verse *yathāvidhi-hutāgninām yathādhām-ārohitārthīnām* of *Ragh* I 6, is actually copied by the writer of the Mahākūta pillar inscription of Mangalēśa,<sup>2</sup> which may be specifically dated in A D 602, and was certainly composed before A D 610. As regards the present inscription, I have brought together in the notes to my translation a number of parallel passages both from the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Kirātārjunīya*, which can leave no doubt as to Ravikīrti's indebtedness to the authors of those two *kāvya*s. Here I would only add that for the principal part of his poem, the description of the exploits of his patron in verses 17-32, Ravikīrti clearly has taken as his model the *Raghuvamśa* in *Ragh* IV, and that very probably he would himself have styled this part (if not the whole) of his *prastā* the *Digvijaya* of Polekēśin Satyāśraya.

## TEXT 3

- 1 Jayatī<sup>4</sup> bhagavān(ñ)=Jinēndrō [vī]ta-ja[rā-ma]rana-janmanō yasya [1\*] jñāna-samudr-āntargga[ta]m=akhlāñ=jagad=antarīpam=iva | (11) [1\*] Tad=anu churam=apar[mē]yaś=Chalukya-kula vipula-jalanidhir=jjayatī || (1) prithivī-mauli-lalāmnām yah=prabhavañ=purusha-ratnānām || [2\*] Śūrē vidushi cha vibhajan=dānam=mānañ=cha yugapad=ēkatra || (1)
- 2 avihita-yāthāsam[kh]y[ō] [ja]yati cha Satyāśrayas=suchiram || [3\*] Prithivivallabha-sābdō yēshām=anvartthātāñ=chuañ=jātīh' [1\*] tad-vamśēshu jīgīshushu tēshu bahushv=apy=atītēshu || [4\*] <sup>6</sup>Nāñā-hēti-sat-ābhughāta-patita-bhrānt-āsva-patti-dvipē nriyad-bhima-kavandha-khadga<sup>7</sup>-kirana-jvālā-sahasr[ē] ranē [1\*]
- 3 Lakshmīr=bhāvita-chāpal=āpī cha kritā śauryyēna yēn=ātmasāt(d=)rāj=āsīj=Jayasinha-<sup>8</sup>vallabha itī khyātāś=Chaluky-ānvayah || [5\*] <sup>9</sup>Tad-ātmañō=bhūd=Raranarāga-<sup>10</sup>nāmā divy-ānubhāvō jagad-ēkanāthah [1\*] amānuśhatvam kila yasya lōkās=<sup>11</sup>suptasya jñānāti vapuh-prakarshāt || [6\*] <sup>12</sup>Tasy=ābhavat=tanūjah=Polekēśi(śī) ya[h]<sup>13</sup> śrit-ēndukāntir=apī [1\*]
- 4 Śrī-vallabhō=py=ayāsīd=Vātāpīpuri-vadhū-varatām || [7\*] <sup>14</sup>Yat-trivargga-padavim=alam kshitau n=ānugantam=adhun=āpī rājakam [1\*] bhūś=cha yēna hayamēdha-yājñā prāpit-āvabhṛitha-majjanā<sup>15</sup> babhan || [8\*] <sup>16</sup>Nala-Mauryya-

<sup>1</sup> *Inscr Sanscrites du Cambodge*, p 18. When writing the second half of verse 6 (*divishām asahyō yasyaiva pratāpō na ravēr apī*) the author of the inscription had in his mind, and the wording of his verse was influenced by, *Ragh* IV 49 (*Dīrī mandyātē tēpō dahshinasyām ravēr apī, tasyam ēva Raghōh Pāndyāh pratāpam na vishēhīrē*), in the inscription the use of the particle *apī* after *ravēr* in my opinion is awkward, if not improper, in Kālidāsa's verse it is most appropriate. The idea expressed in verse 7 (*Yasya sañyayañō dhātām yjyātlankṛitishō apī, ripustṛīgandadēśēshu chūrnabhāvam upāgatam*) was suggested by *Ragh* IV 54 (*Bhayōtṛīshṭavibhūshnām tēna Kēralayōshītām, alakēshu chamūrēnuś chūrnapratimādhīkṛitah*).

<sup>2</sup> See *Ind Ant* Vol XIX p 16, line 1 of the text. The same inscription contains other fragments of verses (1 2, *riddhyā Vāsīravanōpamah*, 1 10, *Mahēndra iva durddharshah Bāma vōdparājītah Sibir=Auśtīnara iva*, 1 11, *samudra iva gambhīrah kshamayā prithivī samah*), the source of which I have not discovered yet. The Nerūr plates of Mangalēśa (*Ind Ant* Vol VII p 161) also contain a half verse (1 11, *Babhan sa Vainya pratimāna kīrtiś=tamañ=pramṛidnan=svagun āmṛjālāh*), which I have not yet identified.

<sup>3</sup> From an impression supplied by Dr Fleet.

<sup>4</sup> Metre of verses 1-4. Āryā.

<sup>5</sup> Read =chiram yāthā.

<sup>6</sup> Metre. Sārdūlavikṛitā.

<sup>7</sup> Originally *khādga* was engraved, but the *d* of *khād* seems to have been struck out again.

<sup>8</sup> Read *Jayasinha*.

<sup>9</sup> Metre. Upajāti.

<sup>10</sup> Read *Ranarāga*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *lōkas*.

<sup>12</sup> Metre. Āryā.

<sup>13</sup> This *yah* (or *ya* ?) was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line.

<sup>14</sup> Metre. Rathōddhatā.

<sup>15</sup> Possibly the *akshara* *nā* has been altered to *nam* in the original, and *prāpit=āvabhṛitha majjanam* (i.e. *prāpitā avā*) would be a better reading.

<sup>16</sup> Metre. Aupachchhandasika.

- Kadamba-kālarātrihś=<sup>1</sup>tanayas=tasya babhūma(va) Kirttivarmmā [1\*] para-dāra-  
nirvitta-chittavrittēr=apī<sup>2</sup> dhīr=yasya ripu-śri-
- 5 y=ānukṛṣṭā || [9\*] <sup>3</sup>Rana-parākkrama labdha-jayaśrīyā sapadī yēna  
virugna(gna)m=aśśhatah [1\*] nripati-gandhagajēna mah-aujasā prithu-Kadamba-  
kadamba-kadambakām<sup>4</sup> || [10\*] <sup>5</sup>Tasmin=Surēśvara-vibhūti gat-ābhilāshē raj=  
ābhavat=tad-anujah=kila Mangal[ē]śah<sup>6</sup> [1\*] yah=pārva-paśchima-samudra-tat  
ōshit-āśva-sānā-rajah-pata-vanirmmita-digvitānah || [11\*] <sup>7</sup>Sphuran-mayūkhair=  
asā dīpikā-śataih(tair=)
- 6 vyudasya mātanga-tamisra-saūchayam [1\*] avāptavān=yō ranaranga-mandirē  
Katachohuri-śrī-lalanā-parigrahām || [12\*] <sup>8</sup>Punar=apī cha jighrīkshōs=  
sainyam=ākkrānta-sālam<sup>9</sup> ruchira-bāhu-patākām Rēvati-dvīpam-āśu [1\*] sapadī  
mahad=udanvat-tōya-samkrānta bimbam<sup>10</sup> Vara(ru)na-balam=iv=ābhūd=āgatam  
yasya vāchā || [13\*] <sup>11</sup>Tasy=āgrajasya tannayē Nabush-ānubhāgē(vē)  
Lakshmyā kil=ābhī-
- 7 lashitē <sup>12</sup>Pol[ē]kēśī-nāmnī [1\*] sāsūyam=ātmanī bhavantam=atah=pitṛivayam<sup>13</sup> jūātva=  
āparuddha-charita-vyavasāya-buddhau || [14\*] Sa<sup>14</sup> yad-upachita-[ma]ntr-ōtsāha-  
śakti-prayōga-kshapita-bala-viśēshō Mangalēśas=<sup>15</sup>samantāt [1\*] sva-tanaya-  
gata-rājy-ārambha-yatnēna sārddham nijam=atanu cha rājyañ-jīvitañ=ch=  
ōjjhati sma || [15\*] <sup>16</sup>Tāvat=tach-chha[t\*]tra-bhangē jagad=akhilam=arāty-  
andhakār-ōparuddham
- 8 yasy=āsahya-pratāpa-dyuti-tatibhir=iv=ākkrāntam=āsit=prabhātām [1\*] nṛityad-vidyut-  
patākaiḥ=prajavini marutī kshunna-pa[r]jyanta-bhāgar=ggarjadbhir=  
vārāvāsai(hai)r=ali-kula-malinam vyōma yātām kadā vā || [16\*] Lab[dhv]ā<sup>17</sup>  
kālam bhuvam=upagatē jētum=Āppāyik-ākhyē Gōvindē cha dvirada-  
nikarair=uttarām=Bhaimarathyāh [1\*] yasy=ānikar=yudhī bhaya-rasa-jūatvam=  
ēkah=prayātas=tatr=āvāptam=phalam=upakritasy=ā-
- 9 parēp=āpī sadyah | (||) [17\*] <sup>18</sup>Varadā-tunga-taranga-ranga-vilasad-dhamsāvali-  
mēkhalām Vanavāsīm=avamridnatas=surapura-prasparādh[ī]nīm sampadā [1\*]  
mahatā yasya bal-ārṇavēna paritas=saūchhādīt ōrvvitalam<sup>19</sup> sthala-  
durggañ=jala-durggatām=iva<sup>20</sup> gatam tat=tatkshanē paśyatām || [18\*] <sup>21</sup>Gang-

<sup>1</sup> Read *°rātrihś*; the sign of *visarga* may have been struck out already in the original

<sup>2</sup> Originally *-nirvittichittērapī* was engraved, afterwards the *ī* of *ittē* and the *ī* of *ittē* appear to have been struck out, the *akṣaras vritt[ē]* were engraved below the line, and the place where they should be inserted was indicated by a vertical line above the line, before *ra*

<sup>3</sup> Metre Drutavilambita

Originally *°kah* seems to have been engraved

<sup>4</sup> Metre Vasantatilaka

<sup>5</sup> The signs for *l* and *l̥* being very similar, it is somewhat difficult to say whether the reading here and in line 7 is *Mangalīśa* or *Mangalēśa*, in neither place is it *Mangalīśa* I read the name *Mangalēśa*, because I do not think that the engraver twice would have made the same mistake, and because in line 7 the third *akṣara* of the name appears to me undoubtedly to be *l̥* Compare the *l̥* of *kāl̥* in l 16, and the *l* of *malinam* in l 8, and of *linga* and *Kalinga* in l 13

<sup>7</sup> Metre Vamśastha.

<sup>8</sup> Metre Mālinī

<sup>9</sup> Read *-śālam*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *-bimbam*.

<sup>11</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā

<sup>12</sup> The sign of the first consonant (*p*) of this name, in my opinion, at the top has the vowel *o*, and below it, *u*, but the latter seems to have been struck out. In the following syllable, originally the full sign of *la* seems to have been engraved, whether the vowel sign at the top is meant for *o* or *e*, is difficult to say

<sup>13</sup> Read *=pitṛivayam*

<sup>14</sup> Metre Mālinī

<sup>15</sup> Instead of the *akṣara śa* originally *śō* seems to have been engraved.

<sup>16</sup> Metre Sragdharā

<sup>17</sup> Metre Mandākrantā

<sup>18</sup> Metre Mattēbhavikṛdita

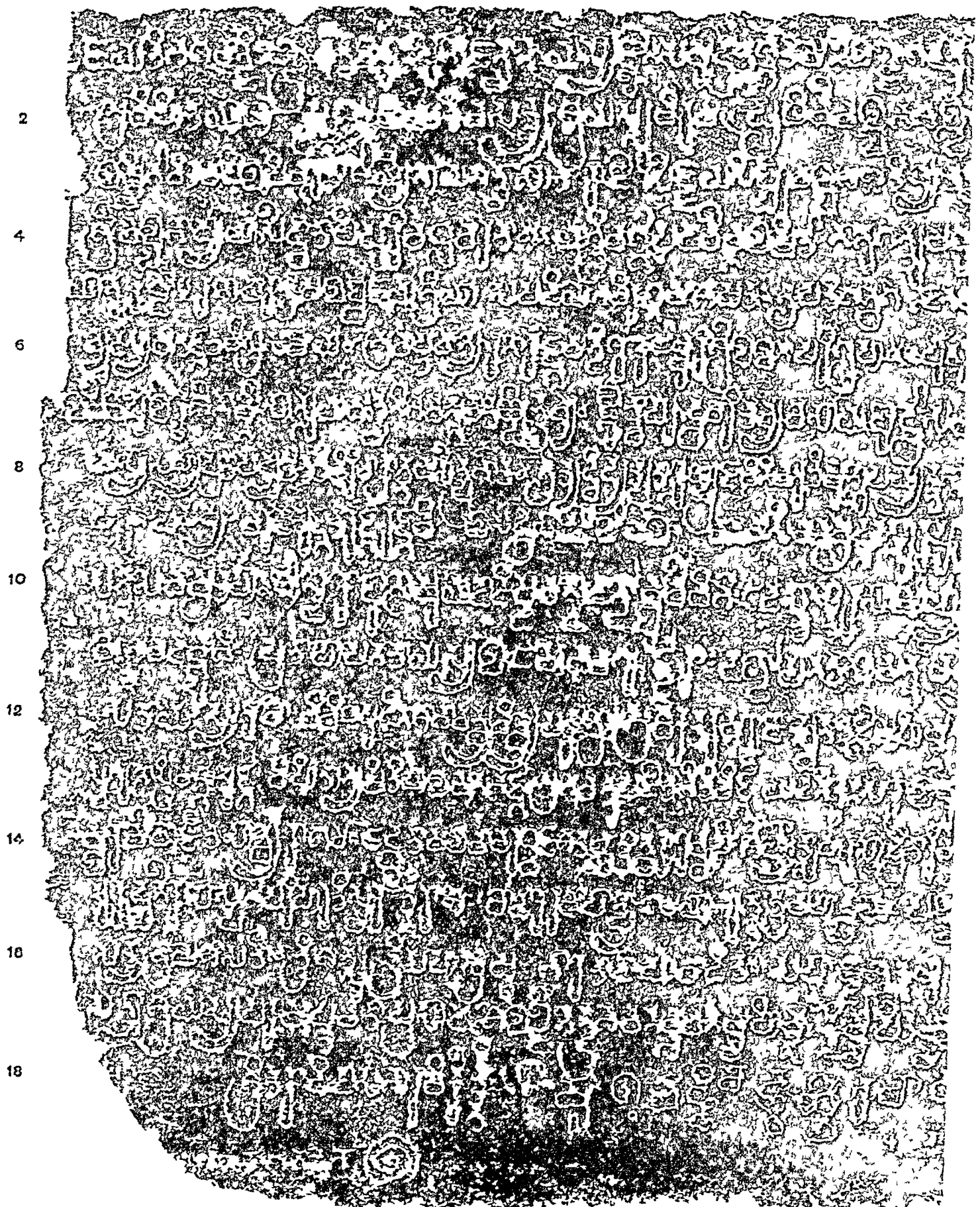
<sup>19</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous

<sup>20</sup> In the original, between *durgga* and *tāmiva*, the *akṣaras tāmiva* were engraved, and then struck out again.

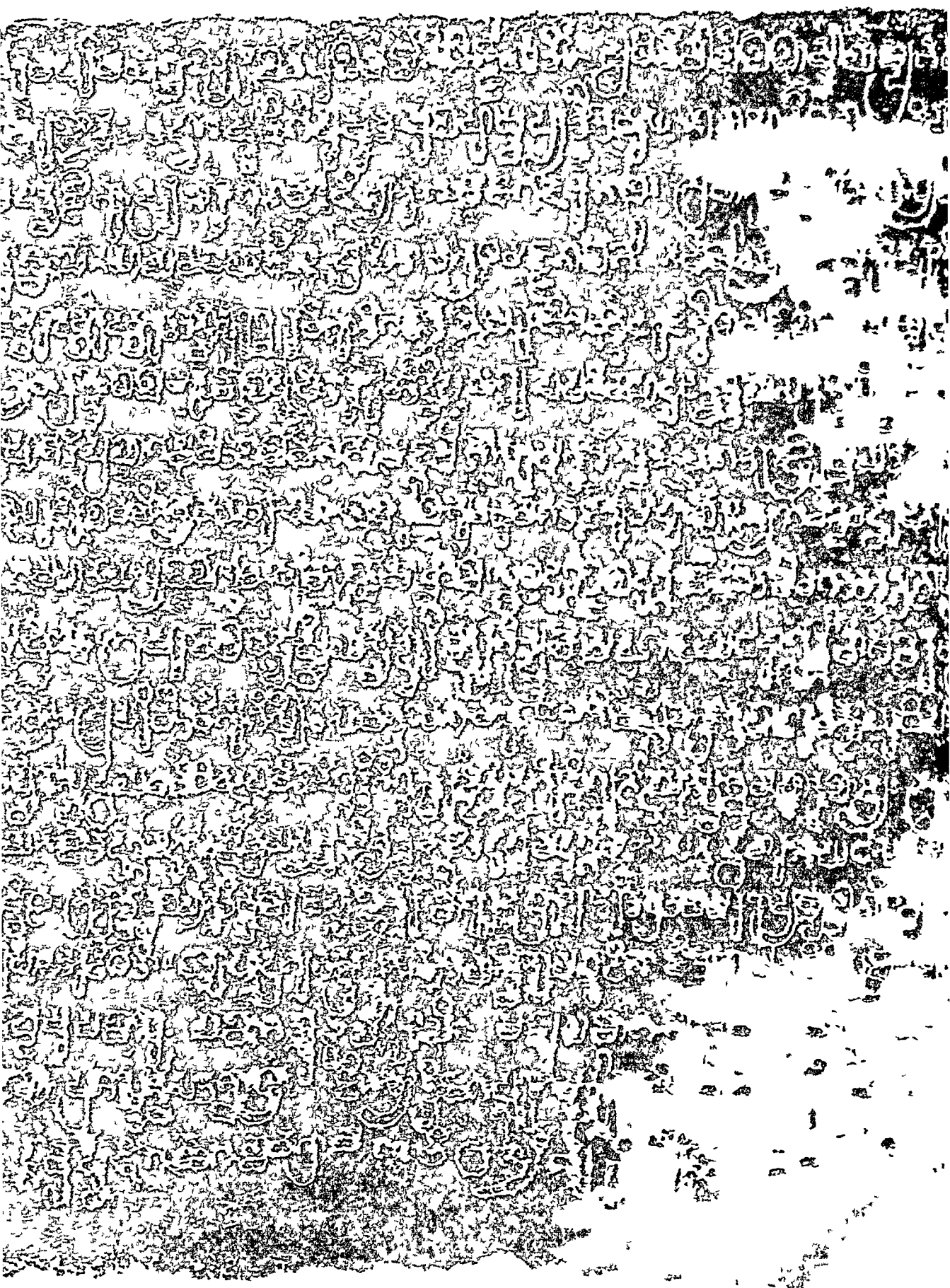
<sup>21</sup> Metre Indravajrā.

- Ālup-ondīā vyasanāni sapta hitvā pur=ōpārjita-sampadō=pi [1\*] yasy=ānubhāv-ōpanatās=sad=āsann=ā-
- 10 8ann 1-sē amṛita-pāna-śaundhī [11 19\*] Konkanēshu<sup>2</sup> yad-ādiśhta-chapda-dapd-āmbuvichibhūh [1\*] udastās=tarasā Mauryya-palvalāmbu-samriddhayaḥ | (11) [20\*]  
<sup>3</sup>Ap uru-jaladhōr=Lakshmi[m] yasmīn=Purim=Purabhit-prabhō madagaja-ghat-ākā rir=nnāvām śatair=avamṛidnati [1\*] jalada-paṭal-ānik-āk(ā) rppan=navōtpala-mēchakañ=jalanidhir=iva vyōma vyōmnas=sa-
- 11 mō=bhavād=ambubhūh(dhūh) [11 21\*] <sup>4</sup>Pratāp-ōpanatā yasya Iāta-Mālava-Gūrjarāh [1\*] dand-ōpanata-sāmanta-charyy-āch[ā] ryyā iv=ābhavan [11 22\*] <sup>5</sup>Aparimīta-vibhūti-sphīta-sāmanta-sēnā-makuta-mapi-mayūkh-ākka anta-pādāravindah [1\*] yudhi patita-gaja(jō)ndr-ānika-vī(bī)bhatsa-bhūtō bhaya-vigalita-harshō yēna ch=ākāri Harshah [11 23\*] Bhuvam=urubhir=anīkais=śā-
- 12 satō yasya Rēvō(vā)-vivīdha-pulina-śōbh-āvandanya-Vindhy-ōpakanth[ah]<sup>6</sup> [1\*] adhikataam=arājat=svēna. tējō-mahimnā śikhambhir=ibha-varjyā(rjyō) vai[sh]manā sparddhay=ēva [11 24\*] Vīdhivad=upachitābhīs=śaktibhīs=Śakrakalpas=trirubhir=api gun-aughais=svais=cha mātākul-ādyaḥ [1\*] agamad=adhipatitvam yō Mahārāshtrakānām navanavati-sahasra-grāma-bhājām trayānām [11 25\*] Grihinām<sup>7</sup> sva-
- 13 8ra-gunais-trivargga-tungā vibhī-ānyakshatipāla-mānabhangā[h] [1\*] abhavann=uprjāta-bhītlingā yad-anīkēna sa-Kō[sa\*]lāh=Kalingā[h] [11 26\*] Pishtam<sup>8</sup> Pishtapuram yēna jātām durggam=adurggamañ=<sup>9</sup>chitram yasya kalēr=vrīttam<sup>10</sup> jātām durggama-durggamam | (11) [27\*] <sup>11</sup>Sannaddha-vārana-ghatā-sthagit-āntarālam<sup>12</sup> nān-āyudha-kshata-nara-kshataj-āngarāgam<sup>13</sup> [1\*] āsīj=jalam yad-avamardditam=abhra-garbhām Kaunālam=a-
- 14 mhar um=iv=ō[ ] jita-<sup>14</sup>sāndhyarāgam [11 28\*] <sup>15</sup>Uddhūt-āmala-chāva(ma)ra-dhvaja-śata-chchha[ī\*]ti-āndhakārair=vva(bba)lah śauryy-ōtsāha-ras-ōddhat-<sup>16</sup>ārī-mathanair=mmanul-a(ā)dībhish=shadvidhaih [1\*] ākrānt-ātmabalōnnatim=balairjassañchhanna-Kāñchipurah(ra)prākārāntarīta-pratāpam=a karōd=yah=Pallavānām=patim [11 29\*] Kāvērī<sup>17</sup> drīta-śapharī-vilōla-nētrā Chōlānām sapadī juy-odyatasya yasya [1\*] prāśchyōtanmada-gaja-sē-
- 15 tu-ruddha-nīā samsparśam pariharatī sma ratna-rāsēh | (11) [30\*] <sup>18</sup>Chōla-Kērala-Pāndyānām<sup>19</sup> yō=bhūt=tatra maharddhayē [11] Pallav-ānika-nīhāratulnōtaradīdhitā [11 31\*] <sup>20</sup>Utsāha-prabhu-mantra-śakti-sahitē yasmīn=samastā dīśō ptvā bhūmī-patīn=visriyya mahitān=ārāddhya dēva-dvijān [1\*] Vātāpin=nagarīm=pravīśya nagarīm=ēkām=iv=ōvvi(rvvi)m=imām<sup>21</sup> chañchan-nīradhī(dhī)-nīla-nīra-parikhām

<sup>1</sup> Read *śaundāh*<sup>2</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)<sup>3</sup> Metre Hariṇī<sup>4</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)<sup>5</sup> Metre of ver ses 23 25 Māhāt<sup>6</sup> This, in my opinion, is the intended (and undoubtedly correct) reading. Originally *ōntāh* was engraved, but the two lines forming the *ō* appear to have been struck out again.<sup>7</sup> Metre *Aupachchhandasika*—The *ākshara sva* at the end of the line should be struck out, and may have been struck out already in the original.<sup>8</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)<sup>9</sup> Read *ōrggamam* |<sup>10</sup> Read *vrīttam*<sup>11</sup> Metre *Vasantatilakā*<sup>12</sup> Read *ōrālam*<sup>13</sup> Originally *-narakshatakshata*<sup>o</sup> seems to have been engraved, but the first *kshata* apparently has been struck out again.<sup>14</sup> Read *ōcīta*<sup>15</sup> Metre *Śārdūlavikrīdita*<sup>16</sup> Originally *-ōddhat-* was engraved.<sup>17</sup> Metre *Prīharshinī*—Read *drīta-*<sup>18</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)<sup>19</sup> Read *-Pāndyānām*<sup>20</sup> Metre *Śārdūlavikrīdita*<sup>21</sup> Read *=imām*







Handwritten text in a South Indian script, likely Grantha or Tamil, arranged in approximately 18 horizontal lines. The script is highly stylized and dense, with many characters featuring complex diacritics and ligatures. The text is written on a light-colored background, possibly parchment or paper, and is framed by a dark border. The overall appearance is that of an ancient manuscript or a highly decorative inscription.

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- 16 Satyāśraya śasati || [32\*] Trīśatsu<sup>1</sup> tri-sahasrēshu Bhāratād-āhavād-  
itah [1\*] sapt-ābdaśata-yuktēshu śa(ga)tēshv=abdēshu pañchasu || [33\*]  
Pañchāśatsu Kalau kālē<sup>2</sup> shatsu pañcha-śatāsu cha [1\*] samāsu  
samatitāsu Śakānām=api bhūbhujām || [34\*] <sup>3</sup>Tasy=āmbudhitraya-nivāṇa-  
śūsanasya
- 17 Satyāśrayasya param=āptavatā prasādam [1\*] śaulaṇ=Jinendra-bhayanam  
bhayanam=<sup>4</sup>mahimnān=nirmāpitam=matimatā Ravikīrtin=ēdam || [35\*]  
<sup>5</sup>Prasastēr=vvasatēś=ch=āsyāh<sup>6</sup> Jinasya trijagad-gurōh=<sup>7</sup>karttā kāravitā ch-  
āpi Ravikīrtih=kīrti svayam || [36\*] <sup>8</sup>Yēn=āyōji navēśma-sthūram=arttha-  
vidhan vivēkinā Jina-vēśma [1\*] sa <sup>9</sup>vijayatām Ravikīrtih=kavitā-
- 18 śrīta-Kālidāsa-Bhāravi-kīrtih | (||) [37\*] @ <sup>10</sup>Mūlavallī-Velmaṭṭikavāda-  
[Ma]<sup>11</sup>chchanūr-Ggangavūr-Paligere-Gandayagrāma(mā) itī asya bhukta[h 1\*]  
Giri(rē)[s=ta]tāt=paśchim-[ā]bhigata<sup>12</sup> Nīmūvārīr=yyāva[t\*] mahāpathāntapurasya  
sī(sī)mā uttarataḥ dakṣiṇatō
- 19-13 . . . ga <sup>14</sup> na @

## TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) Victorious<sup>15</sup> is the holy Jinendra—he who is exempt from old age, death and birth—in the sea of whose knowledge the whole world is comprised like an island

(V 2) And next, long victorious is the immeasurable, wide ocean of the Chalukya family, which is the birth-place of jewels of men that are ornaments of the diadem of the earth

(V 3) And victorious for very long is Satyāśraya, who in bestowing gifts and honours on the brave and on the learned, both together on either, observes not the rule of correspondence of number.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Metre of verses 33 and 34 Ślōka (Anushtubh)

<sup>2</sup> After this a second *lā* seems to have been engraved and then cancelled again

<sup>3</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā <sup>4</sup> Originally =bhavanam was engraved <sup>5</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)

<sup>6</sup> Read =āsyā <sup>7</sup> Read =gurōh <sup>8</sup> Metre Āryagītī

<sup>9</sup> In the place of *vi* originally *ja* was engraved, afterwards it was erased and *ā* was engraved above and below it

<sup>10</sup> From here the writing differs from, and seems undoubtedly more modern than, that of the preceding part of the inscription. Compare especially the signs for *a*, *k*, *t*, *r* and *l*.

<sup>11</sup> Dr Fleet read this *akshara pa*, and he may possibly be right

<sup>12</sup> Not understanding the passage, I am unable to say whether (as proposed by Dr Fleet) this should be altered to *gatam*

<sup>13</sup> Here one or two *aksharas* are illegible

<sup>14</sup> Here one *akshara* is illegible

<sup>15</sup> Ravikīrti in verses 1-3 glorifies first the Jaina prophet, Jinendra, for whom he has built the temple at which the inscription was engraved, secondly (*tad=anu*), the Chalukya family, the history of which forms the theme of his poem, and lastly, his patron, the king Satyāśraya (Pulikeśin II) of that family. Similarly, in the first three verses of the (unpublished) Tālgund Kadamba inscription the poet Kubja first glorifies the god Sthānu (Siva), near whose temple the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman founded a tank, secondly (*tam=anu*), the Brahman caste to which the Kadambas, whose rise to power Kubja describes, belonged, and lastly, the king Kākusthavarman himself—With the epithet commencing with *otla*, compare *otla jaṇma jarasam (param śuchi brahmanah param)* in the *Kīrātārjunīya*, V 22

<sup>16</sup> Interpreted by Pāṇini's rule, I 3, 10, *yathā samkhyam=anudēśah samānām*, the statement that Satyāśraya bestowed 'gifts and honours on the brave and on the learned' would mean, that he bestowed gifts on the brave and honours on the learned. But the fact that the king really bestowed gifts and honours, both together, on the brave as well as on the learned, shows that the above statement should not be interpreted by, or, as the poet puts it, that Satyāśraya did not act in accordance with, Pāṇini's *yāthasamkhyā* rule. As Ravikīrti here refers to Pāṇini, I 3, 10, so Bhāravi in the *Kīrātārjunīya*, XIII 19, clearly refers to the immediately preceding rule of Pāṇini's, I 3, 10, *tasya lōpaḥ*, compare Mallinātha's commentary on the verse. Similarly, to give only one more instance, Kālidāsa in the *Raghuvamśa*, XII 58 (*dhatōh sthāna sv=adēśam*), alludes to Pāṇini, I 1, 56, *sthānivad=adēśo=naḥ=vidhau*

(V. 4.) When many members of that race, bent on conquest, applied to whom the title of Favourite of the Earth had at last become appropriate, had passed away,—

(V 5) There was, of the Chalukya lineage, the king named Jayasimha-vallabha, who in battle—where horses, footsoldiers and elephants, bewildered, fell down under the strokes of many hundreds of weapons, and where thousands of frightful headless trunks and of flashes of rays of swords were leaping to and fro<sup>1</sup>—by his bravery made Fortune his own, even though she is suspected of fickleness<sup>2</sup>

(V 6) His son was he who was named Ranarāga, of divine dignity, the one master of the world, whose superhuman nature, (even) when he was asleep, people know from the pre-eminence of his form<sup>3</sup>

(V 7) His son was Polekésin, who, though endowed with the moon's Beauty, and though the favourite of Fortune, became the bridegroom of Vātāpūri.<sup>4</sup>

(V 8) Whose path in the pursuit of the three objects of life<sup>5</sup> the kings on earth even now are unable to follow, and bathed by whom with the water of the purificatory rite, when he performed the horse-sacrifice, the earth beamed with brightness

(V 9) His son was Kirtivarman, the night of doom to the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas, whose mind, although his thoughts kept aloof from others' wives, was attracted by the Fortune of his adversary

(V 10) Who, having secured the fortune of victory by his valour in war, being a scent-elephant of a king, of great strength, at once completely broke down the multitude of the broad kadamba trees—the Kadambas<sup>6</sup>

(V 11) When his desire was bent on the dominion of the lord of the gods,<sup>7</sup> his younger brother Mangalēśa became king, who by the sheets of dust of his army of horse, encamped on the shores of the eastern and western seas, stretched an awning over the quarters<sup>8</sup>

(V 12) Who in that house which was the battle-field took in marriage the damsel, the Fortune of the Katachchuris, having scattered the gathering gloom, (viz) the array of elephants (of the adversary), with hundreds of bright-rayed lamps, (viz) the swords (of his followers)

(V 13) And again, when he was desirous of taking the island of Rēvatī, his great army with many bright banners, which had ascended the ramparts, as it was reflected in the water of the sea appeared like Varuna's forces, quickly come there at once at his word (of command)

<sup>1</sup> Literally, 'dancing' The compound commencing with *nrityat-* reminds one of *Ragh* VII 48, where a warrior whose head has been cut off with the sword (*khadga*) rises into the sky, and from there views his headless trunk dancing on the battle-field (*nrityat-kabandham samarē dadarā*)—The preceding *śva patti dvīpa* is equivalent to *śva dvīpa vīra*, *ibid* verse 39

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Ragh* XVII 46, *chapaḥ=apī svabhāvataḥ* Śrīh

<sup>3</sup> The gods are called *a nimēśa*, or *a-nimēśa*, because they do not shut their eyes (compare *Ragh* III 43) When the king was asleep, he did shut his eyes, yet even then the pre-eminence of his form shewed him to be a god *Vapuh prakarsha* occurs e.g. *ibid* III 34 and 52, and *Kir* III 2—It may be noted that the word *jagad-ēkanāthah*, used in this verse, occurs in *Ragh* V 23, together with *deyārāja kāntih* which is synonymous with the epithet *śrīr endukāntih* in the next verse of this inscription

<sup>4</sup> Beauty (*Kānti*) personified is regarded as the wife of the Moon The town Vātāpūri is represented by the poet as a newly married woman (*Vātāpūry=ēva vadhūr=navōdhā, tasyā varō vōdhā*), compare *Ragh* XVII 25, *rājyātrī-vadhū-varah*

<sup>5</sup> I.e. *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*

<sup>6</sup> The expression *prithu Kadamba-kadamba kadambakam* apparently was suggested to our author by the *prithu-kadamba kadambaka* in *Kir* V 9 In the Tālgund Kadamba inscription the *kadamba* tree and the Kadamba family have the epithet *uru*, corresponding to the adjective *prithu* in the present inscription and in the Kañthēm plates, *Ind Ant* Vol XVI p 22, l 21.

<sup>7</sup> I.e. when he died

<sup>8</sup> Compare *Ragh* XVIII 22, *vēlā tatēś=ūshita-sainikāścam*, and IX 50, *gaganam=śvakhur-bādhata-rēnubhir=nrī savitā sa-vitānam=śvākarōt* The eastern and western seas bound the earth on either side, compare *Kumārāmbhava*, I 1

(V. 14) When his elder brother's son, named Polekēśin, of a dignity like Nahusha's, was coveted by Fortune,<sup>1</sup> and finding his uncle to be jealous of him thereat, had formed the resolution to wander abroad as an exile,<sup>2</sup>—

(V. 15) That Mangalēśa, whose great strength became on all sides reduced by the application of the powers of good counsel and energy gathered by Him,<sup>3</sup> abandoned, together with the effort to secure the kingdom for<sup>4</sup> his own son, both that no mean kingdom of his and his life

(V. 16) Then, on the subversion of that rule encompassed by the darkness of enemies, the whole world grew light again, invaded as it were by the lustrous rays of His irresistible splendour. Or when was it that the sky ceased to be black like a swarm of bees with thundering clouds, in which flashes of lightning were dancing like banners, and the edges of which were crushed in the rushing wind?<sup>5</sup>

(V. 17) When, having found the opportunity, he who was named Āppāyika, and Gōvinda approached with their troops of elephants to conquer the country north of the Bhaimarathi, the one in battle through His armies came to know the taste of fear,<sup>6</sup> while the other at once received the reward of the services rendered by him

(V. 18) When He was besieging Vanavāsi, which for a girdle<sup>7</sup> has the rows of *hamsa* birds that sport on the high waves of the Varadā as their play-place, and which by its wealth

<sup>1</sup> A comparison with *Ragh* V 38 suggests the interpretation that it was desired to confer on Polekēśin the dignity of *Fucardja*, or heir apparent.

<sup>2</sup> The verb *apa-rudh* means 'to debar, to shut out from, to banish, to exile,' it is often joined with *rāshtrāt*, *rāshtrād=aparuddha* being equivalent to *rāshtrād=bhrashta*, and *aparuddha=charat* is used of a person who as an exile wanders about in foreign countries. Already in the *Atharvaveda*, III 3, 5, we find the phrase *anyakṣētrē aparuddham charantam*, in a hymn by which the restoration of an exiled king is accomplished, see Bloomfield's *Atharvaveda*, p 74. And in the *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa*, VIII 10— I take this quotation from the St Petersburg Dictionary—the manner in which a prince who has lost his kingdom may regain it, is described thus *Yady u vā enam upadhavēd rāśhtrād aparudhyamānāḥ tathā mē kuruyathā dham idam rāshtram punar avagachchhanti, idam evānam dīdam upaniṣhkrāmoyēt, tathā ha rāshtram punar avagachchhāt*; 'if ever there should seek shelter with him (i.e. with the anointed Kshatriya) one who is being shut out from his kingdom, saying "act for me in such a manner that I may regain this kingdom," he (i.e. the anointed Kshatriya) should let him depart in this (north eastern) direction, so verily he recovers his kingdom.' From all this it is clear that what our poet wishes us to understand, is, that Polekēśin, either banished by Mangalēśa or having left the country from fear of him, went to neighbouring princes and asked their assistance in the recovery of his rights. The expression *aparuddha charita* is used by the poet with special reference to the phrase *aparuddha=charat*, as explained above—*Vyavasāya buddhi* is used by Kālidāsa in the *Kumārasambhava*, IV 45.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. Polekēśin, whose exploits are eulogized in verses 15-32. In the original the sentences in these verses are all relative clauses, the relative pronouns of which are correlated with the *tasya* at the commencement of verse 35. In my translation I have written the pronoun, when it refers to Polekēśin, with an initial capital letter.

<sup>4</sup> For the use of the word *gata* compare e.g. *Sītā gatam snēham*, 'his love for Sītā,' in *Ragh* XV 86, see also above, verse 11, *vibhūtiḥ gatā dīkṣā*.

<sup>5</sup> The first half of the verse states that, as the rising sun dissipates the darkness of night, so Polekēśin dispersed the enemies who on the destruction of Mangalēśa's rule (literally, of the umbrella which is the sign of sovereignty) on all sides beset the realm. And the second half impresses on the reader the fact that only then, on Polekēśin's rise to power, and at no other time, the troubles attending Mangalēśa's destruction were put an end to. Though the poet, employing the rhetorical figure of *aprasutaprasādam*, in the second half of the verse actually speaks of a phenomenon of nature, the clearance of the sky of storm clouds by the agency of the sun, the context and his choice of the words (*patāka*, *paryanta bhāga*, the verb *garj* for which see e.g. *Ragh* IX 9, and *aḥ lula* which recalls *ari kula*) at once suggest to the reader what is intended to be conveyed. The question ending with *kadd vā* undoubtedly requires an answer in the negative (*na kaddāpi*). The word *tavat* with which the verse commences I take in the sense of *tasminn=avasarē* or *tatkālā eva*, compare e.g. *Kumārasambhava*, VII 30 and 63. With the second half of the verse compare Varahamihira's description of the clouds at the time of an earthquake, *Bṛhatasamhitā*, XXXII 17.

<sup>6</sup> Compare *Ragh* III 26, *sutasparśarajñātām yayau*.

<sup>7</sup> The city of Vanavāsi, being represented as a woman, has for her tinkling girdle the rows of singing *Varasa* birds that play in the Varadā river which flows close to the town. Compare *Ragh* IX 37, also *ibid* XIX 40, *sakātam cha Sarayām vivrincatīnī trōnī dīmbam=iva hamsa mēkhalam*, and *K'r* IV 1, *l'ya' alāṅgana mēkhalam . . . prīyam=iva . . . bhuvam*.

rivalled the city of the gods, that fortress on land, having the surface of the earth all around covered with the great sea of his army, to the looker-on seemed at once converted into a fortress in the water

(V 19) Although in former days they had acquired happiness by renouncing the seven sins, the Ganga and Âlupa lords, being subdued by His dignity, were always intoxicated by drinking the nectar of close attendance upon him <sup>1</sup>

(V 20) In the Konkanas the impetuous waves of the forces directed by Him speedily swept away the rising wavelets of pools<sup>2</sup>—the Mauryas.

(V 21) When, radiant like the destroyer<sup>3</sup> of Pura, He besieged Puri, the Fortune of the western sea, with hundreds of ships in appearance like arrays of rutting elephants, the sky, dark-blue as a young lotus and covered with tiers of massive clouds, resembled the sea, and the sea was like the sky <sup>4</sup>

(V 22) Subdued by His splendour, the Lâṭas, Mâlavas and Gûrjaras became as it were teachers of how feudatories, subdued by force, ought to behave <sup>5</sup>

(V. 23) Harsha, whose lotus-feet were arrayed with the rays of the jewels of the diadems of hosts of feudatories prosperous with unmeasured might, through Him had his mirth (*harsha*) melted away by fear, having become loathsome with his rows of lordly elephants fallen in battle

(V. 24) While He was ruling the earth with his broad armies, the neighbourhood of the Vindhya, by no means destitute of the lustre of the many sandbanks of the Rêvâ, shone even more brightly by his great personal splendour, having to be avoided by his elephants because, as it seemed, they by their bulk rivalled the mountains <sup>6</sup>

(V 25) Almost<sup>7</sup> equal to Indra, He by means of all the three powers, gathered by him according to rule, and by his noble birth<sup>8</sup> and other excellent qualities, acquired the sovereignty over the three Mahârâshtrakas with their nine and ninety thousand villages.

<sup>1</sup> Though they had renounced the vice of drink together with the other six vices, they again became drunkards. The seven vices are enumerated e.g. in the verse (Böhtlingk's *Ind Sprüche*, 2994) *Dyûtam mârsam surâ vasy=âi hêta chaurya parânganah | mahâpâpâni sapt=avva vyasanâni tyajéd=budhah ||*

<sup>2</sup> Compare the *Mâlavihagnimitra*, in the first act, *atrabharatah lila mama cha samudra-palilalayôr=antaram=astî*, the comparison apparently is a proverbial one.—The juxtaposition of the two words *chanda* and *danda* also is most common, compare e.g. *Ind Ant* Vol XX p 415 (*South-Ind Inscr* Vol I p 33), l 11 of the text, *Yama danda chanda dorddanda*, *South-Ind Inscr* Vol II p 349, l 55 (as corrected by Dr Hultzsch), *bâhu danda chand atani*, *Ep Ind* Vol II p, 218, l 40, *chand dsi-danda*, etc. Compare also the very common title or epithet *mahâprachanda-dandanâyaka*, *Ind Ant* Vol X p 127, l 6 of the text, and elsewhere

<sup>3</sup> I.e. the god Siva

<sup>4</sup> For a similar way of comparing heaven and earth with each other see *Ragh* IV 29, *ôhvas=talam=iva vyôma kuran=vyôm=eva bhutalam*

<sup>5</sup> Although the Lâṭas etc., impressed by his majesty and power, had voluntarily submitted to him or sought his protection, they behaved so humbly and obediently as by their conduct to set an example to others whom he had subjected by force. Compare *Pagh* XVII 81, where the *dandopanata charita* of the gods Indra etc. towards the king Atithi is described. With *âchâryâ abhavan* one may compare *âchâryakam chakrê*, *ibid* XII 78

<sup>6</sup> Really the mountainous country of the Vindhya had to be avoided by the king's elephants, because it was impracticable for them, but the poet's reason is, that the elephants were higher than the Vindhya. If they had gone there, the Vindhya by the presence of these mountain like elephants would have transgressed the command of the sage Agastya (the *Vindhyaśya samstambhayitâ mahadrêh*, *Ragh* VI 61, see also XII 31) that it should not grow higher so long as Agastya remained in the south. In this way the very absence of the king's elephants becomes an additional token of his might.—With the whole verse compare *Ragh* XVI 31, for the use of *avandhya* see *ibid* I 86, *âfamtê drandhya prârthana*, literally 'one whose prayer is not destitute of fulfilment'

<sup>7</sup> He was like Indra because, like that deity, he possessed certain *śaktis*, but was inferior to him because his *śaktis* were only three (the powers of mastery, good counsel, and energy), while Indra possesses eight *Śaktis* (*Indrâni* etc.)

<sup>8</sup> According to Pânini, IV 1, 141, *śâhâkula* would mean 'born in a noble family'



(V. 26) Through the excellencies of their householders prominent in the pursuit of the three objects of life, and having broken the pride of other rulers of the earth, the Kalingas with the Kōśalas by His army were made to evince signs of fear

(V 27) Hard pressed (*piśhṭa*) by Him, Pīṣṭapura became a fortress not difficult of access, wonderful (*to relate*), the ways of the Kali age to Him<sup>1</sup> were quite inaccessible<sup>1</sup>

(V 28) Ravaged by Him, the water of Kunāla<sup>2</sup>—coloured with the blood of men killed with many weapons, and the land within it overspread with arrays of accoutred elephants—was like the cloud-covered sky in which the red evening-twilight has risen<sup>3</sup>

(V. 29) With his sixfold forces,<sup>4</sup> the hereditary troops and the rest, who raised spotless chowries, hundreds of flags, umbrellas, and darkness,<sup>5</sup> and who churned the enemy elated with the sentiments of heroism and energy, He caused the splendour of the lord of the Pallavas, who had opposed the rise of his power, to be obscured by the dust of his army, and to vanish behind the walls of Kāñchipura<sup>6</sup>

(V. 30) When straightway He strove to conquer the Chōlas, the Kāvērī, who has the darting carps for her tremulous eyes, had her current obstructed by the causeway formed by his elephants whose rutting-juice was dripping down, and avoided the contact with the ocean.<sup>7</sup>

(V 31) There He caused great prosperity to the Chōlas, Kēralas and Pāndyas, he being the hot-rayed sun to the hoar-frost—the army of the Pallavas

(V. 32) While He, Satyāśraya, endowed with the powers of energy, mastery and good counsel,—having conquered all the quarters, having dismissed the kings full of honours, having done homage to gods and Brāhmins, having entered the city of Vātāpi—is ruling, like one city, this earth which has the dark-blue waters of the surging sea for its moat,<sup>8</sup>

(V 33) (Now) when thirty (and) three thousand and five years besides, joined with seven hundred years, have passed since the Bhārata war,

<sup>1</sup> Against Pāṇini, II 3, 69, the genitive case is used in construction with *durgama* in accordance with the maxim *khalārtha-yōgāpī tīṣṭha-ivakāśhādyān shashṣhīm=śchēhantī*, see e.g. Mallinātha on *Ragh* XVII 70, where Kālidāsa has *tarya* (instead of *tīna*) *durlabhah*

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the Kunāla (Kolana, Kollern) lake, compare my introductory remarks, above, p. 2 f

<sup>3</sup> Compare *Ragh* XVI 58 (especially the words *galit āngardgaish samāhyōdayah sabbha iva*), XI 60 (*sāmdhya-mēgha rudhira*), and *Kir* IX 9 (*sthapita-vārida-panktyā samāhyayā*)

<sup>4</sup> For the *śhadowidham balam* see *Ragh* IV 26 and XVII 67

<sup>5</sup> The darkness raised by the troops is the dust, the *rajō-andhakāra* of *Ragh* VII 39 (In *Kir* XVII 20 we similarly have a *śar-andhakāra*, and in the *Vikramānkadevacharita*, I 75, a *khadg andhakāra*) The poetical beauty here lies in the fact that darkness is enumerated together with such very different things as chowries *etc*

<sup>6</sup> *Balarajassañchanna-Kāñchīpuraprakāśāntarita* is a Karmadhāraya compound. The splendour of the Pallava first (when he was defeated in the open) was only obscured, afterwards (when he had to retire within the walls of his fortress) it entirely vanished. The poet of course wishes us to understand that the splendour of the Pallava is compared with the sun

<sup>7</sup> The verse clearly was suggested to our author by *Ragh* IV 45 *Sa sainya-paribhōgēna gajaddna-sugandhinā | Kāvērī saritā palyuh sankantya-m=iv=ākarōt ||* By the fact that his soldiers used the water of the river for bathing *etc*, and in doing so made it fragrant with the rutting-juice of their elephants, Raghu made the (river) Kāvērī an object of suspicion for the ocean, her husband, who by the smell of her body would be led to believe that she had had intercourse with other men. Ravikīrti too mentions the rutting-juice, but does so in a mere *epitheton ornans* which he might as well have omitted, because in his verse the real reason for the Kāvērī's keeping away from the ocean is, that her current was obstructed by the bulky elephants on which Polekēśin crossed the river. Ravikīrti has spoiled Kālidāsa's verse by crowding into it an idea from *Ragh* IV 38 (*sa tīrtā Kapidām sainyair=baddha-dvirāda stūbhāh*)—The epithet of the Kāvērī, *druta-sapharī vilōla nītrā*, apparently was suggested by the epithet *sapharī parisphurita chāru-dvīpāh* in *Kir* VI 16 (compare also *ibid* IV 3), *prāśhyōtan-mada* occurs *ibid* VII 35

<sup>8</sup> Part of this verse was suggested by *Ragh* IV 85 87, describing the conclusion of Raghu's *dig vijaya*. With the end of the verse compare *ibid* I 30: *Sa vīdā vapravalayām parikṣhīkṛta sāgarām | ananyāśasandm=ureṣh śāśā=aśa-purīm=iva ||*



(V. 34) And when fifty (*and*) six and five hundred years of the Śaka kings also have gone by in the Kali age;

(V 35) This stone mansion of Jinēndra, a mansion of every kind of greatness, has been caused to be built by the wise Ravikīrti, who has obtained the highest favour of that Satyāśraya whose rule is bounded by the three oceans

(V 36) Of this eulogy and of this dwelling of the Jina revered in the three worlds,<sup>1</sup> the wise Ravikīrti himself is the author and also the founder.

(V 37) May that Ravikīrti be victorious, who full of discernment has used the abode of the Jina, firmly built of stone, for a new treatment of his theme,<sup>2</sup> and who thus by his poetic skill has attained to the fame of Kālidāsa and of Bhāravi!<sup>3</sup>

## No 2 — TWO KADAMBA GRANTS

By F KIELHORN, PH D, LL D, C I E, GÖTTINGEN

Both these grants were discovered by Mr B L Rice, C I E, Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore, and are edited here, with his kind permission, from ink-impressions made in 1892 by Dr Fleet from the original plates, which Mr Rice had been good enough to send to him for examination. Dr Fleet has placed the impressions at my disposal, and has also supervised the preparation of the accompanying photo-lithographs

### A — KŪDGERE PLATES OF VIJAYA-ŚIVA-MĀNDHĀTRIVARMAN.

The second year.

These plates were obtained by Mr Rice at Kūdgerē in the Shikārpur tāluka of the Shimoga district of Mysore, and were first publicly mentioned in his *Report* for 1890-1. A summary of their contents has been already given by Dr Fleet, in his *Dynasties*, second ed, p 290

These are three copper-plates, the first and last of which are inscribed on one side only, and each of which measures about  $6\frac{5}{8}$ " broad by 3' high. The plates are quite smooth, their edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. They are thin, but, the engraving being shallow, though otherwise quite good, the letters do not shew through on the reverse sides at all. The interiors of the letters, here and there, shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool. Various marks and faint lines on the margins and between the lines of writing, in my opinion, render it very probable that the plates originally bore another inscription. The ring on which the plates are strung seems to be of brass, not of copper, it is a plain one, about  $\frac{3}{16}$ " thick and  $2\frac{7}{8}$ " in diameter. It had already been cut when the grant came into Dr Fleet's hands. There is no seal, and no indication about the ring of one having ever been attached to it. The weight of the three plates is 13 oz, and of the ring,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  oz, total,  $14\frac{1}{4}$  oz. — The writing is well preserved. The size of the letters is about  $\frac{5}{16}$ ". The characters are of the 'box-headed' type of the southern alphabet, and in their general appearance, among Kadamba inscriptions,

<sup>1</sup> Or 'the preceptor of the three worlds'

<sup>2</sup> Viz the history of the Chalukyas — In the original verse observe the *Yamakas* at the ends of the first and second, and of the third and fourth Pādas (*jinaśīlma* and *ravikīrtiś*). The locative *artha-vidhau* is a good instance of a *nimitta saptaṁś*

<sup>3</sup> I purposely omit from my translation the line which follows in the original, and which is a later addition to the poem. The first part of it enumerates six villages, the revenues of which apparently were assigned to the temple of Jinēndra founded by Ravikīrti. The concluding part of it, which speaks of boundaries, I do not understand

resemble most those of the Dêvagere plates of the fourth year and the Halsi plates of the *Mahârâja* Mrigêśavarman (*Ind Ant* Vol VII p 37, and Vol VI p 24, Plates) As regards individual letters, I would draw attention to the very clear and distinct form of *ḡh* in *drīdha*, l 6 (as compared with the sign for *d* in *Kaundinya*, l 9), to the form of the Dravidian *l* in *Kolāla*, l 7, and to the fact that the subscript *t*—while in the conjunct *kt* it is denoted by the ordinary sign for *t* (without the loop) used in this inscription, and in *nt* by the sign with the loop—in the conjunct *tt* is written in both ways, as may be seen *eg* from *sva-dattām* and *para-dattām*, in line 14 I would lay some stress on this last point, because we have the same two ways of writing the conjunct *tt* also in the Dêvagere plates of the third year of the *Mahârâja* Mrigêśavarman, in which the single *t*, as in the present inscription, is always denoted by the sign without the loop,<sup>1</sup> (compare *ibid* Vol VII p 35, Plate, *nivarttanam* in line 12, and the same word and *dattavân* in line 13) For final consonants the full signs, written below the line, are used in *dattavân*, l 12 *pramādât*, l 13, and *-bhāk*, l 16 Final *m* is written in the same way in *siddham*, l 1, but in other places where my text shews a final *m*, that letter is denoted by a small hook, engraved at the bottom of the line—The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of two benedictive and imprecatory verses, the text is in prose In respect of orthography, I need only mention that the word *brahma* is written *bramha*, in line 10 The phraseology of the text is the usual one, except that some rare technical terms occur in lines 8 and 9

The inscription records that the *Dharmamahârâja* of (the family of) the Kadambas, Vijaya-Śiva-Māndhâtṛivarman, at Vaijayanti (i.e. Banavâsi), on the full-moon tithi of Vaiśākha in the second year (of his reign), granted some land at the village of Kolāla to a spiritual teacher (perhaps the king's own teacher), named Dêvasarman The charter (*patikā*) was written by the *rahasy-ādhyakṣita*,<sup>2</sup> or private secretary, Dāmôdaradatta

The genealogy of Māndhâtṛivarman is not given, and as his name does not occur in the published inscriptions, his relation to the known princes of the same family cannot for the present be determined with any certainty But I may say that a comparison of this inscription with the other Kadamba inscriptions would lead me to connect Māndhâtṛivarman more closely with Mrigêśavarman than with any other Kadamba prince. Palæographical reasons for this statement have been given above Other reasons are, that both princes, and they only, are described as residing at Vaijayanti, that one is called Vijaya-Śiva-Mrigêśavarman,<sup>3</sup> and the other Vijaya-Śiva-Māndhâtṛivarman; and that, corresponding to the epithets of Māndhâtṛivarman in the present inscription, *anêka-sucharit-ôpachita-vipula-punya-skandha* and *âhav-ârjita-vipula-parama-drīdha-sattva*, we have, in Mrigêśavarman's inscriptions, *anêka-janmôntar-ôpârjita-vipula-punya-skandha* (*Ind Ant* Vol VII p 35, l 4, and p 37, l 6 of the text), and *âhav-ârjita-parama-ruchira-drīdha-sattva* (*ibid* p 35, l 5) or *naik-âhav-ârjita-parama-drīdha-sattva* (*ibid* p 37, l 10) All this looks to me as if Māndhâtṛivarman might have been either, as a younger brother of Śântivarman, the immediate predecessor of Mrigêśavarman, or the younger brother and immediate successor of this prince

<sup>1</sup> The case is different *eg* with the Halsi plates of the fifth year of the *Mahârâja* Harivarman (*Ind Ant* Vol VI p 31, Plate), where the single *t* is denoted by both the sign without the loop and the sign with the loop, and where *tt* is written in three different ways (by two signs of *t* without the loop, both with the loop, and the first without the loop, and the second with it)

<sup>2</sup> The same official title (in Prakrit *rahasādhyakṣita*) occurs in the Pallava inscription in *Ep Ind* Vol I p 7, l 50 of the text The same inscription has another rare term in common with the present inscription, see below, p 15, note 7 The *rahasy adhyakṣita* in other inscriptions is called simply *rahasya*, see above, Vol III p 21, note 1

<sup>3</sup> See *Ind Ant* Vol VII p 37, ll 4 and 17 of the text Mrigêśavarman is so called also in the Hitnahebbagūlu plates, *Ep Carn* Vol IV p 136, No 18 The same plates apparently have in common with the present inscription the rare term *antañjāra viśhṭika*, which I have not found elsewhere (The term *parihṛita-pang-śikōḡa* in the same plates may be compared with *sarova-panga-parihṛita*—not *sarva-panga parihṛita*, as printed—in line 5 of the Goa plates of Śaka-Samvat 532, *Jour. Bo. As Soc* Vol X p 365, and Plates)

The village of Kolāla, which is mentioned in this inscription, I am unable to identify with certainty. The *Madras Postal Directory* shows two villages named 'Kolala,' in the Tumkūr district of Mysore,—one in the Tiptūr tāluka, post-town 'Turnvekere,' and the other in the Tumkūr tāluka, post-town 'Kolala' itself, probably Kolāla is one or other of these

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>*First Plate*

- 1 Siddham || Śrī-vijaya-Vaijayantyām<sup>2</sup> dharmmamahārājah  
 2 Svāmī-Mahāsēna-mātrigan-ānūdhāt-abhishiktaḥ  
 3 Mānavya-sagotrō Hāriti-putrah pratikṛta-svādhyāya-  
 4 charchchikah Kadambānām śrī-Vijaya-Śiva-Māndhātṛivarmma

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 5 anēka-<sup>3</sup>suchi(char)it-ō pachita-vipula-punya-skandhaḥ  
 6 āhav-ārjita-vipula-parama-dṛidha sat[t\*]vah savassarē<sup>4</sup>  
 7 dvitiyē Vaiśākha-paurṇamāsyām Kolāla-grāmē sīmnī<sup>5</sup>  
 8 sa-pāniya-pātam sa-dakṣiṇam a-khatvā-vās-audana[m]<sup>6</sup>

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 9 a-bhata-pravēśam antahkara-vipti(shti)ka[m] Kaundinya-  
 10 sagotrāya datt-ānuyōgāya Taittirīya-sabramha(hma)-  
 11 chārīnē Dēvaśarmanē Modekarani-nāma-halam  
 12 rāja-mānēna vimśati-nivarttanam kēdāram da[tta]vān [I\*]<sup>7</sup>

*Third Plate*

- 13 Pramādāt <sup>8</sup>adharmmād=vā yō=sy=ābhūha[r]tt[ā] sa  
 pā[taka]-sa[m]yukt[ō]  
 14 bhavati [I\*] Uktañ=cha [I\*] <sup>9</sup>Sva-dattām para-datt[ām] vā<sup>10</sup> yō  
 harēna(ta) vasundharām [I\*]  
 15 shapthim(shtim) varsha-sahasrāni narakē pachyatē tu  
 saḥ || Yō=sya  
 16 abhṛakṣitā sa tat-phala-bhāk [I\*] Uktañ=cha [I\*] Bahubhī<sup>11</sup>  
 vasudhā bhuktā  
 17 rājabhīḥ=Sagar-ādibhīḥ [I\*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmih<sup>12</sup> bhūmas=tasya  
 tasya tadā phala[m] [I\*]  
 18 [D]ām[ō]daradatēna<sup>13</sup> rahasy-ādhibhīritēna lkhīt=ēyam pattikā ||

<sup>1</sup> From Dr Fleet's impressions

<sup>2</sup> Here, and in other places below, the rules of *sandh:* have not been observed

<sup>3</sup> Originally *sū* seems to have been engraved

<sup>4</sup> Read *samvatsarē* The alteration of *ssa* into *tsa* seems to have been made already in the original

<sup>5</sup> Below the *s* of this word originally the letter *m* was engraved Read *grāma sīmnī*

<sup>6</sup> Originally the full sign of *m* (*ma*) was engraved here, but, with the exception of the 'box' at the top, it has been effaced

<sup>7</sup> Below this line some writing—perhaps the words *pramādāt adharmmād=vā yō=sy=d* of the next line—was engraved, and cancelled again

<sup>8</sup> Instead of the initial *a* the *alshara pra* was originally engraved

<sup>9</sup> Metre, here and below Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh)

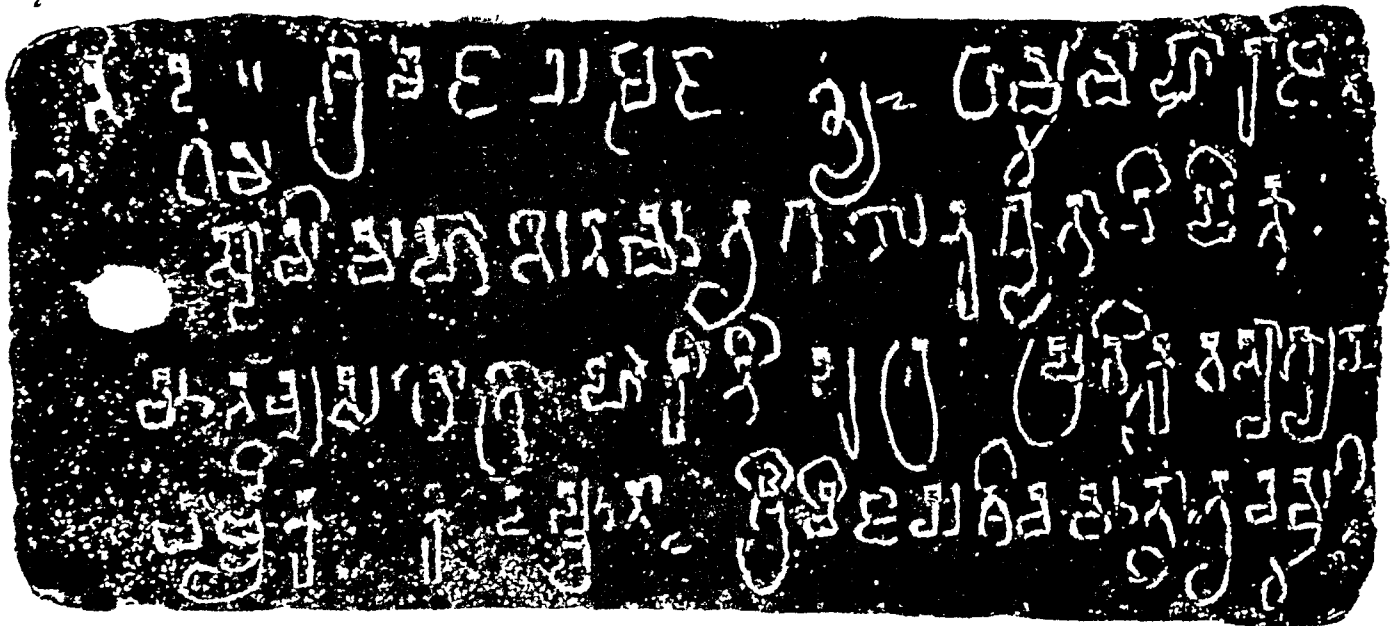
<sup>10</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>11</sup> Read *baḥubhīr=*

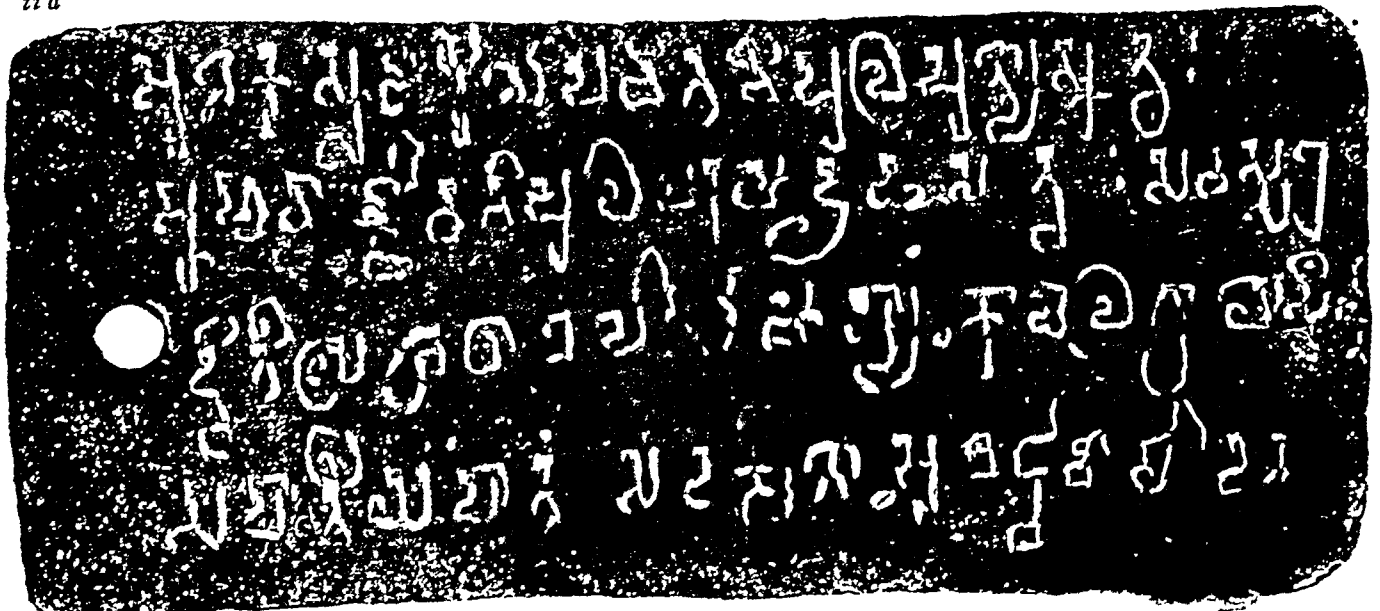
<sup>12</sup> Read *bhūmī=sasya*

<sup>13</sup> Read *dattāna*.

2



21 a



ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥  
सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं  
सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं  
सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं  
सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥  
सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं  
सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं  
सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं  
सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं सर्वत्र भगवत्पदं

## TRANSLATION.

(Lane 1) (*Be it*) accomplished <sup>1</sup> At (*the city*) of victory, the famous Vaijayanti, the Dharmamahārāja<sup>1</sup>—anointed after meditating on Svāmi-Mahāsēna and the assemblage of the Mothers, belonging to the Mānavya gōtra (*and*) a son<sup>2</sup> of Hārīti, studying the requital (*of good or evil*) as his sacred text,<sup>3</sup>—the glorious Vijaya-Śiva-Māndhātṛivarman of (*the family of*) the Kadambas, who by his many good actions has accumulated an abundant store of religious merit, and has acquired in war abundant and supreme enduring strength, on the full-moon tithi of Vaiśākha in the second year (of his reign), has given, with pouring out of water<sup>4</sup> (*and*) with a present (*of money*), the plough-land called<sup>5</sup> Modekarani within the borders of the village of Kolāla, by the king's measure a field of twenty *nivartanas*, to the spiritual teacher<sup>6</sup> Dēvaśarman, who belongs to the Kaundinya gōtra and is a student of the Taittirīya Vēda,—exempt from (*the duty of providing*) cots,<sup>7</sup> abode, and boiled rice, free from the ingress of soldiers (*and*) exempt from internal taxes and forced labour <sup>8</sup>

(L 13) He who from wantonness or wickedness takes away this (*gift*), is guilty of sin And it has been said Whosoever should take away land given by himself or given by

<sup>1</sup> I.e. 'the Mahārāja who is devoted to religion,' but the whole is used as a title, as *dharma mahārājā-dhārāja* and *dharma-yucamahārāja* are in Pallava inscriptions

<sup>2</sup> This must not be taken literally. The Kadambas generally were *Hārītiputras*, and therefore individual Kadamba Kings also have the same epithet

<sup>3</sup> Instead of *pratīkṛita svādhyāya-charchika*, which occurs also in the Halsi plates of the Mahārāja Harivarman (*Ind Ant Vol VI p 30*), other Kadamba plates have *pratīkṛita svādhyāya charchaka* (*ibid Vol VII p 35*), *pratīkṛita svādhyāya charchāpāra* (*ibid Vol VII p 31*, *Ep Carn Vol IV p 136*, and below p 18), *pratīkṛita svādhyāya-charchā pāra* (*Ind Ant Vol VI p 25*, and *Vol VII p 33*), and *pratīkṛita-charchāpāra* (*ibid Vol VII p 37*), where the word *svādhyāya* has probably been omitted by mistake. Since all these epithets apparently are synonymous, it will be sufficient to analyse one of them, and I select for the purpose *pratīkṛita-svādhyāya charchāpāra*. *Charchāpāra*, which in the *Mahābhāṣya* on P III 2, 1, is given by the side of *vēdadhya*, 'one who studies the Vēda,' according to Haradatta denotes 'a person who repeats or studies a particular text, (*charchām pārayati*), and *svādhyāya-charchāpāra* therefore would be 'one who studies his Vēdic text'. The word *pratīkṛita*, in previous translations of Kadamba inscriptions, has been either omitted or rendered by 'adopted,' a meaning which *pratīkṛita* cannot well convey. In my opinion, it will be safer to take the word as a substantive and in its well known sense of 'requital, recompense,' and to regard *pratīkṛita-svādhyāya* as a Karmadharaya compound (in the sense of *svādhyāya va pratīkṛitam* or *pratīkṛitam eva svādhyāyah*), so that the whole epithet would denote 'one who studies the requital (of good or evil) as his sacred text'. If this interpretation be correct, I cannot help thinking that the epithet alludes to the history of the Kadambas, as told in the Talgund inscription (*Dr Fleet's Dynasties*, second ed., p 286, *Ind. Ant Vol XXV. p 27*). So long as the Kadambas were private Brahmans, it was one of their chief duties to study the sacred texts, in other words, they were *svādhyāya charchāpārās*. When they had become kings, it was an equally sacred duty for them to requite good and evil, to do so was, what the study of the Vēda had been to them before, and thus, having been *svādhyāya charchāpārās*, they then were *pratīkṛita svādhyāya charchāpārās*.

<sup>4</sup> The phrase *sa pāntya-pātā*, which also occurs below, p 18, l 17, and in *Ep Carn Vol IV p 136*, is equivalent to *udak' ātisargēna*, *udaka-pūrcam*, and similar expressions. In the same sense, but occasionally misunderstood, we repeatedly meet with *udakam pātetvā* in the *Jātakas*, compare e.g. *Vol III p 286, l 3*, *udakam pātetvā addā*, *Vol II p 371, l 13*, *surannabhīmārena pupphagandhavāsitaṃ udakam pātetvā addā*, and *Vol VI p 344, l 10*, *rājā tussitvā gandhodaḥapunnāṃ surannabhīmāram addā*.

<sup>5</sup> "gāmaṃ rāyabhogena dhuñjā" *ti seṭṭhiṣṣa hatthē udakam pātetvā*. This last quotation clearly states the well known fact that the water was poured into the hand of the donee—With the *sa dakṣiṇam* of our inscription compare the *sa hiraṇya[m\*]* in line 9 of the (spurious) Hoṣūr plates, *Ind Ant Vol VIII p 97*.

<sup>6</sup> Compare *Ind Ant Vol VI p 23, l 6* of the text, where also a field has a special name (*Beḷorara*).

<sup>7</sup> I take *datt' anyōga* to be equivalent to *anyōga kṛit*, which according to Goldstücker's *Dictionary* denotes 'an Āchārya or spiritual teacher'. Dēvaśarman was perhaps the king's own teacher.

<sup>8</sup> Compare *Ep Ind Vol I p. 6, l. 31* of the text, where also we have *khaṭṭāvāsa* (*khaṭvā vāsa*), in a Pallava inscription.

<sup>9</sup> The expression *antañkara-viśṭika* apparently occurs also in the Hiṇṇahebbāgula plates, *Ep Carn Vol IV. p 136, plate m. b, l 1*—[With *antañ-kara* compare *antar āyam*, 'internal revenue,' and its counterpart *puṇar āyam*, 'external revenue,' in *South Ind Inscr Vol III, No 61, text line 5 f*—E H]

others, he is burnt in hell for sixty-thousand years. He who preserves this (*gift*), shares the reward of it. And it has been said. The earth has been possessed by many kings, commencing with Sagara, to whomsoever at any time the land belongs, to him, for the time being, belongs the reward (*of a grant*).

(L 18) This charter was written by the private secretary Dāmōdaradatta.

## B — BANNAHALI PLATES OF KRISHNAVARMAN II

### The seventh year

These plates were discovered about 1888, while digging at Bannahalli in the Chikmagalur taluka of the Kadūr district of Mysore, and are now in the possession of the Patil of Halēbid. They were first publicly noticed by Mr. Rice in his *Inscriptions at Śravana-Belgola*, Introduction, p. 15, and an account of their contents is given by Dr. Fleet in his *Dynasties*, second ed., p. 220.

These are four copper-plates, the first and last of which are inscribed on one side only, and each of which measures about  $8\frac{3}{4}$ " broad by  $2\frac{3}{4}$ " high. They are quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. The engraving is good, but not very deep. The letters do not shew through on the reverse sides of the plates, they shew marks of the working of the engraver's tool, throughout. — On one of the edges, the plates are numbered, by four notches<sup>1</sup> on plate i, three on plate ii, two on plate iii, and one on plate iv (i.e. in exactly the reverse order), and near these notches there is also a single notch on each plate, whether this marking is ancient or recent, is not apparent. — The plates are strung on a ring, which had been cut already when the grant came into Dr. Fleet's hands, it is about  $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The ends of the ring are secured in a seal which is roughly circular, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. About a quarter of an inch from the edge of it, there is a raised rim, and inside this, in relief on a countersunk surface, there is a lion, standing to the proper right.<sup>2</sup> The weight of the four plates is 1 lb 9 $\frac{1}{4}$  oz, and of the ring and seal, 7 oz; total, 2 lbs  $\frac{3}{4}$  oz. — The writing is well preserved. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{1}{16}$ " and  $\frac{5}{16}$ ". The characters belong to the southern alphabet. With those of the Halsi plates of the fifth year of the Mahārāja Harivarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI p. 31, Plate) they have this in common that the letter *t*, both when used singly and in conjuncts, is mostly denoted by the sign with the loop, but otherwise they quite differ from those of other Kadamba inscriptions, and might, in their general appearance, rather be compared with the characters of the Chikkulla plates of Vikramēndravarmān II (above, Vol. IV p. 196, Plate). From the photo-lithograph it will be seen that the letters are frequently finished off, or embellished, with small circles. The *sva* in line 1 has two such circles at the ends of the lines on the proper right, the *sti* of the same word two at the bottom of the superscript *z*, and one at the end of the proper right stroke of *s*, the *ya* of the following word *jayaty* has two at the top; etc. I believe, there can be no doubt that by these circles the writer has tried to imitate the little 'boxes' of the characters of such inscriptions as the Uruvupalli plates of the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Vishnugōpavarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V p. 51, Plates), and has done this in a not very intelligent manner. A certain influence of the characters of Pallava inscriptions may perhaps be distinctly traced also in the use of the looped *t* already mentioned, and in the fact that in the *akshara nā* the vowel *ā* is here denoted by a separate downward stroke, while in other Kadamba inscriptions it is nearly always written, in the ordinary way, by bending back the last downward stroke of *n*, in an upward direction, compare the *aksharas nām* in line 4 of the present inscription, *nō* in line

<sup>1</sup> For other plates which are marked in the same manner, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> I owe the above information to Dr. Fleet, according to whom the later Kādambas, both of Hāṅgal and of Goṣa, also had the *śiṃha lāñchhana* or lion-crest, see his *Dynasties*, second ed., pp. 560 and 566. Mr. Rice finds the lion also on the seal of the Hitnabebhāgilu plates, see *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV Introduction, p. 2.

17 of the Uruvupalli plates, *nā* in line 3 of the plates of the Pallava Simhavarman (*Ind Ant Vol V* p 155, Plate), and *nā* in line 3 of the Halsi plates of the Kadamba Kākusthavarman (*ibid.* Vol VI p 23, Plate)<sup>1</sup> The usual test-letters, *lh* (in *duhllham*, l 22), *j*, *b*<sup>2</sup> and *l*, are all of the earlier type, but some other letters, such as the subscript *ṭ* of *śhṭi* in lines 2 and 24, the *sh* of *śrēshthā*, l 19, and some forms of *y* (as in *Kaṭhēya*, l 7, *samayāchāra*, l 18, *yō* l 24, and *śrīyā*, l 11), seem to me to present so late an appearance that, in my opinion, this inscription can hardly be placed earlier than the seventh century A D The Dravidian *l* occurs in the names *Vallāvi* and *Kola-Nallūra*, l 16, the sign of the *yhrāmūliya* in *duhllham*, l. 22, and the sign of final *m*, the only final consonant which occurs, in *°pālanam*, ll 22 and 23 — The language of the inscription is Sanskrit After the words *ōm svasti*, the text opens with a verse eulogizing the god Hari (Vishnu), and in lines 20-26 it contains four benedictive and imprecatory verses, ascribed to Manu, otherwise it is in prose The main part of the text, ll 3-17, forms a single sentence, the construction of which is not quite correct, and which, except for the phrases with which it commences, reminds one of Pallava grants rather than of other Kadamba inscriptions The orthography does not call for any particular remarks

The inscription is one of the Kadamba Mahārāja Krishnavarman [II], the son of the Mahārāja Simhavarman, who was a son of the Dharmamahārāja Vishnuvarman, who was begotten by the Dharmamahārāja Krishnavarman [I] on a daughter of Kaikēya It records (in ll. 13-17) that, on the fifth tithi and under the nakshatra Jyēsthā in the waxing half of the month Kārttika, in the seventh year of his reign, the king granted the village Kōla-Nallūra in the Vallāvi-vishaya to a Brāhman of the Kauśika gōtra, named Vishnuśarman, and adds (in ll 17-20) that the king was advised (to make this donation) by the Śrēshṭhin Haridatta of the Tuthiyalla gōtra and pravara

I consider it very probable that the Krishnavarman I of this inscription is the Dharmamahārāja Krishnavarman who in the Devagere plates of the Yuvārāja Dēvavarman (*Ind Ant Vol VII* p 33) is mentioned as the father of this Dēvavarman Judging from the writing, the Devagere inscription undoubtedly is earlier than the present inscription, the Krishnavarman who is mentioned in it, like Krishnavarman I of this inscription, is described as *aśvamīdha-yājīn*, 'the performer of a horse-sacrifice,' and the (in these inscriptions unusual) statement of the present grant that Vishnuvarman was Krishnavarman's son 'from the daughter of Kaikēya,' seems pointedly to indicate that Krishnavarman I had one or more sons from another wife, and would thus agree with the fact that the Devagere grant is by a son of Krishnavarman named Dēvavarman — The names of the Kadamba Mahārājas Vishnuvarman and Simhavarman do not occur in other inscriptions of the same family

Of the localities mentioned, the name of the Vallāvi vishaya appears to survive in 'Ballāvi,' the name of a town in the Tumkūr district of Mysore, Constable's *Hand-Atlas of India*, Plate 34, Cc, the village Kōla-Nallūra I am unable to identify

The date does not admit of verification Judging from a number of native calendars, the nakshatra Jyēsthā is joined more frequently with the 4th than with the 5th tithi of the bright

<sup>1</sup> In the Hirabadagalli plates of the Pallava Sivaskandavarman (*Ep Ind Vol I* p 5, Plates) the *d* of *nā* is denoted by a line attached to the foot of *n*, on the proper left side, compare the word *bamhananam*, in line 8 Practically the same way of writing *nā* we have *eg* in lines 1 and 9 of the Devagere plates of the fourth year of the Kadamba Mrigēśavarman (*Ind Ant Vol VII* p 37, Plates) And the same sign for *nā* occurs in line 6 of the Halsi plates of the same king (*ibid* Vol VI p 24, Plate), there, however, a separate downward stroke originally was wrongly added to *nā*, and subsequently cancelled again (In Prof Bühler's *Indische Paläographie*, Plate VII Col xiii No 43, the uncorrected wrong form is given, the correct sign for *nā* is given *ibid* No 21) In the Halsi plates of the fourth year of the Kadamba Harivarman (*Ind Ant Vol VI* p 30, Plate) the sign for *nā* which is used in the present inscription is employed once, exceptionally, in line 1

<sup>2</sup> The sign of *b* in *bala*, l 1, apparently is open on the proper right, see above, Vol V p 119.



half of Kārttika, but it sufficiently often goes together with the 5th as a current *tithi*, to render the mention of it, by itself, practically useless <sup>1</sup>

TEXT <sup>2</sup>

## First Plate

- 1 Ōm<sup>3</sup> Svasti || <sup>4</sup>Jayaty=udrikta-Dantyēndra-bala-vīryya-vimarddanah [!]  
 2 jagat-pravṛitti-samhāra-srīṣṭi-māyādhaiō Harīh [!]  
 3 Svāmi-Mahāsēna-mātrigan-ānudhyāt-ābhishiktānām Mānavya-  
 4 sagotrānām Hārītī-putrānām pratikṛita-svādhyāya-charchchāpārānām

## Second Plate, First Side

- 5 <sup>5</sup>śrī-Kadambānām Krishnavarmma-dharmmamahārājasya<sup>6</sup> aśvamēdha-yājñah  
 6 anēka-samara-samkat-ōpalabha-vijayakīrttēh vidyā-vinitasya  
 7 Kaikēya-sutāyām=utpannēna śrī-Vishnuvarmma-dharmmamahārājēna  
 8 <sup>7</sup>gandharvva-hastisīkshā-dhanurvvedēshu Vatsarāj-Ēndr-Ārjuna-samēna

## Second Plate, Second Side

- 9 śabdārthha-nyāya-vidush-ōtpādītasya<sup>8</sup> putra śrī-Simhavarmma Kadambānām  
 10 mahārājā(jō) vikrāntō=nēka-vidyā-viśāradas=tasya sūnūnā śrī-Krishnavarmma-  
 11 mahārājēna sva-vīryya-bala-parākram-ōpārjita-rājyaśrīyā  
 12 paramabrahmanyēna samyak-prajāpāla[na\*]-dakshēna kshīna-lōbhēna  
 13 varddhamāna-vijayarājya-samvatsarē saptamē Kārttika-māsē

## Third Plate, First Side

- 14 āpūryyamāna-pakshē pañchamyām Jyēsthā-nakshatrē Kausika-sagotrāya  
 15 vēda-pāragāya shatkarmma-nīratāya āhit-āgnayē Vishnuśarmma-nāma-  
 16 dhēyāya ātma-nīrēyasārttham Vallāvi-vishayē Kola-Nallūra-  
 17 nāma-grāmō dattah sa-pāniya-pātah<sup>9</sup> sarvva-parihārah [!]<sup>\*</sup> Tuthiyalla-gōtra-  
 18 pravarēna samay-āchāra-sa[m]pannēna svakarm-ānushthāna-tatparēna

## Third Plate, Second Side

- 19 rāja-pūjītēna gō sahasra-pradātrā Haridatta-śrēsthinā upadēsah  
 20 kritah [!]<sup>\*</sup> Atra Manu-gītā ślōkā bhavanti || <sup>10</sup>Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā

<sup>1</sup> A *nakshatra* (Uttara bhādrapadā) is mentioned together with a *tithi* (the 10th of the dark half of Kārttika) also in the date of the Davagere plates of the third year of the Kadamba Mṛgēśavarman, *Ind Ant* Vol VII p 35, but that date is incorrect. The *nakshatra* either was *Uttara-phalgunī* (for the 10th of the dark half of Kārttika) or the *tithi* was the 10th of the *bright* half of Kārttika. Curiously, exactly the same mistake was made in the date of the Hāsan plates of Dēvarāja I. of Vijayanagara, of Śaka Samvat 1328, *Mysore Inscr* No 150, *P S O - C I* No 25.

<sup>2</sup> From Dr Fleet's impressions.

<sup>3</sup> Represented by a symbol, which stands on the proper right margin, before the space between lines 2 and 3. The same symbol, similarly placed, we have in the Uruvall. plates of the Pallava *Euramahārāja* Vishnugōpavarman, *Ind Ant* Vol V p 51. And the same symbol, placed before the first line of the text, occurs in the plates of the Pallava *Mahārāja* Simhavarman, *ibid* p. 155, in the Chikkulla plates of Vikramendrarvarman II, above, Vol IV p 195, and elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)

<sup>5</sup> The letter ś is imperfect on the proper right side

<sup>6</sup> Here, and in other places below, the rules of *sandh* have not been observed.

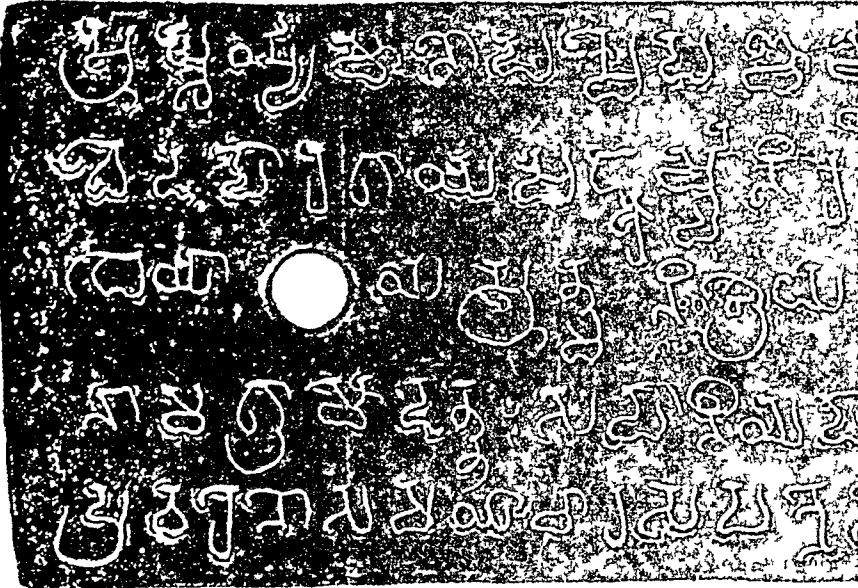
<sup>7</sup> Read *gāndhārava*

<sup>8</sup> Since some correction is necessary in lines 9 and 10, it is simplest to alter *ōdītasya* to *ōdītaḥ*. Similar mistakes occur in the Vakkalēri plates of Kīrtivarman II, above, Vol V p 202.

<sup>9</sup> Read *pāṭān*

<sup>10</sup> Metre, here and below Ślōka (Anushtubh)

14



tasya  
ttha-

[11\*]

16

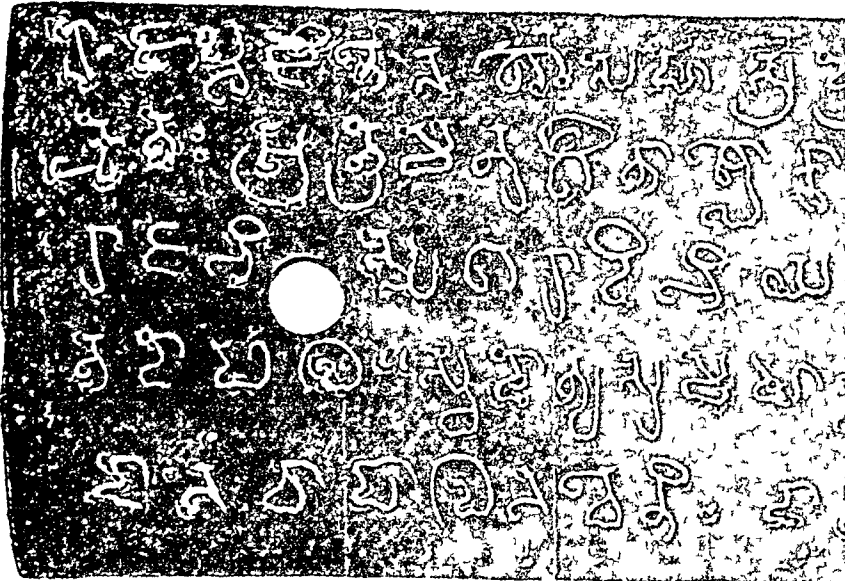
srâni  
=cha

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=astu

18

and heroism  
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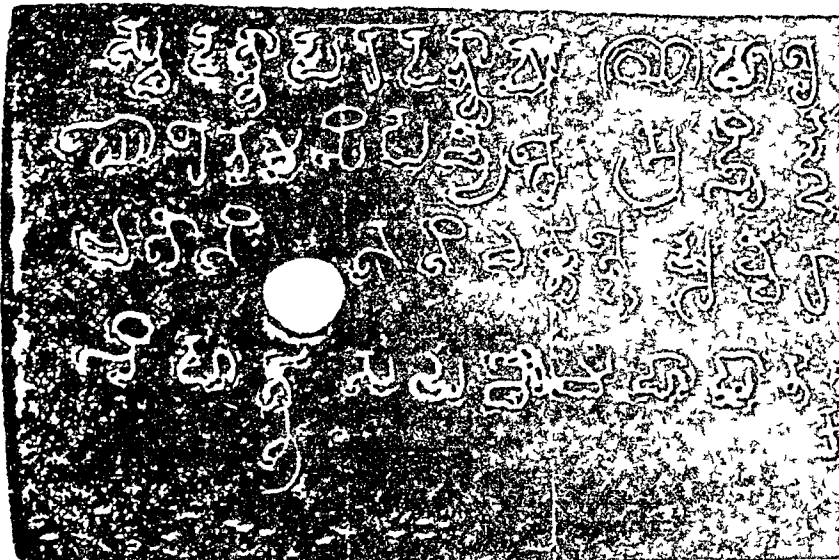
20



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(and) son-  
(was<sup>3</sup>) the  
the fame of  
was born,  
the art of  
sa,<sup>5</sup> Indra  
adambas,  
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o religion,  
ar of his  
Kârttika,  
come, has  
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22

24



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his duties  
vised<sup>8</sup> (the

h, however, is

Rudiadaman,

unâgadh rock

, Vol IV p

ext

(L 20) Here there are (*the following*) verses sung by Manu — [Here follow four benedictive and imprecatory verses]

(L 26) He who from greed or infatuation takes away this (*gift*), is guilty of the five great sins May blessings rest on cows and Brāhmans! <sup>1</sup>

### NO 3 — DATES OF CHOLA KINGS

By F KIELHORN, PH D, LL D, C I E, GÖTTINGEN

(Continued from Vol V. page 200)

Vol IV of Mr Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica* again contains a number of Chôla inscriptions with Śaka dates Dr Hultzsch has sent me revised transcripts and translations of six of them (Nos 32-37), which are all in the Heggadadōvankôte tāluka of the Mysore district The transcripts were made from inked estampages, prepared by Mr H Krishna Sastri, B A. The seventh of the new dates (No 38) is taken from Vol III of Dr Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*

I would add here a few words about the commencement of Rājārāja's reign Above, Vol V p 48, I found that that reign commenced between (approximately) the 24th December A D 984 and the 29th August A D 985 By the statement of the Śuchindram inscription, *ibid* p 44, according to which the tenth year of the king's reign commenced with the month of Karkataka the previously found period is reduced to the time from the 25th June to the 25th July A.D 985

### A — RAJENDRA-CHOLA I

#### 32 — On a stone at the Bānēśvara temple at Belatūru <sup>2</sup>

- 1 Śrī svasti [||\*] Saka-varisha <sup>3</sup>vombhaynūra-nālvatta-mūre(ra)neya varishada<sup>4</sup>  
Raudra-samvatsarada Ā-
- 2 śhādha-māsada punnave Uttarāśhādha-nakshatram Maka-
- 3 ra-chandram Bri(bri)haspati-vāram śrī-Mudigonda-Rājendra-Chôlam rājyam [ge]-
- 4 yyutt-ire iyāndu ombhattāvudara(ro)l

"Thursday, the moon being in Makara, the *nakshatra* being Uttarāśhādha, during the full-moon *tithi* of the month of Āśhādha in the Raudra year (*which corresponded*) to the nine-hundred-and-forty-third year of the Śaka years,—in the ninth year of the reign of the glorious Mudigonda-Rājendra-Chôla "

The Jovian year Raudra by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka Samvat 943 as a current year (= A D 1020-21) In that year the month Āśhādha was intercalary, and the full-moon *tithi* of the second or *nija* Āśhādha ended 17 h 55 m after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 7th July A D 1020, when the *nakshatra* was Uttarāśhādha, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h 13 m, and by the equal-space system and according to Garga for 13 h 47 m, after mean

<sup>1</sup> Cows and Brāhmans are often mentioned together in this order, compare *eg* line 15 of Rudradaman's inscription referred to above, *Gupta Inscr* p 32, l 10 of the text, *Ep Ind* Vol I p 7, l 52, and p 129, l 28 *South Ind Inscr* Vol I p 39, l 1, *Edmāyana*, Bo ed, I 26, 5, III 23, 28 (*svasti gô brāhmanābhyas-tu*), III 24, 21 (*svasti gô brāhmanānām cha*), VI, 107 49, etc

<sup>2</sup> Mr Rice's *Ep Carn* Vol IV Hg 16

<sup>3</sup> The opening words of line 1 as far as *vombha* are engraved at right angle to the remainder

<sup>4</sup> This word is entered below the line and its omission indicated by a cross above *neya*

sunrise The ending point of Uttarâshâdhâ being  $276^{\circ} 42' 15''$  or  $280^{\circ}$ , the moon of course was in the sign Makara ( $270^{\circ} - 300^{\circ}$ ).

According to our date this Thursday, the 7th July A.D 1020, fell in the ninth year of the king's reign. How far this statement may agree with other dates of Râjendra-Chôla I will be considered below, under No 34

33 — On a stone lying at the Bânêśvara temple at Belatûru <sup>1</sup>

- |   |                                   |           |                       |                                       |
|---|-----------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | Svasti                            | śrī       | [[*]                  | Pûrvva-dîsamum                        |
| 2 | Gamgeyum                          | Kadâramum | gonda                 | lô Pa-                                |
| 3 | rahêsarivarimmar=âna              |           |                       | śrî-Râjendra-                         |
| 4 | Chôladêvargg=iyându               |           |                       | irppatt-eradâ-                        |
| 5 | vudu                              | [[*]      | svasti                | [[*] Saka-nripa-kâl-âtita-samvatsara- |
| 6 | satamga                           | 955yn     | Śrîmukha-samvatsarada | Mârggaśi-                             |
| 7 | ra-suddha-pâdivam=Mûl-Âikkad=amdu |           |                       |                                       |

"In the twenty-second year (of the reign) of king Parakêsarivarman alias the glorious Râjendra-Chôladêva, who conquered the Eastern country, the Gaugâ, and Kadâram,<sup>2</sup> — on Sunday, (the *nakshatra* being) Mûla, during the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mârgaśira in the Śrîmukha year (which was) the 955th of the hundreds of years passed from the time of the Śaka king "

The Jovian year Śrîmukha by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Samvat 955 as an expired year (= A D 1033-34). In that year the first *tithi* of the bright half of Mârgaśira ended 3 h 54 m after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 27th October A D 1033, when the *nakshatra* was Anurâdhâ. This in no way satisfies the requirements of the case.

I have no doubt that the month intended in the original is really the month Pausa of our Tables<sup>3</sup> (which follows immediately upon Mârgaśira), because, for that month, the date regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 25th November A D 1033,<sup>4</sup> when the first *tithi* of the bright half ended 21 h 14 m, and when the *nakshatra* was Mûla,<sup>5</sup> by the Brahma-siddhânta for 2 h 38 m, according to Garga for 7 h 53 m, and by the equal-space system for 20 h 21 m, after mean sunrise.

According to our date, this Sunday, the 25th November A D 1033, fell in the twenty-second year of the king's reign. This, too, will be considered under the next date.

34 — On a stone in front of the Arkêśvara temple at Ankanâthapura <sup>6</sup>

- |   |                            |        |  |              |                                    |
|---|----------------------------|--------|--|--------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 | Svasti                     | [[*]   | Sha(śa)ka-varisham                               | 959neya      | I(i)śvara-shatsamrada <sup>7</sup> |
| 2 | Âsada-mâssada <sup>8</sup> |        | Kâlashtavaya                                     | Shâtî-naktra | Somma-                             |
| 3 | varada                     | [a]ndu | śrî-Mmu(mu)digonda-Gangegonda-Râjhê(jê)ndra-Chô- |              |                                    |
| 4 | ladêvarkk=iya(γâ)ndu       |        | ippata-ajavudu <sup>9</sup>                      |              |                                    |

<sup>1</sup> Mr Rice's *Ep Carn* Vol IV Hg 17.

<sup>2</sup> Compare above, Vol IV p 69, date No 5

<sup>3</sup> I must add that there may be a way of proving the quotation in the original date of the month Mârgaśira to be correct. In Śaka Samvat 955 expired, by the rules of mean intercalation, a month was intercalated before Pausa. That month would ordinarily be called Pausa, but it might be called Mârgaśira on the supposition that it was calculated by the Ârya siddhânta, and named according to Brahmagupta's rule, see my *List of North Inscr* No 464. This remark does not affect the correctness of the European equivalent of the date, given above.

<sup>4</sup> On the immediately preceding day the *Dhanuh samkrânti* took place, 13 h after mean sunrise.

<sup>5</sup> That it is correct to translate Mûl-Ârkad=amdu by 'on Sunday, (the *nakshatra* being) Mûla,' is proved by a date on p 17 of the Roman text of *Ep Carn* Vol IV. That date gives us for calculation Śaka Samvat 1049 (current, the year Durmukha), Jyêsthâ-bahula 1, and Mûl Ârkadâra, and it corresponds to Sunday, the 28th May A D 1116, when the first *tithi* of the dark half commenced 4 h 32 m after mean sunrise, and when the *nakshatra* was Mûla by all systems.

<sup>6</sup> Mr Rice's *Ep Carn* Vol IV Hg 104

<sup>7</sup> Read *samvatsarada*

<sup>8</sup> Read *Âshâdhâ masada Kâlêshjamyam brâtî nakshatram Sôma vârad=amdu*

<sup>9</sup> Read *irppatt arâdiadu*

"On Monday, the *nakshatra* being Svāti, during the *Kālāshāmī* (*tithi*) of the month of Āshādha in the Īśvara year (*which was*) the 959th Śaka year,—in the twenty-sixth year (of the reign) of the glorious Mudigonda-Gangegonda-Rājendra-Chōladēva."

The Jovian year Īśvara by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Samvat 959 as an expired year (= A D 1037-38) *Kāl-āshāmī* is a name of the 8th *tithi* of the dark half. As this *tithi*, in the month of Āshādha, can under no circumstances be joined with Svāti (the 15th *nakshatra*), the given date cannot be correct.

As a matter of fact, the 8th *tithi* of the dark half of Āshādha of Śaka-Samvat 959 expired ended 17 h 34 m after mean sunrise of Friday, the 8th July A D 1037, when the *nakshatras* were Āśvini and Bharanī (the first and second *nakshatras*). And the 8th *tithi* of the dark half cannot have been quoted erroneously instead of the 8th *tithi* of the bright half (on which in Āshādha the *nakshatra* may be Svāti), because in the given Śaka year the 8th *tithi* of the bright half of Āshādha ended on a Thursday (the 23rd June A D 1037), not on a Monday. I have calculated the date also for other months of the given year, but without any satisfactory results.

Giving up this date as hopelessly wrong, we have still to consider what data are furnished by the two preceding dates for ascertaining the time of the commencement of the reign of Rājendra-Chōla I. By No 32 the 7th July A D. 1020 fell in the ninth year, and by No 33 the 25th November A D 1033 in the twenty-second year of the king's reign. Accordingly (approximately) the 7th July A D 1012 and the 25th November A D 1012 must have fallen in the first year, and the reign of Rājendra-Chōla I, according to the two new dates, therefore undoubtedly must have commenced some time between (approximately) the 26th November A D 1011 and the 7th July A D 1012.

I have previously (above, Vol IV p 266) stated that the king's reign commenced between the 24th October A D 1001 and the 23rd October A D 1002. That statement necessarily was based solely on the date No 5 (*ibid* p 69), which corresponds to the 23rd October A D 1032, and which, according to the actual reading of the date, is of the 31st year of the reign of Rājendra-Chōla I. With the new dates before me, in which the numbers of the regnal years are given in words, I feel sure that the number 31 in the date No 5 has been put erroneously for 21, and that the 23rd October A D. 1032 really fell in the 21st year of the king's reign, which would agree with the new result. This result would also tend to shew that in the incorrect date No 34 the Śaka year (959 expired), at any rate, is given correctly.

## B — RAJADHIRAJA.

35 — On a stone in front of the Māri temple at Kolagāla <sup>1</sup>

- 1 Śrī-Rājādhirājādēva[r\*]gg-iyāndu [35]-<sup>2</sup>
- 2 āvadu [Sa]kha-va[r]śam<sup>3</sup> 975[ne]-
- 3 ya <sup>4</sup>Vijayōśchaiva-samvatsara[d]
- 4 Jēshta-māsada sukla-pakshada tra[yō\*]-
- 5 daśi Ādityavārad-andu

<sup>1</sup> Mr Rice's *Ep Carn* Vol IV Hg 114

<sup>2</sup> The two figures of the date are damaged, but cannot be read otherwise. Mr Rice reads *yāndugemīācadu*. From this erroneous reading he further concludes that Rājādhirāja's regnal years were reckoned in two different ways, see *Ep Carn* Vol IV p 13 of the Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Śaka varsham*

<sup>4</sup> This curious form is derived from certain *versus memoriales* (*Madras Journal of Literature and Science* for 1831, p 276), in which the year Vijaya is introduced by the words *Vijayaś=chaiva*. Compare the two similar terms *Pramōduta* and *Pramādīcha*, *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I p 109, note 2.

"In the [35]th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious Rājādhirājādēva,—on Sunday, the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Jyāishtha in the Vijaya year (*which was*) the 975th Śaka year"

The Jovian year Vijaya by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Samvat 975 as an expired year (=A.D 1053-54) For that year the date is incorrect, for the 13th *tithi* of the bright half of Jyāishtha of the given year corresponds to Tuesday, the 1st June A.D 1053, which was entirely occupied by the *tithi*<sup>1</sup>

The date would be correct for the third (instead of the 13th) *tithi* of the bright half of Jyāishtha of the given year, which ended 8 h 13 m after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 23rd May A.D 1053

From what I have stated above, Vol IV p 266, about the commencement of Rājādhirāja's reign, it is clear that any date of the 35th year of that king's reign must fall between (approximately) the 15th March A.D 1052 and the 2nd December A.D 1053

### C — RAJENDRADEVA

36 — On a stone near the Binakalamma temple at Belatūru<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Om [||\*] Svasti śrī-Chola-rījam sakala-vasudheyam kondu Rājēndradēva  
<sup>3</sup>dust-āri-vrāta-ghātām negale baṁsam=ār=āgo mattam Sak-abdam [||\*]  
 vis[t]ā-  
 2 rak[k\*]=ombhat-ēl-ombhatum=eno baṁsam Hēmalambī-prasiddham svastam māsam  
 gadam Kā[r\*]ttikam=asi[t]i-dīnam dvādasī Sōmavaram [||]

"Hail" When it was six years after the glorious Chōla king Rājēndradēva, renowned as the slayer of crowds of wicked enemies, had taken possession of the whole earth,—and again in detail, in the Śaka year reckoned as nine, seven and nine (*i.e.* 979), in the year known as Hēmalambin, on Monday, the twelfth *tithi*, a day of the dark (*fortnight*) of the auspicious month of Kārttika"

The Jovian year Hēmalambin by the southern luni-solar system was Śaka-Samvat 979 as an expired year (=A.D 1057-58), and for that year the date corresponds to Monday, the 27th October A.D 1057, when the 12th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amānta* Kārttika ended 22 h 9 m after mean sunrise

Below, under No 38, it will be seen that the words of the date 'when it was six years after' *etc.*, simply are intended to convey the sense of 'in the sixth year of the reign of'

37 — On a virakal at Gujjappanahundi.<sup>4</sup>

- |    |                            |                    |                           |               |
|----|----------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| 5  | Vīa-sūggāsanattu           | vītr=irind=arūhina | kōv=I ājakēsaripadmar=āna | odeya         |
| 6  | śrī-Rajēndradēvargg=iyāndu | pannirandāvudu     | .                         | .             |
| 7  |                            |                    |                           |               |
| 8  | Saka-varisha               |                    | 11                        | Pālguna-mā-   |
| 9  | 984 . . . <sup>5</sup>     |                    | 12                        | sada punnave- |
| 10 | samvatsarada               |                    | 13                        | y-andu        |

<sup>1</sup> The date would be incorrect also for the current Śaka year 975

<sup>2</sup> Mr Rice's *Ep Carn* Vol IV Hg 18

<sup>3</sup> Read *dust*-

<sup>4</sup> Mr Rice's *Ep Carn* Vol IV Hg 115 The original is much worn and many *aksharas* are indistinct, but the figures of the Saka date in line 9 are clear The introduction (ll 1-4) mentions Rājendra's elder brother (*viz* Rājādhirāja), the planting of a pillar of victory at Kollāpuram, and the defeat of Āhavamalla at Koppam

<sup>5</sup> Here two or three *aksharas* are lost

"In the twelfth year (*of the reign*) of king Rājakēsarīvarman<sup>1</sup> *alias* the lord śrī-Rājēndradēva, who was pleased to be seated on the throne of heroes,—during the full-moon *tithi* of the month of Phālguna in the year (*which was*) the Śaka year 984 "

This date does not admit of verification All that I can say about it, is, that if, the Śaka year is Śaka-Samvat 984 expired, the date which is stated to be of the twelfth year of the king's reign, will ordinarily correspond to the 15th February A D 1063 From No 38, below, it will be seen that this day fell really in the eleventh year of the king's reign

38 — In the Rājagôpāla-Perumāl temple at Manimangalam <sup>2</sup>

- 13 . . . . . kô=Ppara[k]ēsarī[panmar]=āna [u]dai[y]ār śrī-  
Rājēndradēvar[ku] yāndu nālāva-  
14 du [nā\*]l 8[2] || . . . . . 1v-v-āttai Sī[m\*]ha-nāyargu  
apara-paksha[t]tu ashtamiyum Viyāla-kkīlamiyum  
15 perra Rôja(hi)ni-nāl

"On the 8[2]nd day of the fourth year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarīvarman *alias* the lord śrī-Rājēndradēva,—on the day of Rôhinī, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eighth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha in this year "

Of the years indicated in a general way by the two preceding dates, the one which yields a correct (and a most satisfactory) result for this date, is Śaka-Samvat 977 expired In that year the month of Simha lasted from the 27th July to the 26th August A D 1055, and during that time the 8th *tithi* of the dark half (which was the 8th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amānta nija* Śrāvana) commenced 14 h 20 m after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 17th August A D 1055, when the *nakshatra* was Rôhinī, from sunrise (or, by the equal space system, from about midday) to the end of the day Although the *tithi* commenced so late in the day, the result is correct, because the *tithi* with which we are concerned is the *Janm-âshṭamī* or *Kṛishṇ-âshṭamī*, a *tithi* which must be joined with that day of which the time of midnight is occupied by it, and which therefore, in the present instance, could have been joined only with the Thursday on which it commenced about four hours before midnight The occasion was the more auspicious as the *nakshatra* at midnight was Rohini <sup>3</sup>

The equivalent of this date, then, undoubtedly is Thursday, the 17th August A D 1055 As this was the 82nd day of the fourth year of the king's reign, the first day of the fourth year was the 28th May A D 1055, and Rājēndradēva's reign commenced (approximately) on the 28th May A D 1052. The result shews that the equivalent of the date No 36 (the 27th October A D 1057) fell in the sixth year of his reign, while the equivalent suggested for No 37 (the 15th February A D 1063) fell in the eleventh, not in the twelfth year

For convenience of reference the commencement of the reigns of the seven Chôla kings whose dates have been examined in the preceding, may now be given thus —

- 1 —Rajarāja between the 25th June and the 25th July A D 985.
- 2 —Rājendra-Chôla I between the 26th November A D 1011, and the 7th July 1012
- 3 —Rājādhirāja. between the 15th March and the 3rd December A D 1018
- 4 —Rājēndradēva (approximately) the 28th May A.D 1052
- 5.—Kulōttunga-Chôla I. between the 14th March and the 8th October A D 1070
- 6 —Vikrama-Chôla. (most probably) the 18th July A D 1108
- 7 —Kulōttunga-Chôla III. : between the 8th June and the 8th July A D 1178.

<sup>1</sup> In all other published inscriptions the king bears the surname Parakēsarīvarman

<sup>2</sup> South Ind Inscr Vol III No 29, pp 61 and 63

<sup>3</sup> Compare Ind Ant Vol XXVI p 182, Śrācāna Kṛishṇapaksha VIII

No. 4.—KONNUR SPURIOUS INSCRIPTION OF AMOGHAVARSHA I,  
SAKA-SAMVAT 782

By F KIELHORN, PH D, LL D, C.I E., GOTTINGEN

The stone which bears this inscription is built into a wall of the temple of Paramêśvara at Konnûr,<sup>1</sup> the 'Khonor' of the map, a large village on the south bank of the Malparbhâ river, 23 miles in a north-easterly direction from Nawalgund, the chief town of the Nawalgund tâluka, Dhârwar district, *Indian Atlas*, sheet No 41, long. 75° 34' E, lat 15° 51' N I edit the inscription from an excellent impression, kindly given to me by Dr Fleet<sup>2</sup>

The inscribed surface of the stone measures about 5' 4½" high by 2' 10" broad Above the writing, in the arched top with which the stone ends, there are some sculptures, viz, in the middle, a shrine holding a sitting Jaina Tirthamkara, with a chowrie-bearer on either side of him, on the proper left of the shrine, a cow with a sucking calf and, above them, a sword and the sun, and on the right of the shrine, another chowrie bearer and an elephant, with the new moon above them The writing is well executed, and for the most part in an excellent state of preservation The size of the letters is about ⅞" The characters are Kanarese of the eleventh or twelfth century A D The language is Sanskrit, excepting a verse in lines 62-64, and the prose passage at the end of the inscription, lines 70-72, which are in Kanarese The greater part of the text is in verse In respect of orthography, it will suffice to draw attention to the frequent use of the Dravidian *l*, and of the sign of the *upadhmanîya* (also in the word *puhpa* for *pushpa*, l 40), and to the occasional employment of the sign of the *jihvâmûliya* (in *dharmmah=kêvalam*, l 14, *yah=kâmchanam*, l 54, and *kirttih=kakubhâm*, l 69)

The inscription divides itself into two parts Lines 1 to (the word *sarvam* in) 59 record a grant, professedly made by the Râshtrakûta king Amôghavarsha [I] on a date which falls in A D 860 Lines 59 (from the word *mathyâbhâva*) to 72, on the other hand, after praises of the Jaina creed and the two sages Mêghachandra-Traividya and his son Viranandin, inform us that, at the request of Huliyamarasa, the *Mahâprabhu* of Kolanûra, and others, Viranandin had a copper charter, which they had seen, rewritten here as a stone charter According to this statement, lines 1-59 of the inscription were copied from a copper-plate inscription,<sup>3</sup> and from the dates which we possess for Viranandin and his father Mêghachandra-Traividya, the time when this copy was made, and when the inscription, as we have it, was engraved, may approximately be determined to be the middle of the twelfth century A D From an inscription at Śravana-Belgola (Roman text, p 26, ll 3-6) we know that Mêghachandra-Traividya died on Thursday, the 2nd December A D 1115,<sup>4</sup> and according to a notice published by Mr Pathak,<sup>5</sup> Viranandin finished the writing of his *Āchāra-sāra* on a date which I find to correspond to Monday, the 25th May A D 1153

The principal part of the inscription (lines 1-59, the alleged copy of a copper-plate inscription) records, that—at a total eclipse of the moon on the full-moon tithi of the month Āsvayuja

<sup>1</sup> I am told by Dr Fleet that a similar name in the Belgaum district is distinctly *Konnûr*, from the old form *Kondanûr*, as well as by actual verification of the present spelling But the name with which we are here concerned is derived from *Kolanûra*, which occurs in this record

<sup>2</sup> The inscription is mentioned by Dr Fleet in his *Dynasties*, second ed, p 406, note 4

<sup>3</sup> That other stone inscriptions have been copied from copper plates, there can be no doubt, and the fact is distinctly stated e.g. in the inscriptions in *Jour Bo As Soc* Vol IX p 281, and *Ind Ant* Vol VIII p 20

<sup>4</sup> See *Ind Ant* Vol XXIII p 116, No 17

<sup>5</sup> See *ibid* Vol XIV p 14 The date given by Mr Pathak is 'Śaka 1076, the Śrīmukha *samvatsara*, on Monday the first day of the bright fortnight of Īvaishtha' On the corresponding European date given above the first tithi of the bright half of the second Jyāishtha commenced 3 h 50 m after mean sunrise.



(or Āśvina) in the [Jovian] year Vikrama, Śaka-Samvat 782 expired or, as is expressly stated, 83 current (ll 43 and 44)—king Amoghavarsha [I], the successor of Japettungga (ll 15 and 16), residing at his capital of Mānyakhēṭa (l 31), at the request of his subordinate Bankōsa (Baṅkōya) and in recognition of important services rendered by him, granted the village of Taleyūra (l 38) and some land in other villages (ll 45-48), for the benefit of a Jaina sanctuary founded by Baṅkīya at Kolanūra, to the sage Dīvēndra,<sup>1</sup> who had been appointed by Baṅkōya to the charge of the sanctuary, the disciple of Tribhayaśrī, of the *Pustaka gachchha* of the Dīśiya gana of the Mula sangha (ll 25-26). The introductory part of the inscription—after two verses of which one invokes the blessing, at the same time, of the god Vishnu (Jina) and the first Jaina prophet (Jinendra), and the other the protection of both Vishnu (Nārāyaṇa) and the king Amoghavarsha himself, here, as in verse 34, called Vīra-Nārāyaṇa<sup>2</sup>—in verses 3-11 gives the genealogy of Amoghavarsha. Verses 17-24 contain a eulogistic account of the services rendered by Baṅkīya (Baṅkōya). And the concluding verses 57-59 record the writer's name, Vatsarāja, and that of Baṅkīyārāja's chief adviser, the Mahattara Ganapati.

It may at once be stated here that the date given above undoubtedly is correct. The Jovian year Vikrama corresponds to Śaka-Samvat 782 expired, by both lunar-solar systems;<sup>3</sup> and on the full-moon day of Āśvina of that year, corresponding to the 3rd October A.D. 860, there was a total eclipse of the moon, fully visible in India for more than three hours. But much as the correctness of a date, containing such particulars as are given here, would speak in favour of the genuineness of a record, there is at least one point in the procedure, which raises a doubt whether the stone inscription, even if it was based on a genuine copper-plate charter, is an authentic copy of it in every detail. Excepting the Kadamba grant of Prabhūtavarsha (Gōvinda III.) the form of which is altogether peculiar, the earlier Sanskrit copper plate inscriptions of the Rāshtrakūṭas of the main line, from the Sāmāngad plates of Dantidurga to the Nausāri plates of Indrarāja III of Śaka-Samvat 836, all commence with the verse *Sa vō=vyād=Vidhasā dhūma*; and as that verse is found also in Amoghavarsha's own Śīrūr inscription, I should have expected the present inscription also to begin with it, and might well fancy that the Jaina copyists substituted for it a verse referring to their own creed.

However this may be, it is certain that the genealogical account in verses 3-11 of this inscription, which we now have to consider, cannot possibly be admitted to be a true copy of a genuine copper-plate charter. To show this, I place side by side here the line of succession as

<sup>1</sup> According to the Dīōli plates of Śaka Samvat 862 (above, Vol V p 103, l 18 of the text) Mānyakhēṭa was founded by Amoghavarsha I. The earliest plates in which it is described as the residence of a king, are the Nausāri plates of Indrarāja III of Śaka Samvat 836 (*Jour Do As Soc* Vol XVIII pp 257 and 261).

<sup>2</sup> This may be the Dīvēndra of Bankāpura, mentioned in *Inscr at Śrāvana-Belgoṭa*, Roman text, p. 49, l. 8.

<sup>3</sup> With this second verse may be compared the third verse of the Nausāri plates mentioned above, which eulogizes the king Indrarāja III who issued the grants, by comparing him with, and ascribing to him actions which were performed by, the god Vishnu.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. 'a Nārāyaṇa (or Vishnu) in the shape of a hero,' or 'a hero who is like Nārāyaṇa (Vishnu).' Amoghavarsha I is described as *Vīra Nārāyaṇa* also in the Nausāri plates, and the same epithet is given to Amoghavarsha Kakkarāja II in the Kardi plates of that king (*Ind Ant* Vol VII p 206, l 40 of the text). Similar epithets are *Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa*, 'a Nārāyaṇa (or Vishnu) in fame,' applied to Gōvinda III in the Śīrūr inscription of Amoghavarsha I (*ibid* p 218, l 5 of the text), and to Indrarāja III in his Nausāri plates, and *Vīkrānta Nārāyaṇa*, 'a Nārāyaṇa (or Vishnu) in valour,' applied to Gōvinda IV in his Sāngli plates (*ibid* p 251, l 38 of the text).—In the case of the present inscription, what, in my opinion, must strike one as somewhat suspicious, is, that, in verse 34, the king in his own speech should have been made to represent himself as Vīra-Nārāyaṇa.

<sup>5</sup> Judging by other dates, the proper system for Śaka Samvat 782 is the so called northern lunar solar system, but by the strict mean sign system also the day of the date would fall in the year Vikrama, which ended on the 14th October A.D. 860.

furnished by this inscription, and the genealogy of the Rāshtrakūta princes from Gōvindarāja I to Amōghavarsha I, as we know it from their copper-plates

From this inscription

- 1 In the Yādava lineage,  
Gōvinda, son of Prichchhakarāja.
- 2 Karkara, son of king Indra
- 3 His son Dantidurga.
- 4 Śubhatungavallabha-Akālavarsha.
5. Prabhūtavarsha, son of Dhārāvarsha
- 6 His son Prabhūtavarsha-Jagattunga
- 7 Amōghavarsha.

From the copper-plates.

- Gōvindarāja I  
His son Kakkarāja or Karkarāja  
His son Indrarāja  
His son Dantidurga.  
Śubhatunga-Akālavarsha (Krishnaraja I,  
son of Kakkarāja)  
His son Prabhūtavarsha<sup>1</sup> (Gōvindarāja II)  
His younger brother (Dhruvarāja-Nirupama)  
Dhārāvarsha  
His son Prabhūtavarsha-Jagattunga (Gō  
vindarāja III)  
His son Amōghavarsha.

From the above it will be seen that, excepting the strange name Prichchhakarāja<sup>2</sup> for which I cannot account, the same names, though not always written uniformly, are there on either side. But to the writer of this part of our inscription the mutual relationship of the princes whose names he knew, apparently was a riddle. He therefore either observed a discreet silence or perpetrated such blunders as to make Karkara the son of Indrarāja, whereas he was his father, or to put down Prabhūtavarsha as the son of Dhārāvarsha, to omit Dhārāvarsha altogether from the line of kings, and then to make Prabhūtavarsha-Jagattunga the son of Prabhūtavarsha. Moreover, the assignment of these kings to the Yādava lineage,<sup>3</sup> and especially the occurrence of the name Karkara,<sup>4</sup> instead of Kakkarāja or Karkarāja, seem clearly to indicate that the genealogy was concocted some time after the date which is recorded in this inscription, and has not been copied from a genuine copper-plate charter of Amōghavarsha I.

The person with whom our inscription is chiefly concerned, is Bankēśa or, as the name also is written, Bankēya, or Bankēyarāja, by Amōghavarsha's favour in the enjoyment of, or governing, thirty-thousand villages the most important of which was Vanavāsī (verse 21). As reported by Dr Fleet,<sup>5</sup> an unpublished inscription at Nidagundi in the Dhārwar district mentions, as a feudatory of Amōghavarsha I, Bankeyarasa, governor of the Banavāsī twelve-thousand, the Belgah three-hundred, the Kunderage seventy, the Kundūr five-hundred, and the Purigore three-hundred, who apparently is the same personage. According to our inscription, Bankēśa *alias* Sella-kētana was the son of Adhōra (or Ādhōra), proprietor of Koḷanūra, and his wife Vijayānkā, and grandson of Erakōri, of the Mukula family (*kula*, vv 17-19). The name Bankēśa (or Bankēya) together with the *buruda* Sellakētana identify

<sup>1</sup> I take this name from the Kadaba plates

<sup>2</sup> According to the fragmentary Ellōrā Daśavatāra cave temple inscription (*Archaeol Surv of West India*, Vol V p 87) Gōvindarāja I was the son of Indrarāja

<sup>3</sup> In line 17 of the Wanī plates of Gōvindarāja III of Śāka Samvat 730 (*Ind Ant* Vol XI p 157) the Yādava *vamsa* is mentioned by way of comparison, but the earliest plates in which the Rāshtrakūtas are stated to belong to the Yādūnām *vamsa*, are the Nausari plates of Śāka Samvat 836

<sup>4</sup> The earlier inscriptions have only the names *Kakkaraja* and *Karkarāja*, the name *Kakkala* occurs in the Kardā plates of Śāka Samvat 894 (*Ind Ant* Vol XII p 264), in the Gundūr inscription of Śāka Samvat 896 (*ibid* p 271), and in later inscriptions, and *Karkara* I first meet with in the Kauthem plates of Śāka Samvat 930 (*ibid* Vol XVI p 23, l 41 of the text)

<sup>5</sup> See *Dynasties*, p 403 Dr Fleet has informed me that in the Nidagundi inscription Bankēya is described as *Chellakētana śūmat Bankeyarasa*, but is also called simply *Bankeya*. See below

him with the Chellakētana, whose son Lōkāditya *alias* Chellapatāka (the younger brother of Chelladhvaṇa), of the Mukula kula, in A D 897 was governing the Vanavāsa country at Bankapura, so named by his father *after his own name* (Bankēśa),<sup>1</sup> and there can therefore be hardly any doubt that the date of our inscription (in A.D 860) may give us a true date for the time of Bankēśa — The exploits of Bankēśa are told in verses 22-31 As leader of the hereditary forces, he at the king's command invaded Gangavādī<sup>2</sup> (the country of the Western Gangas), took the fort of Kēdala, put to flight the ruler of Talavanapura, and after crossing the river Kāvēri, conquered the enemy's country Recalled then by Amōghavarsha on account of disturbances which had broken out at home, and in which, as appears from verse 31, the king's own son was concerned,<sup>3</sup> he quickly returned, and succeeded in quelling the insurrection and restoring his master's fortune — The Talavanapura here mentioned is the well-known capital of the Western Gangas, the modern Tajakād on the left bank of the river Kāvēri,<sup>4</sup> and Kēdala may perhaps be the modern 'Kadala' which, according to the map in Mr Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, is to the north-east of Kadaba

As regards the places mentioned in connection with the actual grant, Kolanūra has already been stated to be the village of Konnūr, where the inscription is The village granted, Talayūra, which was in the Majjantīya-seventy *bhukti*, has not been identified, nor have its boundaries, Bendanūru,<sup>5</sup> Sāsavevā[du], Padilagerē, and Kilavāda. In addition to the main grant, twelve *nivartanas* of land were granted at Kolanūra itself, and at each of the thirty villages which are enumerated in lines 45-48 Eleven of these may be identified<sup>6</sup> with modern villages at a reasonable distance from Konnūr, thus —

Avaravā[d]i = 'Owruddē,' 'Aurwādī,' 6 miles west by north from Konnūr,  
 Bendanūru = 'Bennoor,' 1½ miles north of 'Owruddē,'  
 Sulla = 'Soolah,' 'Sula,' 5 miles east by south from Konnūr,  
 Māvinūru = 'Mannoor,' 8 miles east by south from Konnūr,  
 Mattikatte = 'Mutteekuttee,' 'Matikatti,' 12 miles north by east from Konnūr;  
 Nila[gun]dage = 'Neelgoondē,' 5½ miles north-east from Konnūr,  
 Tālikhēda = 'Tullakodda,' 'Tālakwād,' 2½ miles north-west from Konnūr,  
 B[e]l[er]u = 'Belleeree,' 2½ miles west-north-west from Konnūr,  
 Muttalagerē = 'Mootulgeeree,' 'Mutalgeri,' 7½ miles east by north from Konnūr,  
 Kākeyanūru = 'Kakanoor,' 'Kaknur,' 7½ miles north-west from Konnūr,  
 Ner[ia]lge = 'Neerlehgee,' 'Niralgi,' 9 miles north by west from Konnūr.

<sup>1</sup> See the passage from the Jaina *Uttarapurāṇa*, first published in *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 217, and afterwards, more correctly, in Prof Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1883-84, p 429, also Prof. Bhandarkar's remarks, *ibid* p 430 and pp 120 and 121 Our inscription shows that in the Sanskrit text *Mukula*, and not *Padmālaya*, must be taken to be the name of Lōkāditya's family — The *biruda* Chellakētana (or *Sellakētana*) Mr Pathak in *Jour Bo As Soc* Vol XVIII p 223 has translated by 'cloth bannered' (see Dr Fleet's *Dynasties*, p 403, note 2), but, so far as I can see, the Kanarese word for 'cloth' is *sele* = Sanskrit *chēla* Böhtlingk's *Dictionary* gives *sele* (from the *Kādambart*) and *sella* in the sense of 'a kind of weapon,' and Kittel's *Dictionary* has *selle* = *salle* = *salva*, 'a dart, a javelin, a spear tipped with iron, a pike' etc, and also *selleha* = *salleha* = *salva*, I think that these are the words with which the first part of the *biruda* should be connected In support of this view, I would state that I find *sella* as the first part of a proper name in *Sellavidyādhara* (*Ep Ind* Vol I p 54, line 29 of the text), and that in the verse in which the name occurs (where I would alter the corrupt *selulālita pānind* to *sella lālita pānind*) the author too apparently has understood *sella* to denote some kind of weapon ('Sellavidyādhara, whose hand is fondled by the javelin') — Compare also the *biruda* *Sellavidēga* in *Ep Ind* Vol II p 219, l 51

<sup>2</sup> The wars with the Gangas are often spoken of in Rāshṭrakūṭa records. In Sanskrit inscriptions the name of their country is ordinarily written *Gangapātī*

<sup>3</sup> Regarding Amōghavarsha's wars with rebellious members of his own family, see *eg Ep Ind* Vol I p 53. I am not aware that elsewhere his own son is spoken of in this connection

<sup>4</sup> See Dr Fleet's *Dynasties*, p 299

<sup>5</sup> There is a 'Bennoor,' 2 miles north west of Konnūr, and another village of the same name will be mentioned below

<sup>6</sup> Most of these have been identified for me by Dr Fleet

The names of the other nineteen villages are Mudugundi, Kittavole, Mus[a], Da[dh]jere,<sup>1</sup> Sangama, Pīrsingī, Behuru,<sup>2</sup> Âlūgu, [Pārva]nagere, Hosāñ[ja]la[lu], I[n]dugalu, Haganūru, Unalāru, Indagere, Munivalli, Kotta[s]e, Oddittage, Si[kimabri?], and Giri[pī]dalū.

Stating distinctly what I have indicated above, I consider it possible that lines 1-59 of this inscription really were based on a copper-plate charter, at the same time, I feel certain that, if such was the case, the transcribers have taken so great liberties with the original as to deprive this 'copy' of the value of an authentic document.

## TEXT 3

- 1 'Śrīyah=priyas=samgata-vīśvarūpas=sudarśana-chchhinna-parāvalēpah [1\*] dīśyād=  
anamtaḥ=pranāt-āmarēmdrah śrīyam mam=ādyah=paramām Jinēmdrah || [1\*]  
<sup>5</sup>Ananta-bhō-
- 2 ga-sthītīr=atra pātu vah pratāpasīla-prabhav-ōdayāchalah [1\*] su-Rā[sh]trakūt-  
ōrjita-vamśa-pūrvvajās=sa Vira-Nārāyana ēva yō vibhuh || [2\*] Tadiya-bhūp-  
āya-
- 3 ta-Yādav-ānvayē kramēna vārddhāv=iva ratna-samchayah [1\*] babhūva Gōvīmda-  
mahāpatir=bhbhu(bbhu)vah prasāadhanō<sup>6</sup> Prichchhakarāja-nandanah || [3\*] Imdr-  
āvanipāla-sutēna dhārinī prasāritā
- 4 yēna Prithu-prabhāvinā [1\*] mah-aujasā vairi-tamō nīrākritam pratāpa-sīlēna [sa]  
Karkkara-prabhuh || [4\*] Tatō=bhavad=danti-ghat-ābhimarddanō Himāchalād=  
ūrjita-sē-
- 5 tu-sīmna(ma)taḥ<sup>7</sup> [1\*] khalīkrit-ōdvritta-mahāpa-mamdalāh kul-āgraniḥ<sup>8</sup> yō bhuvī  
Dantidurgga-rāt || [5\*] Svayamba(va)rībhūta-ranāmganē tatas=sa nīrvvyapēksham  
Śubhatumga-vallabhah [1\*] chaka-
- 6 rsha Chēlukya-kula-śrīyam balād=vilōla-pālīdhvaja-māla-bhārinīm || [6\*] Jay-  
ōchchasumhāsana-chāmar-ōrjitas=sit-ātapatrō<sup>9</sup> pratīpaksha-rājya(ja)<sup>10</sup>-hā [1\*]  
Akālavārsh-ōrjita-bhū-
- 7 pa-nāmakō babhūva rājarshir=asēsha-punyataḥ || [7\*] <sup>11</sup>Tataḥ=Prabhūtavarshō-  
bhūd=<sup>12</sup>Dhārśvarsha-sutaś=śarair=ddhārāvarshāyitam yēna samgrāma-bhuvī  
bhūbhujā || [8\*] Tasya sutah ||
- 8 Yaj-jaṇma-kālē dēvēmdrair=ādīṣtam vīśhabhō bhuvah [1\*] bhōkt=ēti Himavat-  
sētu-paryyant-āmbudhimēkhal[ā\*]m || [9\*] Tataḥ=Prabhūtavarshas=san svayam-  
pūrnna-manōrathah [1\*] Jagattungas=Sumē-
- 9 rur=vvā bhūbbritām=uparī sthītaḥ || [10\*] Bandhūnām<sup>13</sup> bandhurānām=uchita-nīja-  
kulē pūrvvajānām prajānām jātānām Vallabhānām bhuvana-bharita<sup>14</sup>-satkīrtti-  
mūrtti-sthītānām [1\*] trātum kīrtim sa-lō-

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the modern 'Dāderkop,' 24 miles south west from Konnūr

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the 'Beecor' of the map, 15½ miles west from Konnūr

<sup>3</sup> From Dr Flect's impression

<sup>4</sup> Metre Upajati

<sup>5</sup> Metre of verses 2 7 Vamśastha

<sup>6</sup> Read 'dhanah', this correction may have been made already in the original.

<sup>7</sup> Before both ablatives the preposition 'ā' should have been used, compare *eg* above, Vol III p 106,  
line 14 of the text

<sup>8</sup> Read 'nīr=

<sup>9</sup> Read 'patrah

<sup>10</sup> This correction may have been made already in the original.

<sup>11</sup> Metre of verses 8 10 Ślōka (Anushtubh)

<sup>12</sup> Originally *bhūrdhā* was engraved

<sup>13</sup> Metre Sragdharā.

<sup>14</sup> The word *bharita*, properly 'filled with,' is used wrongly here in the sense of 'filling', compare *Inscriptions at Sravana-Bēlgoḷa*, p 108, l 1.

- 10 kām kalī-kalusham=athō <sup>1</sup>hantam=antō ripūnām śrīmān=simhāsana-sthō  
<sup>2</sup>bhavanavanam=atō=mōghavarshah prasāsti || [11\*] <sup>3</sup>Yasy=ājñām para-  
 chakrinah srajam=iv=ājasram śrōbhur=vvaham-
- 11 ty=ā dīgdanti-ghat-āvalī-mukha-pat[ō]h<sup>4</sup> kirtti-pratānas=sataḥ [\*] yatra-sthah  
 sva-kara-pratāpa-mahimā kasy=āpy=adūra-sthitah<sup>5</sup> tējah-kranta-samasta-bhūbhrid=  
 ina ēv=āsau na kasy=ōpari || [12\*]
- 12 <sup>6</sup>Chatus-samudra-paryyamta[m?] svamudram yat-prasādhitam [\*] bhagnā samasta-  
 bhūpāla-mudrā Gāruda-mudrayā || [13\*] <sup>7</sup>Rājōmdrās=tē vandaniyās=ta pūrvvē  
 yčshām dharmma-
- 13 h=pālaniyō=smad-ādyaiah [\*] dhvastā dushtā varttamānās=sadharmmah prārthiyā  
 yē tē bhāvinah=pārthivēmdrāh || [14\*] Bhuktam kaischid=vikramēn=āparibhyō  
 dattam ch=ānyais=tyaktam=ēv=āparair=yyat [\*]
- 14 k=āsth=ānityē tatra rājyē mahadbhīh kirttya(rtyai?) dharmmah=kēvalam pālaniyah  
 || [15\*] <sup>8</sup>Tēn=ēdam=amla-vidyuch-chamchalam=avalōkya jīvitam=asāram [\*]  
 kshidāna-paramapunyaḥ=pravarttitō
- 15 dēvadāyō=yam || [16\*] Sa ēva paramabhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-  
 Jagattumgādēva-pādānudhyāna(ta)-paramabhattāraka-mahārāj[ā]dhirāja-paramēśvara-  
 śrī-
- 16 prthivīallabha-śrīmad-Amōghavarsha-śrī-Vallabhanarēmdradēvah sarvvān=ēva  
 yathāsambaddhyamānakān=rāshtravishayapati-grāmakūt āyuktaka-niyuktak-ā-
- 17 dhikārika-mahattar-ādīn=samādisaty=astu vas=samviditam yathā || Vikrama-vilāsa-  
 nīlayō Mukula-kulē pūrvva-bandhubhur=mmānyaih [\*] Erakōri-nāmadhēya-
- 18 h=pravikasitō=bhūt=prasūna-samah || [17\*] <sup>9</sup>Āvir-āsīt=prabhus=tasmāt=prasūnāt=phala-  
 sannibhah [\*] nāmn=Ādhōrah kul-ādhārah Kolanūr-ādhīpas=svayam || [18\*] Su-
- 19 tō=sya Vijayāmkāyām=abhūd=bhuvana-mānitah [\*] prachanda-mandal-ātamkō  
 Bamkēsah Sella-kētanah || [19\*] Madīyō vitata-jyōtir=nni(nni)śitō=sir=iv=āparah  
 [\*] u-
- 20 nmūlita-dvishad vriksha-mūlō maula-bala-prabhuh || [20\*] Mat-prasādēna samlabdha <sup>10</sup>  
 Vanavāsi-purassarān=grāmān<sup>11</sup>=trimsat-sahasrānī bhunakty=avirat-ōdayah || [21\*]
- 21 Mahā-pratāpād=uchchhēdam<sup>12</sup>=ndayachchhan=mad-ichchhayā [\*] mūlād=uchchhēttum=  
 uttumgām Gamgavādi-vatātavīm || [22\*] Tat=āntarē=smat-sāmantair=mmātsaryy-  
 āhi-
- 22 ta-mānasair=upēkshītō=pi kōp-ōdyat-sāhas-aika-sakhah svayam || [23\*] <sup>13</sup>Dhvasta-  
 ripu-nīti-mārggō rana-vikramam=ēka-buddhim=abhiniya [\*] sa madīya-hridaya-  
 samgatam=avandhya-
- 23 kōpatvam=āvahatī || [24\*] Yēna || Tat=Kēdal-ābhūdhānam durggam vapr-ārggal-  
 ādī durllamghyam [\*] maula-bal-ādhūsthitam=api sadyah prōllamghya hēlay=  
 āgrāhī || [25\*] <sup>14</sup>Janapadam=adah<sup>15</sup> kritvā ha-

<sup>1</sup> Originally *hra°* was engraved, read *hantum=*

<sup>2</sup> Read *bhuvanam=īdam=atō*, or, perhaps, *bhuvanam=anamitō*

<sup>3</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita

<sup>4</sup> I am unable to explain this properly. Perhaps the word *patī* is used here in the sense of *paṭṭa*, 'the frontlet or fillet which is tied to the head of an elephant,' see Kittel's *Kanarese Dictionary*, s v *paṭṭa*

Read *-sthitās=*

Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh) With the first half of the verse compare *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 249, l 11 of the text.

<sup>7</sup> Metre of verses 14 and 15 Śāluḥ

<sup>8</sup> Metre of verses 16 and 17 Āryā.

<sup>9</sup> Metre of verses 18 23 Ślōka (Anushtubh)

<sup>10</sup> Read *samlabhya*

<sup>11</sup> Read *grāvāms=*

<sup>12</sup> Read *=duchchēdīm=?*

<sup>13</sup> Metre of verses 24 and 25 Āryā

<sup>14</sup> Metre Harinī

<sup>15</sup> Read *=amum*

- 24 stê vidhūya virôdhinam Talavanapur-adhīsam kritvā [śruta]m<sup>1</sup> rana-vikramam  
[i\*] mad ari-vijayī bharttuh ślāghyas=samanvita sangarah samara-samayê vidvit  
chakrai-
- 25 r=avakrita-vikramah || [26\*] Kāvêrim<sup>2</sup> guru-pūra-durggamatamām=ullamghya simha-  
[kra]mât=pratyagra-sphurita-pratāpa-dahana-prôdyach-çhikhâ-śrēmbhīh [i\*] ni-  
26 rddahy=nikapadēna saptapadakān=vidvid-van-ôchchhēdinā yēn=ākampī jagat-  
prakampana-patôr=vvanājyam=apy=ūrjītam || [27\*] <sup>3</sup>Tatr=āntarē mad-amtīkam=  
antarbhbbhē(rbbhē)dēna jāta samkshôbbhē [i\*]
- 27 pratyāgantavyam=iti<sup>4</sup> tvay=ēti mad-vachanamâtrena || [28\*] Aprāptē<sup>5</sup>  
Vallabhemdrē(drô) mayī jayati yadā vidvishah syān=tad=āham samnyast-  
āsēsha-samgô munir=atha
- 28 vidhinā vidvishām syāj=jaya-srīh [i\*] tatr=āpy=u[ddā]ma dhūmadhvaja-vitata-śikhās=  
ūtpatāmī pratāpād=ity=ārūdhā-pratijñah katipaya-divasaiḥ=prā-  
29 pad=asmat-samīpam || [29\*] <sup>6</sup>Māsa-trayasya madhyē yadī bhōjayitum na  
śakyatē svāmī [i\*] kshīram vijitya śatrūn=<sup>7</sup>tath=āpī vahnim visāmy=ēva  
|| [30\*] <sup>8</sup>Ity=uktav=ākrama-vikram-ô-  
30 chechhikhâ-śikhī-jvāl-āvalīda(dha)-bra(vra)jê dhūma-śyāma[li]tê tirôhita-tanau  
prāyah=para-prēshītê [i\*] yâtê mat-tanayê sthit-ānya-nripatīn=nirjitya yô  
jitvarô bandhīkṛitya
- 31 ripūn=nihatya cha tadā tūnna-pratijñô=bhavat || [31\*] <sup>9</sup>Āvishkṛita-kôpa-śikhâ-  
nirddagdh-ārindhanô vin=āpy=anilât [i\*] ajvālītê(tô)=pī yasya pratāpa-vahnir=  
mmuhur=jvalati || [32\*]
- 32 Yasya cha kṛipāna-[vārinī] rudhir-â[kulitâ] dvishām mahâ-lakshmīh [i\*]  
majjaty=unmajjati tu sv-ādhipatēh kumkum-âkt=ēva || [33\*] Hutvâ<sup>10</sup> yēna  
ripum virôdhi-rudhira-prājy-â-
- 33 jya-dhâr-âhuti-brâ(vrâ)ta-prasphuri[ta]-pratāpa-[daha]nê vidvishita-śāntâś=śritam [i\*]  
viprēn=ēva ran-ādharê suvihita-śrī-mamtra-śakty=ārjītam kalpāntasthira-vīra-  
śāsanam=idam
- 34 mad=Vira-Nārāyanāt || [34\*] Tēn=aivambhūtēna Ba[mkēy-â]bhīdhânēna mad-īsh-  
bhṛityēna prārthitas=san<sup>11</sup> tat-prārthitanayâ Mānyakhēta-rājadhānyām=avasthitēna  
mayâ [mâ]-
- 35 tâ-pitrôr=âtmanas=ch=aiḥik-âmutrika-punya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê Kolanûrê tad-  
Bamkēya-nirmmāpita-jināyatana-paripālana-niyuktāya
- 36 <sup>12</sup>Śrī-Mūlasamgha-Dēsiyagana-Pustakagachehatah [i\*] jâtas=Trikālayôgīśah kshīr-  
ābdhēr=iva kaustubhaḥ || [35\*] Tach-çhāritra-vadhū-putrah śrī-Dēvêmdra-  
munīśvarah [i\*]
- 37 saiddhāntik-āgranīs=tasmai Bamkēyô [yām=adân=mu?]dâ<sup>13</sup> || [36\*] Tad-vasati-  
sambandhi-navakarmm-ôttarabhāvīkhandasphutita-sammārjjan-ôpalēpana-paripālan-âdi-  
dharmmôpa-
- 38 yôgi-karmma-karana-nimittam Majjantiya-sap[t]atigrāma-bhukty-amtarggataḥ<sup>14</sup>  
Taleyûra-nāma-grāmah tasya ch-āghâtāh tat-Kolanûrât-pūrvvatah Bēndanûru
- 39 dakshinatah Sāsavēvâ[du] tat-pāschimatah Padilagerē uttaratah Kilavādah  
ēvam=ayam chatur-āghâtan ôpalakshitah s ôdramgas=sa-pari-

<sup>1</sup> The two *akṣharas* in brackets are almost completely effaced

<sup>2</sup> Metre Sârdûlavikrīdita

<sup>3</sup> Metre Āryā

<sup>4</sup> This *iti* is superfluous

<sup>5</sup> Metre Srugdhara

<sup>6</sup> Metre Ārya

<sup>7</sup> Read *śatrūms*

<sup>8</sup> Metre Sârdûlavikrīdita

<sup>9</sup> Metre of verses 32 and 33 Āryā

<sup>10</sup> Metre Sârdûlavikrīdita

<sup>11</sup> Read *sams*

<sup>12</sup> Metre of verses 35 and 36 Ślōka (Anushtubh)

<sup>13</sup> The *akṣharas* in brackets are almost entirely effaced and therefore doubtful

<sup>14</sup> Here and in some places below the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

- 40 karab sa-damda-daś-āparādhās=sambhrit-ōpātta-pratyayas<sup>1</sup>=s-ōtpadyamāna-viśhriti(ka)h  
sa-dhānya-hirany-ādēyah dvādaśa-puṣṭparātah <sup>2</sup>pamchāsāduttera-śata-ha-
- 41 [sta]-viśārāḥ=pamchāsata-basta-pramān-āyāmah grihānām=āghātas=samudītah  
<sup>3</sup>pravēśyas=sarvva-rājakiy[a\*]nām=ahastaprakṣhēpanīyah ā-
- 42 [cha]mdr-ārkk-ārnnava-kshiti-sarīt-parvvata-samakālīnah putra-pautr-ānvaya-kramīna  
pratipālyah pūrvapradatta-dēvabrahmadāya-rahītō=hya(bhya)-
- 43 [n]tarasi[d\*]dhyā bhūmichchidra-nyāyēna ||<sup>4</sup> Śakanripa-kāl-ātita-samvatsara-  
śatēshu saptasu dvā(dvya)śity-adhikēshu tadabhyadhika-samanantara-  
pravarttamāna-tra-<sup>5</sup>
- 44 yōśitātama-Vikrama-samvatsar-āntarggat-Āśvayuja-paurṇamāsyām sarvvagrāsī-  
sōmagrahanē mahā-parvvanī bali-paksha-vaiśvadev-āgnihōtr-ātī-
- 45 thu-santarppanād<sup>6</sup>=dhār-ōdak-ātisarggēna pratipādītah || Tath=ātr=aiva tat-  
Kolanūr[a]\* tad-[bh]ukti-madhya-vartty-Avaravā[d]\*- | Bendanūru- |  
Mudugumdi- | Kittai-vo-
- 46 le- | Sulla- | Mus[a]- | Da[dh]jere- | Māvinūru- | Mattikatte- | Nila[gum]dage- |  
Tālikhēda- | B[e]lleru- | Saṃgamā- | Pīrisimgi- | Muttalagere- | Kākeyanūru-<sup>8</sup> |  
Behuru- |
- 47 Ālūgu- | [Pārva]nagere- | Hosam[Ja]la[lu]- | I[m]dugal- | Neri[la]ge- |  
Haganūru- | Uhalāru- | Indagere- | Munivalli- | Kottā[s]e- | Oddittage- |  
Sī[kimabri?]- |
- 48 Giri[pī]dal- | nāmadhēyēshv=ētēshu Kolanūr-āta<sup>9</sup> tad-bhukti-varttiśhu  
tri(tri)mśatsv=api grāmēshv=ēkaika-grāmē dvādaśa nīvarttanāni bhūmēh  
pratipādītāni ||<sup>10</sup> Atō=sy-ō-
- 49 chitayā <sup>10</sup>dēvadāyadāya-sthityā bhūmjatō bhōjayatah krishatah karshayatah  
pratidīśatō vā na kaischid=alp=āpi paripanthanā kāryyā tath=ā-
- 50 gāmi-bhadra-nripatibhir=asmad-vamśyair=anyair=vvā sāmānya[m] bhūmi-dāna-phalam=  
avētya vidyul-lōlany=aiśvāryyāni trināgra-lagna-jalabindu-chamchalam cha jī-
- 51 vitam=ākalayya svadāya-nirvviśēshō=smad-dāyō=numantavyah pratipālayitabya(vya)ś=  
cha ||<sup>11</sup> Yas=tv=ajñāna-timira-patal-āvrīta-matir=<sup>12</sup>āchchidryamānakam
- 52 ch(v)=ānumōdēta sa pamchabhur=mmahāpātākais=sōpapātākais=cha<sup>13</sup> samyuktah  
syād=ity=<sup>14</sup>uktam bhagavatā vēda-byā(vyā)sēna<sup>14</sup> || <sup>15</sup>Shashtir=varsha-sahasrāni  
svarggē tishthati
- 53 bhūmidah ||<sup>16</sup> āchchhētā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || [37\*]  
Vimdhya-ātavīshv=atōyāsu śushka-kōtara-vāsishu(naḥ) ||<sup>17</sup> krishnasarppā hi  
jāyamtē bhūmi-

<sup>1</sup> The term intended apparently is *sambhūtōpātta-pratyāyas*, which occurs in other inscriptions

<sup>2</sup> Instead of the sentence commencing here and ending with *samudītah*, a single compound should have been used, qualifying *grāmāh*

<sup>3</sup> Here *achchabāṭa* has been omitted

<sup>4</sup> This sign of punctuation should be struck out.

<sup>5</sup> Read *-tryāśitātama-*

<sup>6</sup> The passage commencing with *baḥ* is quite out of place here, the object of the grant having already been stated correctly in lines 37 and 38. In inscriptions where a similar statement is properly made we find *chāra* (instead of *palāsha*) and *santarpanāśīham*. For the following *dhār dā* of this inscription one would have expected *adv=ōda*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *°nīrē (?)*

<sup>8</sup> Read *-āghātē (?)*

<sup>9</sup> Read *-matir=achchhīndyād=ācchhī*

<sup>10</sup> Read *iti* & *Uktam cha bhā*

<sup>11</sup> Metre of verses 37 and 38: *ślōka* (Anushtubh)

<sup>12</sup> Originally *Kāmā* was engraved

<sup>13</sup> Read *dēvadāya-*

<sup>14</sup> This *cha* should have been omitted

<sup>15</sup> After this the word *Vyāśēna* has been omitted

Read *Shashtim va*.

- 54 dānam haranti yō || [38\*] <sup>1</sup>Agnór=apatya[m] prathamam suvarṇam bhūr=  
Vvaishnavi sūrya-sutās=cha gāvaḥ [1\*] lōka-trayan=tōna bhavōd=dhi dattam  
yah=kāmchanam gām cha mahim
- 55 cha dadyāt || [39\*] <sup>2</sup>Bahubhur=vrasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [1\*] yasya  
yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tada phalaṁ || [40\*] Sva-dattām para-dattām  
vā yainā-
- 56 d=rakshy[ē]<sup>3</sup> narādhipaḥ [1\*] mahim mahimatām<sup>4</sup> śrēṣṭha dānāch=chhrīyō=  
napālanam || [41\*] Iti<sup>5</sup> kamala-dal-āmbubindu-lōlām śriyam=anuchintya  
manushya-jīvitam cha [1\*] ativima-
- 57 la manōbhīr=āmakair=<sup>6</sup>nna hi purushaiḥ=para-kīrtitayō vilōpyāḥ || [42\*] Likhitam  
ch=aitad=Vālabha-kāyastha-vamśa-jātōna dharmādhikarāṇa-s[th]ēna bhōgika-  
Vatsarājēna
- 58 Śrīharsha-sūnū grāmapa[ttā]lādihkrita<sup>7</sup>-lōkha-karāṇahasti-Nāgavarmma-Prithvirāma-  
bhṛityēna || <sup>8</sup>Bamkōyārāja<sup>9</sup>-mukhyō Ganā(na)pati-nāmā ma-  
59 hattarāḥ=prājñāḥ [1\*] rājās=samīpa-vartti tōn=ēdam=annashtitam sarvvaṁ || [43\*]  
✽ <sup>10</sup>Mithyābhāva-bhav-ātidarppa-para-tad-duśśāsan-ōchōhēdakam prājñ-ājñā-vaśa-  
varttamā-
- 60 n-janatā-sat-saukhyā-sampādakam [1\*] nānārūpa-viśiṣṭa-vastu-parama-syādvāda-  
lakṣmī-padam jōjīyāj=Jina-rājāsānam=īdam svāchāra-sāra-pradam || [44\*]
- 61 Siddhāntāmṛta-vārdhī-tārakapatis=tarkk-āmbuj-āharppatīḥ śabd-ōdyānavan-āmṛta-rika-  
saranir=yyōgimdra-chūdāmanīḥ [1\*] Traividy-āpara-sārthā-
- 62 nāma-vibhavaḥ=prōddhūta-chēlōbhavaḥ<sup>11</sup> jīyād=anyamat-āvanibhīd-aśanīḥ śrī-  
Mēghachamdrō munīḥ || [45\*] Idō<sup>12</sup> hamaī-bṛindam=īmtal=bagedapudu
- 63 chakōri-chayam chamchuvindam kardukal=sārdḍappud=īśam jadoyol=īrsal=end=  
īrdḍapam sejjeg=īral=padedappam Krishnan=emb=ant=esedu bīsa-lasat-kandali-kam-
- 64 da-kāntam padidatt-i Mēghachamdra-bra(vra)ṭilaka-jagadvartta-kīrtti prakāśam  
|| [46\*] <sup>13</sup>Vaidagdhya-śrī-vadhūti-patir=akhila-gun-ālamkritir=Mmēghacham-
- 65 dra-Traividyasy=sāmājyō Madana-mahābhīrō bhōdanō vajrapātāḥ [1\*] saiddhānta  
byū(vyū)ha-chūdāmanir=anupala(ma)-chintāmanī-
- 66 r=bbbhū(bbhū) janānām yō=bbhūt=saujanya-rūmdra-śriyam=avati mahau Viranandi  
mun-īmdrah || [47\*] <sup>14</sup>Yas=śabda-jñā-nabhasṭhā[ī]-dinamanīḥ kāvyajñā-chūdāma-
- 67 nir=yyas=tarkkasthiti-kaumudi-humakaras=tūryatray-ābj-āharāḥ [1\*] yas=siddhānta-  
vichāra-sāra-Dhishanō ratna-trayī-bhūṣhanah sthō-
- 68 yād=uddhata-vādi-bhūbhīd-aśanīḥ śrī-Viranandi munīḥ || [48\*] Yan-mūrttir=  
jjagatām janasya nayanō karppūrapūrāyatō yad-vrittir=vvidushān=ta-
- 69 tēs=śravanayōr=mmānikyabhūṣhāyatō [1\*] yat-kīrttī=kakubhām śriyah kacha-bharō  
mallīlatāntāyatō jējīyād=bhuvī Viranandi-munīpas=sai-
- 70 ddhānta-chakr-ādhipaḥ ||<sup>15</sup> [49\*] ✽ Śrī-Kondakundānvay-āmbara-dyumanī vidvajjana-  
śīrōmanī samast-ānavadya-vidyā-vilāsinī-vilāsa-mūrtti śrī-Viranandi-sai[ddhā]-

<sup>1</sup> Metre Indravajrā<sup>2</sup> Read =rakshā nardāḥpa<sup>3</sup> Metre Pushpitāgrā<sup>4</sup> The second t of the akshara in brackets may have been struck out in the original, read °paṭa[ā]<sup>5</sup> Metre Ārya<sup>2</sup> Metre of verses 40 and 41 Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh)<sup>4</sup> Read mahābhīrām<sup>6</sup> Read ātmanānir=<sup>9</sup> Originally °rājya- was engraved<sup>11</sup> Read °bhavō<sup>10</sup> Metre of verses 44 and 45 Śārdūlavikṛīḍita<sup>12</sup> Read °bhavō<sup>13</sup> Read °bhavō<sup>14</sup> Read °bhavō<sup>15</sup> Read °bhavō<sup>13</sup> Metre Mahāśragdharā The same verse, with some slight various readings, is found in *Inscr. at Sravana Belgola*, pp 25 and 31<sup>14</sup> Metre Śragdharā The same verse, with two various readings, occurs *ibid* p 32<sup>15</sup> Metre of verses 48 and 49 Śārdūlavikṛīḍita<sup>16</sup> This verse, incomplete and with a various reading, occurs *ibid* p 32



- 71 ntuka-chakravarttigalu śrīman-mahāsthānam Kolanūra mahāprabhu Hulyam-  
 arasanum mūṇa-pura-pamecha-matha-sthānamgalum tāmbara-śāsana[mam]  
 72 nōḍi bareyisum=enalk=ā śāsanadol=ent=irddud=ant=ī śulā-śāsanamam bareyī[s]idaru [||\*]  
 Mamgala mahā-śrī śrī śrī namô <sup>1</sup> . [||\*]

TRANSLATION.<sup>2</sup>

(Verse 1) May the beloved of Fortune, with whom all forms are conjoined,<sup>3</sup> who with his discus destroys the conceit of adversaries, the infinite being before whom bow down the lords of the immortals, the primeval lord Jina, grant to me supreme bliss!<sup>4</sup>

(V 2) May the lord Vira-Nārāyana<sup>5</sup> protect you here, he who rests on the body of (the serpent) Ananta, (and) is the mountain from which (like luminaries) rise men of valorous conduct, the progenitor of the mighty race of the excellent Rāshtrakūtas!

(V 3) In the long Yādava lineage of the princes of that (race) there was in the course of time, like a collection of jewels in the ocean, king Gōvinda, who subdued the earth, the son of Prichchhakarāja

(V 4) The lord Karkara, the son of king Indra, it was by whom, mighty like Prithu, the earth was brought under subjection, (and) by whom, of great strength and full of valour, the enemies were scattered like darkness

(V 5) From him sprang king Dantidurga, who defeated arrays of elephants from the Himālaya to the confines of (Rāma's) mighty bridge, (and) who, a leader of his family, crushed the circle of arrogant princes on the earth

(V 6) After him Śubhatunga-vallabha, on the battle-field which became a *svayamvara*, fearlessly carried off by force the Chālukya family's Fortune, adorned with a garland of waving *pāldhvaja* flags<sup>6</sup>

(V 7) Grand with his victory, high throne and chowries, possessed of a white umbrella, a destroyer of opponent kings, called the mighty king Akālavārsha, he was a royal saint through his infinite religious merit.

(V 8) Then came Prabhūtavarsha, the son of Dhārāvarsha, a king who on the field of battle acted with his arrows like a torrent of rain (*dhārā-varsha*)<sup>7</sup>

His<sup>8</sup> son —

(Vs 9 and 10) At the time of whose birth the lords of the gods ordained that, as her master, he should rule the ocean-girded earth as far as the Himālaya and (Rāma's) bridge, afterwards, being (called) Prabhūtavarsha because he fulfilled desires of his own accord, as Jagattunga stood over (all) kings as the Sumēru does over the mountains

<sup>1</sup> From here and up to the end of the line some *akṣaras* (at the utmost six) are effaced

<sup>2</sup> Of lines 34-57 of the text which, in the usual style and for the most part in well-known terms, record a grant, I consider it sufficient to give only an abstract of the contents

<sup>3</sup> I.e. who assumes all forms, or exists in all forms

<sup>4</sup> As translated here, the verse refers to the god Vishnu (*Jina*), of whom *Vīśvarūpa* (by itself) and *Ananta* also are epithets or names. But it also is intended to invoke the blessing of the first Jaina prophet, *Jinendra*, and on this alternative the word *sudarśana*, above rendered by 'discus,' would mean 'excellent doctrine'

<sup>5</sup> I.e. the god Vishnu. But *Vīra-Nārāyana* also is an epithet of the king Amoghavarsha (see below, verse 34) and, with reference to him, the verse also is intended to convey the meaning 'May the king Vira-Nārāyana protect you here, he the continuance of whose rule is without end, who is the mountain from which rises the conduct of valour, (and) who has excellent ancestors of the mighty race of the Rāshtrakūtas'

<sup>6</sup> See above, Vol III p 107, lines 22 and 34 of the text.

<sup>7</sup> This play on the word *dhārāvarsha* shews that the subject of the verse should be Dhārāvarsha, not Prabhūtavarsha, 'the son of Dhārāvarsha.'

<sup>8</sup> According to the context, Prabhūtavarsha's, really, Dhārāvarsha's

(V 11.) After him, to guard both the world and the fame of his charming relatives—of the ancestors in his righteous family who have become favourites<sup>1</sup> inasmuch as they are good fame, filling the earth, incarnate—and to destroy the wickedness of the Kali age, the glorious Amôghavarsha, the annihilator of his enemies, is ruling this earth, seated on the throne

(V 12.) The command of this excellent (*king*) other sovereigns perpetually carry on their heads like a garland The creeping plant of his fame grows up to the fillets on the foreheads of the array of the elephants of the quarters The mighty valour that dwells in his hand is far away from no one He being the very sun which with its heat scorches all mountains,<sup>2</sup> who is the king above whom he does not rise?

(V. 13.) He with his own seal has stamped all (*land*) as far as the four oceans, the seals of all kings he has broken with his Garuda seal

(V 14.) Honour surely we must the great kings of the past whose acts of religion we are to preserve, destroyed are the wicked kings of the present, solicit<sup>3</sup> we must those future rulers who share our sense of religion

(V. 15.) What imports that fleeting royalty which some have enjoyed by their bravery, some bestowed on others, and others again resigned even? Great men, to secure fame, must cherish religion only

(V 16.) Having seen that this life, unstable like wind and lightning, is void of substance, he has devised this gift to the gods, most meritorious on account of a donation of land

(Lane 15.) He, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the favourite of fortune and the earth, the glorious Amôghavarsha, the glorious *Vallabhanarēndradēva*, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the glorious Jagattungadēva, commands all *Rāshṭrapatis*, *Viśhayapatis*, *Grāmakūṭas*, *Āyuktakas*, *Niyuktakas*, *Ādhikārikas*, *Mahattaras* and others, as they may be concerned Be it known to you —

(V 17.) In the *Mukula*<sup>4</sup> family there blossomed like a flower, with ancestors worthy of honour, *Eṭakōri*, a home of the play of bravery

(V 18.) From that flower grew, as it were its fruit, a masterful man named *Adhōra*,<sup>5</sup> the stay of his family, who himself was lord of *Kolanūra*.

(V 19.) His son from *Viśayānkā* was *Bankēśa* (*alias*) *Sella-kētana*,<sup>6</sup> honoured in the world, a fierce fever to districts.

(V 20.) Like another flashing sharp sword of mine, as commander of the hereditary forces he has uprooted, like trees, my adversaries

(V 21.) By my favour he has received and rules the thirty-thousand villages of which *Vanavāsi* is the foremost, never ceasing to prosper

(V 22.) At my desire, in his great valour he has striven to extirpate that lofty forest of fig-trees—*Gangavādī*, difficult to be cut down

(Vs 23 and 24.) On that occasion, though abandoned by my jealously minded feudatories, by himself, solely aided by the daring which sprang from his anger, setting at nought the enemy's policy, displaying a bravery in war which had one aim only, he made the anger of my heart not barren

He, by whom—

(V 25.) That fort named *Kēdala*, difficult to be scaled on account of its ramparts, bars etc, though held by hereditary forces, was at once ascended and easily taken.

<sup>1</sup> The word *vallabha* is purposely chosen in the original, because it is a common surname of Rāshtrakūṭa kings, compare below, verse 29

<sup>2</sup> In the original the word for 'mountains' also means 'kings'

<sup>3</sup> *Vas* to preserve our acts of piety

<sup>5</sup> Or *Adhōra*

<sup>4</sup> *Mukula* ordinarily is 'a bud'

<sup>6</sup> See above, p 27 f

(V 26) Having occupied that country, having driven away the hostile lord of Talavanapura, having shewn famous valour in war, defeating my enemies, for his master an object of praise, true to his promise, he at the time of battle did not let his bravery be baffled by the hosts of the enemy

(V 27) With a lion's spring having crossed the Kāvêri, most difficult to be passed on account of its heavy floods, by the lines of the ever freshly flashing flames of fire of his valour having at once consumed the allied,<sup>1</sup> extirpating the forest of adversaries, he shook the mighty dominion of him even who was able to shake the world.

(Vs 28 and 29) On that occasion, when through internal dissension a disturbance had arisen near me, then, at the mere word of me that he should return—having made a vow that if, before his arrival, I, the Vallabha lord, should defeat the enemies, he would as an ascetic completely resign the world, or if by chance the fortune of victory should fall to the enemies, he would enter into the flames of a roaring fire—he arrived near me after a few days

(Vs 30 and 31) Having said that also he certainly would enter into fire if, within three months, by defeating the enemies he could not make his master drink milk<sup>2</sup>—after my son, whose hosts were consumed by the flames of the blazing fire of his impetuous bravery, blackened by the smoke and thus hidden himself had escaped, perchance sent away by the rest—he completely defeated the princes who remained, and, victorious, made captive and slew the adversaries, and thus fulfilled his promise

(V 32) The fire of his prowess, with the flames of wrath which it emits, consumes the enemies on which it feeds, even without wind, though unlit, it blazes forth again and again

(V. 33) Soiled with blood, the Fortune of the enemies dives into the water of his sword, but that of his master emerges from it, anointed as it were with saffron<sup>3</sup>

(V 34) Like a Brâhman, having sacrificed the enemy at the sacrifice of battle, where the fire of his valour shone the brighter for the many oblations of streams of melted butter—the blood of his opponents, he has secured from me, Vira-Nârâyana,<sup>4</sup> this edict which to the world's end proclaims him a hero, resulting from his expiatory rite—the destruction of my foes, and acquired by the efficiency of his spell—the restoration of my fortune

(Lane 34)<sup>5</sup> At the request of this my dear servant Bankêya, I, residing at the capital of Mânyakhêta,—seven hundred and eighty-two years having passed since the time of the Śaka king, on the auspicious occasion of a total eclipse of the moon on the full-moon tithi of Āśvayuja in the year Vikrama, the eighty-third current year—have given the village of Taleyûra, in the *bhukti* of the seventy villages of Majjantiya, to him who has been appointed to take care of the Jina sanctuary founded by Bankêya at Kolanûra—*viz* (vv 35 and 36) to Dêvendra, the chief of ascetics (*munîśvara*) to whom Bankêya has given the temple, the disciple of Trikâlayôgîśa, born from the Pustaka *gachchha* of the Dêśiya *gana* of the Mûla *samgha*—for any new work connected with the sanctuary, for future repairs, for the cleansing, plastering, maintaining of it, and for other acts of piety The boundaries of the village are, on the east of the said Kolanûra,<sup>6</sup> Bendanûru, on the south, Sâsavevâ[du], on the west of it, Padilagera, and on the north, Kilavâda<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the original the word is *saptapadaka*, which I cannot find elsewhere. Compare *saptapadina*

<sup>2</sup> *Viz* to allay his anger or mental distress According to the writers on medicine, milk is a remedy not only for bodily disease, but also for mental disorder

<sup>3</sup> Compare *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 265, l 30 of the text

<sup>4</sup> Compare above, verse 2

<sup>5</sup> From here to line 57 only an abstract of the contents is given

<sup>6</sup> Why the words *tat-Kolanûrat*, 'of the said Kolanûra,' have been added, it is difficult to explain If correct, the words would indicate that the village granted was quite close to Kolanûra

<sup>7</sup> Among the usual phrases specifying the conditions of the grant, we have, in lines 40 and 41, the statement that the village contained twelve flower gardens, and that the total extent of the houses was 150 *hastas* in breadth and 500 *hastas* in length

(L 45) I also have given twelve *nivartanas* of land at Kolanūra itself, and at each of the following thirty villages within its *bhukti*,<sup>1</sup> viz Avaravā[d], Bendanūru, Mudugundi, Kittavole, Sulla, Mus[a], Da[dh]ere, Māvīnūru, Mattikatte, Nila[gun]dage, Tālikhēda, B[e]lleṛu, Saṃgama, Pīrsingī, Muttalagere, Kākeyanūru, Behuru, Ālūgu, [Pārva]nagere, Hosāṇ[a]la[lu], I[n]dugalu, Neṛi[la]ge, Haganūru, Unalāru, Indagere, Munivallī, Kotta[s]e, Oddittage, Si[kimabri?], and Gīri[pī]dalū

Lines 48-57 contain the usual admonition not to obstruct the grantee and to preserve the grant, and quote six benedictive and imprecatory verses (37-42), ascribed to Vyāsa

(L 57.) This has been written by the *bhōgiha* Vatsarāja, an official in the court of justice, born in the clan of the Vālabha Kāyasthas, the son of Śrīharsha<sup>2</sup> and servant of Nāgavarman Prithivīrama, keeper of village records and war-elephant of writers.

(V 43) The chief (adviser) of Bankēyarāja, the wise Mahattara Ganapati, who is near the Rājā's person, has executed all this

(V. 44) Ever victorious, like a royal edict,<sup>3</sup> be this doctrine of the Jinas, which destroys the false doctrines of people who are filled with an excessive pride arising from ignorance, which brings about the true happiness of all who act in obedience to the commands of the wise, which is the place of glory of the excellent *syādvāda* by which things appear under manifold forms, and grants the quintessence of good conduct<sup>4</sup>

(V 45) Victorious be the holy sage Mēghachandra, who is the moon to the ocean of the nectar of established truths,<sup>5</sup> the sun to the lotus—reasoning, the one continuous stream of nectar to the garden—speech, the crest-jewel of the lords among contemplative saints, whose lofty second name of Traivīdya is truly appropriate, who has shaken off the god of love, and is a thunderbolt to the mountains—other creeds<sup>6</sup>

(V 46) Manifestly, the fame, pervading the world, of this Mēghachandra, the foremost of devotees, has shone forth and entered (*here*), glittering like the fibres of the waterlily (*and*) lovely like the bulbous root of the plantain tree, saying (*to itself*), "Lo! the flock of female *hamsas* begin to think of drinking, the collection of female *chakōra* birds approach to peck with their beaks, Īśa gives orders for the decoration of his matted hair, (*and*) Kṛishna is eager to choose (*an occupant*) for his couch"<sup>6</sup>

(V. 47.) Viranandin, the chief of sages, owns on earth the glory (*of being*) rich in benevolence, he who is the husband of the young woman—renown of cleverness, the ornament of every kind of excellence, the offspring of Mēghachandra-Traivīdya, a stroke of lightning to split the mountain Mādana,<sup>6</sup> the crest-jewel of the crowd of those who know

<sup>1</sup> Or, perhaps, 'within that *bhukti*' (of the Majjantīya seventy villages, mentioned before)

<sup>2</sup> Or 'of the illustrious Harsha'

<sup>3</sup> The word for 'doctrine' in the original is *śāsana* which also means 'an edict,' and the author calls the doctrine of the Jinas a *rāja śāsana*, or 'royal edict'

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Inscr at Śravana-Belgoḷa*, p 8, l 15, *Jinśloka mata kshīrābdhi tārpātī*, p 48, l 4 from bottom, *siddhāntāmṛta-vārddhi-varddhana vidhu*, p 49, last line, *Jināgama sudhārnava pūrnachandra*; and other similar passages

<sup>5</sup> For the exact meaning of the several words of this charming verse, which in the original is in Kanarese, I have consulted Dr Fleet and the Rev Mr Kittel. Ordinarily, fame for its brightness is compared, among other objects, with milk, lotus fibres, the moon, and Śrī (the wife of Vishnu Kṛishna, compare *eg Inscr at Śravana-Belgoḷa*, Roman text, p 15, l 4 ff) Here, the fame of Mēghachandra is actually identified with all four, and is made to appear in the world, of its own accord, to fulfil the demand for them on the part of respectively the *hamsa* and *chakōra* birds, and the gods Śiva and Kṛishna. The words translated by 'for the decoration of' literally mean 'to place in'. Concerning the *hamsas*, I may remind the reader of the well known line *hamsaiv-ayathā kshīram-iv-ambumadhyāt*

<sup>6</sup> *Le.* the god of love

the established truths, and an unrivalled jewel to yield the desires of the creatures of this world

(V 48) May he abide (*here*), the holy sage Viranandin, who is the sun of the firmament—those who know the science of words, the crest-jewel of those conversant with poetry, the moon to the moon-light—the science of reasoning, a pool of the lotuses—the triad of music, song and dance,<sup>1</sup> who is a Brihaspati for the quintessence of the investigation of established truths, who adorns the three jewels,<sup>2</sup> and is a thunderbolt to the mountains—concerted disputants!

(V 49) Ever victorious be in the world the chief of sages Viranandin, the lord of the circle of those who know the established truths, he whose form is like a stream of camphor for the eyes of the creatures of the worlds, whose conduct like a jewel-ornament for the ears of the assemblage of the learned, and whose fame like the shoot of a jasmine creeper for the hair-tresses of the Fortune of the regions!

(Line 70) <sup>3</sup>The universal sovereign of those who know the established truths, the holy Viranandin, the sun in the sky of the glorious Kondakunda-line, the crest-jewel of the learned, the embodiment of the sport of the courtesans—the several branches of faultless learning,—when Huliymarasa, the *Mahāprabhu* of the sacred great place of Kolanūra, and (*the authorities of*) the three towns and the five *maṭhas*,<sup>4</sup> having seen a copper charter, bade him cause it<sup>5</sup> to be written,—caused this stone charter to be written in accordance with what was in that (*copper*) charter

Bliss! Great fortune, fortune, fortune! Adoration to<sup>6</sup> . !

#### No 5 — CHEBROLU INSCRIPTION OF JAYA, SAKA-SAMVAT 1157

By F KIELHORN, PH D, LL D, C I E, GÖTTINGEN.

This inscription is engraved on the four faces of the left one<sup>7</sup> of two pillars which are in front of the *gōpura* of the Nāgêśvara temple at Chêbrôlu, in the Bâpatla tâluka of the Kistna district. My account of it is based on an excellent inked estampage, prepared by Mr H Krishna Sastri, B A, and forwarded to me by Dr Hultzsch

The inscription contains 168 lines of carefully engraved writing, which, with the exception of a few letters, damaged or broken away at the commencement of lines 3-5 and 131-137, and at the end of lines 85-91, is in an excellent state of preservation. The characters are Telugu,<sup>8</sup> and the size of the letters is between  $\frac{5}{8}$ " and  $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Excepting the greater part of line 158

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Inscr at Śravana-Belgoḷa*, p 49, l 4, *gītē vādyē cha nṛityē*, p 52, l 18, *gīta vādya-nṛitya-sātradhāreṇ*

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol III p 184, note 2, and p 207, note 3

<sup>3</sup> For the interpretation of the following, which in the original is in Kanarese, I am indebted to Dr Fleet.

<sup>4</sup> The exact meaning of this is not apparent. Compare *eg. Mysore Inscr* p 158, l 11, and *Ind Ant* Vol IV p 203, note

<sup>5</sup> *Viz* the stone charter, mentioned immediately afterwards

<sup>6</sup> What may have followed is effaced in the original.

<sup>7</sup> The inscription which is on the pillar on the right has been edited by Dr. Hultzsch, above, Vol V p 142 ff

<sup>8</sup> With regard to the alphabet here used, I would only draw attention to the fact that *ḍḥ* (which occurs in the word *mūḍha* in line 136) is distinguished from *ḍ* by a semi-circle, open to the proper right, which is placed below, and attached to, the proper left curve of the sign for *ḍ*. In the Ganapēśvaram inscription (above, Vol. III p 88, Plate, line 110) a similar separate sign for *ḍḥ* is used, but there the distinguishing semi circular line is not attached to, but intersects, the left curve of the sign for *ḍ*. An examination of the published photo lithograph leads me to suspect that a sign for *ḍḥ*, similar to the one in the Ganapēśvaram inscription, is used already

and the whole of line 159, which are in Telugu, the language is Sanskrit, and the text is all in verse, excepting the words 'svasti śrīh' with which the inscription begins, and the Telugu passage already referred to

This is another inscription of Jāya or Jāyana, the now well-known general of the Kākatiya king Ganapati. Verses 1-43 (lines 1-141), which give the genealogies of Ganapati and Jāya, need not be published, because, except for some slight various readings, they are identical with the same verses (lines 1-114) of the Ganapēśvaram inscription edited and translated by Dr Hultzsch, above, Vol III p 82 ff. All that it is necessary to state about them specifically, is, that the names *Mamittēna-Gumda*, *Kroyyūru*, and *Bamduladēvi*, which occur in lines 15, 45 and 64 of the Ganapēśvaram inscription, in the present inscription (ll 18, 54 and 78) are spelt *Mamthēna-Gumda*, *Krōyūru*, and *Bhamduladēvi*<sup>1</sup>

The short remaining part of the inscription, the text of which is given below, in verses 44-47 records that, in the year of the Śaka king (or kings) numbered by the mountains (7), the arrows (5), the earth (1), and the moon (1), i.e. in Śaka-Samvat 1157, on the tithi of Girijā (Pārvati)<sup>2</sup> in the bright half of the month Mādhava (Vaiśākha), on a Saturday, the general Jāya set up at Tāmrapura an image, in the shape of a *linga* made of black stone, of the god Chôdēśvara, so called after Jāya's father (Pinna-Chôdi), that he built for this god a temple which the people called 'the ornament of Ayya's<sup>3</sup> family,' after Jāya himself, that in front of the temple he erected two rows of double-storied houses for sixteen female attendants,<sup>4</sup> and that for the requirements (*anga-ranga-bhōga*) of the god he gave the village Mrontukūru in Velanāndu, one of the villages that had been given to him by the king (Ganapati). A statement in Telugu (in lines 158 and 159) adds that the land within the four boundaries of the village amounted to 45 *lha* 6 *na*,<sup>5</sup> and that the land to the west of the Îrēru (river) amounted to 5 *lha* 18 *na*. After this, the inscription has four benedictive and imprecatory verses, nearly identical with the verses at the end of the other Chêbrôlu inscription of Jāya, above, Vol V p 148

The date of this inscription regularly corresponds, for Śaka-Samvat 1157 expired, to Saturday, the 21st April A D 1235, when the third tithi of the bright half of Vaiśākha (as a *kshaya-tithi*) commenced 0 h 51 m, and ended 22 h 7 m, after mean sunrise. Of the localities mentioned, Tāmrapura (as has been stated already by Dr. Hultzsch) is Chêbrôlu itself, and Mrontukūru I take to be the 'Modukur' of the map, about six miles south-east of Chêbrôlu

#### END OF THE TEXT.<sup>6</sup>

141 . . . . . 7Sô=yam Jāya-  
142 chamûpatir=ggiri-sara-kshmâ-chandra-samkhyêm<sup>8</sup> Śa-

in the Anamkond inscription of Rudradêva (*Ind Ant* Vol XI p 12, Plate), in the word *parivṛdha* in line 17, although in the photo lithograph the sign for *dha*, at first sight, does not seem here to differ at all from the sign for *da*. Neither of the signs for *dha* here described is given in the palæographic Tables hitherto published

<sup>1</sup> As regards other various readings, I may add that in this new inscription the Dravidian *ḷ* is employed more frequently than in the Ganapēśvaram inscription, and that instead of *khaḍga mu[kha]sya* in line 106 of the Ganapēśvaram inscription we here (in line 131) have *khaḍga-mukhēna*, and instead of *prati-pakṣam=ḷti* (in line 108) the better reading *bahulē [pra]yāti* (in line 133) — With reference to Dr Hultzsch's translation and notes I would state, at his request, that *nīlōpalāh* in verse 3 means 'sapphires,' and that the word *ḷyāḷi rita* in verse 13 is accounted for by Pāṇini, V 4, 58

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the third tithi, ('*trityā Giriputryās=tu chaturthi Vighnahārinah*') The third tithi of the bright half of Vaiśākha is the well-known *Akshaya trityā*

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol III. p 83

<sup>4</sup> Literally, 'superior courtesans'

<sup>5</sup> *Kha* is an abbreviation of *khandi* (see Dr Hultzsch, above, Vol. V. p 149, note 6), *na* may be an abbreviation of *naleamu*, 'a furlong.'

<sup>6</sup> From an inked estampage supplied by Dr Hultzsch. Line 141 is the fourth line on the south face of the pillar

<sup>7</sup> Metre of verses 44 and 45 Śārdulavikrīḍita

<sup>8</sup> Read *samkhyē*

143	kēmdr-ābdē	Mādhava-māsa-sudtha(ddha)-Girijā-ti-
144	thyām	Śanēr-vvāsarē   śrīmat-Tāmmrapurē <sup>1</sup> mu-
145	dā janaya(yi)tur=nnā(mn)=ātra	Chōdēsvaram pratya-
146	shthā(shthā)payad=achchha-nīladīshadā	<sup>2</sup> nishpamna-limg-ā-
147	kritām <sup>3</sup>    [44*]	Dēvasy=āsyā sa-sātakumbha-kalāsam
148	Kailāsaśail-ōpamam	<sup>4</sup> vistīrnn-ōjvala-mamtapam
149	suruchiraprākāravād-gōpuram	prāsā-
150	dam	nīramāpayad=guna-nidhih śrī-Jāya-
151	sēnādhīpas=tan-nāmn=aiva	yam=Ayyavamśa-tilg-
152	kam brūtē samastō janah    [45*]	<sup>5</sup> Puratō=sya shōda-
153	śānām	vara-ganikānām dvibhūmika-grihā-
154	ni	āli-dvayēna ramyāny=achīkaraj=Jāya-sai-
155	nyēsah    [46*]	<sup>6</sup> Nīpa-dattēshu svēshu grāmēshv=asy=āmgara-
156	mgabhōgārttham=ayam	Jāya-chamūpah prā-
157	dād=Velanāmdau	Mromtukūru-nāma-grā-
158	mam    [47*]	īy=ūra chatus-sīmamula nadimi polamu
159	kha 45 na 6	īrēti padumatī polamu kha 5 na 18
160	<sup>7</sup> Gām=ēkām	ratnikām=ēkām bhūmēr=apy=ēkam=amgula-
161	m	haran=narakam=āpnōti yāvād-ā-bhūta-samplavam    [48*]
162	dattām para-dattām vā yatnād=raksha	Yudhishtthi(shthi)ra   ma-
163	hīm=mahābhritām śrēshtha(shtha) dānāch=chrēyō=nupālanam    [49*]	
164	<sup>8</sup> Sva-sukrita-paripālanāt=prabhūnām	para-krita-pālana-
165	m=ēva lālaniyam	Harir=apī Kamalāsanasya srishtim sa-
166	tatam=avan <sup>9</sup> jagatām=abhūd=upāsyah    [50*]	Idam <sup>10</sup> rakshi-
167	shyatām rājūām yaśas=chamdrakayā	saha   chiram Jāya-
168	chamūpasya	dharma-chamdraḥ pravardhtha(rddha)tē    [51*]

## No. 6 — THREE WESTERN GANGA RECORDS IN THE MYSORE GOVERNMENT MUSEUM AT BANGALORE

By J F FLEET, PH D., C I E

In Vol V. of this Journal, pp 151 to 180, I have contributed an article on the Śravana-Belgola epitaph of Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II, with a first serious attempt to settle the real history and chronology of the family of the great Ganga princes of Mysore, to which he belonged. That article is correct in all its essential features. But, while it was still in proof, it came to my knowledge, from information that became available too late, that certain additions and modifications might be made, and certain corrections ought to be made, in it. The additions did not much matter, they could be attended to on any future occasion. The modifications and corrections were a more important matter, and it was mortifying not to be able to make them. The proofs, however, were in pages, with other articles already in page-proof after them. And it was, therefore, impossible to make the necessary alterations. In these circumstances, I had to leave my article just as it stood. And I now take the first convenient opportunity that I have had, of reverting to the subject of it.

<sup>1</sup> Read *Tdmra*<sup>o</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Read *vistīrnn ōjvala*

<sup>7</sup> Metre of verses 48 and 49 Ślōka (Anushtubh)

<sup>9</sup> B *ēd=avan*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *nishpanna-*

<sup>5</sup> Metre *Āryā*

Metre Ślōka (An

Metre Ślōka (An

<sup>3</sup> Read *kritām*

<sup>6</sup> Metre *Āryāgiti*

<sup>8</sup> Metre *Pushpitāgrā*





DODDAHUNDI STONE



L F H Wiele photo

Photo-etching Survey of India Offices Calcutta May 1898

Before entering, however, on any general remarks, I now put forward revised versions of three Western Ganga records, final renderings of which have not as yet been arrived at.

A — Doddahundi Inscription of Nitimarga and Satyavākya.

This inscription was brought to notice by Mr Rice in 1894, when he edited it, with a lithograph, in his *Ep Carn Vol III*, TN 91 I give my rendering of it from an ink-impression, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Dr Hultzsch The collotype is from the ink-impression The photo-etching is from a photograph of the stone itself.

Doddahundi is a village somewhere in the Mûgûr hôbli of the Tirumakûdlu-Narasîpur tâluka of the Mysore district It should be shewn in sheet No 60 or 61 of the Indian Atlas, but it is not to be found there<sup>1</sup> The name means "large hamlet," and it is probably an appellation of somewhat modern introduction, as the record does not appear to include any name answering to it, and gives the name of the village itself, or else of another village which gave the name to the circle to which this village then belonged, as Gulâpâdî The inscription is on a stone, apparently about six feet high, which was found lying in a pond at Doddahundi and is now in the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore

The upper part of the front of the stone is occupied by sculptures illustrating the scene that is referred to in the record, namely, the death of a prince who had the appellation of Nitimarga He is shewn lying on a couch, from the back of which there stand up two royal umbrellas Near his head there stands his eldest son, Satyavākya, with one similar umbrella behind him And on the couch there is seated a follower of the prince, named Agarayya, who is represented as supporting across his knees the legs of the dying prince, and as holding with his right hand a dagger which he seems to be drawing out from the left side of the prince — The writing commences below the sculptures Lines 1 to 6, on the front of the stone, cover an area about 3' 6" broad by 1' 9" high Below them there is a blank space, about one foot high, which was evidently left void in order to allow of the stone being set upright in the ground without hiding any part of the record Lines 7 to 24 are short lines down the side of the stone, covering an area about 9' broad by 3' 5' high, with a similar blank space below them And a line runs across the stone between lines 15 and 16, to mark a division of the text there The writing on the front of the stone is in a state of fairly good preservation The writing down the side of the stone has suffered more damage, and for this reason, and also because it was not very convenient to introduce it in the Plate, this part of the record has not been reproduced — The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed The size of them — (by which I mean, here and always, the height of such letters as *ga*, *cha*, *da*, *pa*, etc, which are properly formed entirely between the limits of, so to speak, the lines of writing, without any projections above or below) — ranges from about  $1\frac{1}{4}$ " in the *ga* of *Agarayyam*, line 4, to about  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in the *n* of *Komgunivarman*, line 1, the penultimate syllable *lgu* of line 6 is about  $4\frac{1}{4}$ " high The characters include final forms of *r* in line 3 and *n* in line 4, and also a final form of *l* or else an *l* with a *virâma* attached to it, in line 3 And they shew the lingual *d*, distinguished from the dental *d* by a marked turning up and over of the right-hand end of the lower part of the letter, it can be recognised very clearly in *êrîdode*, line 4 Two of the characters which furnish the best test for undated records of the period to which this record belongs, do not occur here, namely, the *b* and the guttural *n* In *vakhya*, by mistake for *vākya*, line 6, we have a *kh* of the old square type,<sup>2</sup> which cannot be placed much after A D 860 On the other hand, the *l*, which we have in *Kovalâla*, line 2, and also in *kâlânâdu*, line 8, is of the later cursive type, which cannot be placed much before A D 800 we have it throughout the grant of Gôvinda III, of

<sup>1</sup> Mûgûr is in sheet No 61 (1894), in lat  $12^{\circ} 7'$ , long  $77^{\circ}$

<sup>2</sup> I use the word "type" intentionally Plenty of instances will be forthcoming, in which the old square "type" of the *kh* and other characters is followed, though the actual "forms" present hardly a straight line at all

A D 804<sup>1</sup> (except in *modalol*, line 9, and *līkhītaḥ*, line 19), and perhaps in *vallabha*, line 1 (but not in *ballaha*, line 2, and *lōha*, line 3) of the Pattadakal inscription of his father Dhruva,<sup>2</sup> but the Talakād inscription of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa<sup>3</sup> shews only the old square type of the *l*. The *j*, which occurs twice, in line 2, is of the old square type, which remained in use during the whole of the ninth century A D, but, towards the end of it, in conjunction with also the later cursive type. In the *ja* of *rāja*,—the fourth syllable in line 2,—we have an ordinary old square *j*, but of the open form, that is to say, with spaces at the place at which the top part of the letter and the lower part usually join to form an upright, and at which the centre stroke to the right starts from that upright. In the *jā* at the beginning of line 2, we have a peculiar form of the old square type of the *j*, which I would propose to call the “back-to-back” *j*, because one more stroke in the centre of the left-hand (proper right) part of the character would have given us a double *j* back-to-back here, the exact form of it is closed, in B, the Bêgûr inscription, we shall meet with it in its open form. In other genuine records, we have this back-to-back *j*, in the closed form, in the words *śrīrājya* and *yuvārāja*, line 3, and several other words, in the Kyātanahallī inscription of Bātuga I of the period A D. 870-71 to about 908,<sup>4</sup> and in the word *Byēsvarada* in a short inscription at Pattadakal, in the Belgaum district,<sup>5</sup> which may be referred to the same period or may be placed somewhat later. And we may note that in spurious records we find it all through the Merkara grant, of the Western Ganga series,<sup>6</sup> the lithographs of which shew it in both the open and the closed forms, and which includes also the corresponding form of the guttural *n* which we shall meet with in B, the Bêgûr inscription, and we find it, again, in the same class of records, in the Chīcācole grant of Dêvêndravarmān, of the Eastern Ganga series,<sup>7</sup> in the closed form in *viṣayavata*, line 1, *Vāgasanēya*, line 13, *Nāgarāja*, line 23, and other words, and in the open form in *nīya*, line 7. The forms of the *j* in this Doddahundi record do not guide us much. But the *kh* and the *l* indicate that we may place it in the period A D 800 to 860, even if they do not actually compel us to do so. There are, indeed, in the forms of *j* and *n* which occur in B, the Bêgûr inscription, plain indications that the development of the alphabet of Western India was slower in Mysore than in the more northern parts. But it does not seem likely that the old square type of *kh* can have lingered on long enough, even there, to justify us in referring this record to A D 938 or thereabouts, as we should have to do if, instead of accepting my proposed identification of the princes who are mentioned in it, we identify the Nītimārga, whose death is recorded, with the next admissible prince who had that appellation. The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. The record includes two words, *mane-magattin* in line 4 and *kṛl-guṇṭhe* in line 5, for which only conjectural meanings can be proposed.<sup>8</sup> And, as indicated to me by the Revd Mr Kittel,<sup>9</sup> in *śrīmar*, for *śrīmat*, line 3, the composer seems to have formed a plural which is not justifiable. As regards orthography, the only actual peculiarity is the use of *s* for *ś* in *ēsvara*, line 2. But we may note also that we have the short *i* for the long *ī* twice, in lines 1 and 5, and the long *ī* for the short *i* once, in line 1, this latter feature, however, may be treated as a mistake in writing, quite as much as a mistake or peculiarity in spelling.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 125, and Plate

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* p 124, and Plate. A more faithful reproduction of this record will be issued before long.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol III, TN 1, and Plate

<sup>4</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol III, Sr 147, and Plate

<sup>5</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol X p 170, and Plate at p 167

<sup>6</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol I p 363, and Plate, and *Coorg Inscr* p 1, and Plate

<sup>7</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XIII p 273, and Plate. On its occurrence in this record, see some remarks by Prof Kielhorn, above, Vol V p 122, note 4.

<sup>8</sup> See page 44 below, notes 4 and 6.

<sup>9</sup> I consulted Mr Kittel about the meaning of *mane magattin* and *kṛl-guṇṭhe* in this record, and about some expressions in the Bêgûr and Ātakûr inscriptions, sending him, of course, my full readings of the texts, and translations. And I am much indebted to him for various suggestions, which I mention in the footnotes.

<sup>10</sup> It is rather a curious thing that, whereas in the oldest records the difference between *i* and *ī*, as attached to consonants, is nearly always marked, less and less attention was paid to this detail, in the

The inscription records, in the first place, the death of a Western Ganga prince, who is mentioned in it by the appellation of Nitimārga, without his proper name being disclosed. We are told, however, that he left a son who had the appellation of Satyavākya. We know that Satyavākya was the appellation of a prince Rājamalla, for whom we have the date of A D 870-71. We know also that Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, who is to be placed about A D 765 to 805, had a son named Ranavikrama, and that the latter had a son named Rājamalla. And consequently, since the characters place the record justifiably, if not of absolute necessity, in the period A D 800 to 860, we naturally identify this Satyavākya with the Rājamalla of A D 870-71, and thus Nitimārga with Ranavikrama, and, till we learn anything more definite as to the actual year of Ranavikrama's death, we place the record roughly about A D 840. In the second place, the inscription registers the fact that Satyavākya-(Rājamalla) granted to a follower of his father, named Agarayya, a *kalnādu* or allotment of uncultivated land<sup>1</sup> known by the name of Guldapādi, the components of which were evidently specified in lines 16 to 22.

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Ōm<sup>3</sup> Svasti Nī(nī)timārgga-Komguni(nī)varmma-dharmmahārā-  
 2 jādhirāja Kovalāla-purapar-ēsvara<sup>4</sup> Nanda-  
 3 giri-nātha śrīmar(t) Permmanadigal svarggam<sup>5</sup>-ērida[m]<sup>6</sup> [!]  
 4 Ēridode Pemmānadigala mane-magattin Aga-  
 5 rayyam Nī(nī)timārgga-Permmanadige kī-gunthey=āda[m] [!]  
 Permma-  
 6 nadigal=agga-putram<sup>7</sup> Satyavakhya<sup>8</sup>-Pem[m]ānadigal=Gulda-

Down the side of the stone

7 [pā]dīya[m]

8 kalnādu

Kanarese characters, as time went on, until at length the distinction practically disappeared altogether, and it remained for modern invention,—on the part, I believe, of the early Jesuit missionaries,—to devise the mark by which the long *ī* is now distinguished from the short *i*, and also the long *ē* and *ō* from the short *e* and *o*. The ancient alphabet does not seem to have ever marked the difference between the long and the short forms of *e* and *o*, we read the signs as *e* or *ē* and *o* or *ō*, just as is required. As regards the *i* and *ī*, it is a question, in publishing critical texts, how far it is necessary to complicate the texts by, for instance, shewing the short *i* when it actually occurs in an original by mistake for a long *ī*, and then making a correction in brackets or in a footnote. But probably, while attending to the detail in the case of the earlier records, we may ignore the point in records dating from about A D 1000 onwards, and may give the short *i* or the long *ī* as is actually required, irrespective of the exact form in the original.—Dr Burnell has traced back the present Kanarese method of marking the long *ī*, *ē*, and *ō*, as attached to consonants, to the first half of the sixteenth century A D (*South Ind Palaeo* p 30).

<sup>1</sup> The word *kal nādu* may be translated literally by “stone tract.” Mr Rice has pointed out,—quite correctly, I think,—that, as used in inscriptions, “it seems to designate what is now known as Government waste, that is, land that has not been taken up for cultivation or that having been cultivated has been “abandoned” (*Ep Carn Vol III* Intro p 8).

<sup>2</sup> From the ink impression

<sup>3</sup> Represented by a plain symbol. So, also, in line 15, where, however, the symbol is turned the other way

<sup>4</sup> Read *puravar ēsvara*

<sup>5</sup> We have here a rather pointed instance, to which my attention was specially drawn by Mr Kittel, of the use of the nominative instead of the accusative, which is mentioned by Kēśirāja in his *Śabdamanī-darpaṇa*, sūtra 136. In other records, we often find in this expression the dative, *svarggakke*, instead of the accusative, this usage is mentioned in sūtra 135.

<sup>6</sup> Read *ērida*, more correctly, in agreement with the honorific plural *Permmanadigal*

<sup>7</sup> Mr Rice's text gives *Pemmanadigala su putra*. The real reading is quite certain, though the *gga* is somewhat damaged.

<sup>8</sup> Read *Satyavākya*

- 9 [ko]ttadu<sup>1</sup> ga(?)  
 10 chcha[m] mâdi  
 11 parih[â]ra[m] [||\*]  
 12 Idan=a<sup>1</sup><sub>h</sub>-  
 13 do[m] Vâran[â]-  
 14 siyan=a<sup>1</sup><sub>h</sub>-  
 15 do[m] || Ôm ||  
 16 Idakke Kamma-  
 17 . . . gaya-  
 18 lli(?)kumma<sup>1</sup>na(?)  
 19 ga(?)tagesiko(?)  
 20 ttastalu(?)ga-  
 21 lavedi(?)ma(?)  
 22 ndu(?)ntu)[||\*] Idan=a-  
 23 hido[m] mâ-pâ-  
 24 tagan=a[kkum ||]

## TRANSLATION

Ôm! Hail! The *Dharmamahârâjâdhvâja*<sup>2</sup> Nitimârga-Kongunivarman, the lord of Kovalâla the best of towns,<sup>3</sup> the lord of the mountain Nandagiri, the illustrious Permanadî, ascended to heaven (i.e. died) When he was ascending,—by right of being a son of the house (?)<sup>4</sup> of Pemmânadî,<sup>5</sup> Agarayya became, to Nitimârga-Permanadî, the attendant who drew out (the weapon that caused his death) (?)<sup>6</sup> (In recognition of that), Satyavâkya-

<sup>1</sup> Read *kottadu*, for which *kottadu* is a vulgarism, as remarked by Mr Kittel

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol V p 163, note 2

<sup>3</sup> Kovalâla is the modern Kôlâr, the chief town of the Kôlâr district, Mysore In Kittel's Kannada English Dictionary, the modern name is given with the Dravidian *r*,—Kôlâra It is, however, doubtful whether there is any authority for this

<sup>4</sup> *Mane magattu* Mr Rice would translate this by “major domo” (*Ep Carn* Vol III Introd p 4) — taking, I understand, *magattu* as a Tamil form of *mahattu*, which would, however, make it the instrumental singular of *mahattu*, a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *mahat*, ‘great, large, etc’ To this there are the objections that, being an instrumental case, it cannot be in apposition with the nominative *Agarayya*, and that, as the Chola occupation of Mysore did not commence till about A D 1000, there is no apparent reason why the Kanarese language should be in any way influenced by Tamil at the period of the present record, moreover, such a hybrid compound as *mane-mahattu* could hardly be admitted under any circumstances Mr Kittel is of opinion that, if we might correct the text into *maggattina*, we might explain it by *magga* as the genitive of *maggu*, ‘subjection, submission,’ and *attina* as another form of *attana*, ‘of that side,’ and might translate “Agarayya of the side of house subjection, i.e. Agarayya who was in subjection to, or held the position of a dependent in, the house of Pemmânadî” *Magattu* may perhaps be connected in some way with *ogatana*, ‘the management of household affairs’ But I think, on the whole, that we must find in it some derivative from *maga*, ‘a son’ And the idea that the expression conveys to me, is, that Agarayya was the son of a concubine of one of the princes of the Western Ganga family — The records appear to give another similar word, which, also, Mr Rice would translate by “major domo” (*loc cit* p 7) or “retainer” (p 34), in the forms of *mane vagati*, My 41, 44, and Nj 153, *mane yagati*, My 42, and *mane magati*, My 43 In Nj 158, *mane vagati* may qualify the woman Nilabbe, quite as readily as her son Râchamma, and therefore may quite possibly mean ‘concubine’ there In the other cases, however, there does not seem to be any female name that the word could qualify

<sup>5</sup> Or “of the Pemmânadis” We have to note the use of the form Pemmânadî here, and in line 6, whereas in lines 3 and 5 we have the more customary Permanadî

<sup>6</sup> *Kil-gunthe* Mr Rice's translation proposes “became lame under Nitimârga's Permanadî,”— which, however, does not seem very appropriate *Gunthe*, in which the aspirated *th* is rather peculiar, being so unusual in Kanarese, must, I think, be connected with the Telugu *gunda*, ‘a servant, a warrior, a soldier, an armed attendant,’ which appears in Malayalam as *kunde*, ‘a slave,’ and Mr Kittel is inclined to agree with me he considers, indeed, the termination *e* to be rather puzzling, but he instances the same termination in *tande*, ‘a father,’ which is said to be a *tadbhava* corruption of the Sanskrit *idâ* As regards the first part of the

Pemmānadi, the eldest son of (Nitimārga)-Permanadi, gave (to Agarayya) Guḍapādi,<sup>1</sup> (as an allotment of) uncultivated waste land,—having laid (his sword)(?),<sup>2</sup>—(with) relinquishment (of all taxes) He who destroys this, is (like) one who destroys Vāṇāsi<sup>1</sup> Ōm<sup>1</sup>

[(L 16 ff)]—This part of the record evidently gives the names of the villages which made up the allotment. But the reading is very uncertain in some places. And no names can be found in the maps, helping to elucidate the reading and to divide the words. The record ends] —He who destroys this, shall incur the guilt of the great sins<sup>3</sup>

### B — Bêgūr Inscription of Ereyappa

This inscription was originally brought to notice by Colonel Henry Dixon, H M's 22nd Regiment, Madras Infantry, in his photographic collection, published in 1865, of inscriptions on stone and copper from various places in the Mysore territory, and a print from his negative has been given in my *Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Tamil Inscriptions*, No 247,<sup>4</sup> issued in 1878. In 1879, Mr Rice gave a reading of the text, and a translation, in his *Mysore Inscriptions*, p 209, with a lithograph of the entire stone (id Frontispiece). And a rendering of the record by myself, partly from Col Dixon's photograph and partly from an inked estampage sent to me by Dr Hultzsch, was published in 1892, in *Ep Ind* Vol I p 346. I give now a more final rendering of it from a better ink-impression, for which I am again indebted to Dr Hultzsch. The collotype is from the ink-impression. The photo-etching is from a photograph of the stone itself.

Bêgūr is a village in the Bangalore tāluka of the Bangalore district, Mysore. It is shewn in the Indian Atlas, sheet No 60, S E (1894), in lat 12° 52', long 77° 41', about seven miles S S E from Bangalore. It is evidently the ancient Bempūr (Bempūr) or Bempūra of the record, though, why the *mp* or *mp* should have changed into *g*, is not apparent<sup>5</sup>. And the record shews that it was the chief village of a circle known as the Bempūr twelve. The inscription is on a stone-tablet, measuring about 6' 6" broad by 6' 8" high, which was found at this village, and is now in the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore.

compound, we have the word *kīl*, *kīl*, *kīlu*, 'the state of being low, below, beneath, under, down, base, degraded or mean,' which occurs in such expressions as *kīl kabbiga*, 'an inferior, base poet,' *kīl āl*, 'a low man,' and *kīlu manneya*, 'a petty chieftain,' and in epigraphic records we meet with *kīl-kere* or *kīl-kere*, evidently meaning 'a lower tank' (*Inscr. at Srav-Bel* No 24), and *kīl kahnādu*, meaning apparently 'a lower or smaller portion of uncultivated waste' (an inscription at Hiri-Bidanūr, for the text of which I am indebted to Mr Rice). And Mr Kittel, taking the whole word in connection with his proposal of *mane maggallina*, would interpret the text as meaning that "Agarayya, who held a (mere) servile position in the house of Pemmānadi, became a (real, though) subordinate servant, or armed attendant, to Nitimārga Permanadi." But we have also the verb *kīl*, *kīl*, *kīlu*, 'to draw or pull out, etc.' And I think that the indication afforded by the sculptures on the stone, suggests for *kīl-gunthe* the meaning that I propose in my translation.

<sup>1</sup> Mr Rice's translation gives "Permanadi's good son Satya vākya survived to Permmānadi." This requires us to analyse, at the end of line 6, *Pemmānadiḡalge uldam*. And I adopted that analysis, in taking the record to mean that "Agarayya survived to (render service to) Satyavākya" (above, Vol V p 163). But I consider now that such an analysis is wrong. The past tense of *ul*, 'to remain alive, to remain behind,' would be *ulidam*, not *uldam*, the line across the stone between lines 15 and 16 of the text, marks that place as the first division in the text, and the *Satyavākhyā Pemmānadiḡal* in line 6 must be taken as the agent of the verbal form *koṭṭadu* in line 9.

<sup>2</sup> In line 9 10, where Mr Rice's text gives *Kappahāli*, we have in all probability *gachcham mādā*. And *gachcham* must stand for *kachcham*, the accusative of *kachchu*, 'washing.' The expression *kālam kachchu*, *karchu*, *kaṭchu*, 'to wash, or lave the feet,' is a very well known one, in the case of grants given or entrusted to priests. And we have also the nouns *kāl-gachchu*, 'feet washing,' and *bāl gachchu*, 'sword washing' (see page 52 below, note 4). A prince would lave an attendant's sword,—not his feet.

<sup>3</sup> The *pañchamahāpātaka* or five great sins are, killing a Brāhman, drinking intoxicating liquors, theft, committing adultery with the wife of a spiritual teacher, and associating with any one guilty of those offences.

<sup>4</sup> The correct name of the village was not then known, and is there given as 'Lygoor,' mistakenly.

<sup>5</sup> The first component of the name, however, may possibly be another variant of *bēhu*, *begu*, 'spying,' in which case, the name would mean "spying town" or "watch town."

The chief part of the writing is in six lines, covering an area about 6' 6" broad by 1' 5" high, which run right across the upper part of the stone, and, in a somewhat exceptional manner, each of these six lines is separated from the next by a line cut in the stone from end to end. There are also six short lines running on in continuation down the proper right side, the same number on the proper left side, and the name of a village (treated as line 13) near the centre below line 6. Except in some places along the top of line 1, the inscription is mostly very well preserved, and it is legible throughout, in the ink-impresion, without any doubt, except in respect of the village name in line 13 — The rest of the stone is occupied by sculptures. The principal division of them represents a battle-scene. The troops on the proper right side must be those of the Vīramahēndra of the record. They are led by a man on horseback, waving a sword that he is a person of very high rank, is indicated by umbrellas, one of which is apparently a triple one, and he seems, therefore, to be Vīramahēndra himself. Behind him there are two followers on horseback. In front of him, there is a man on foot, blowing a horn of the long straight kind. And, above the latter, there is another horseman. The troops on the proper left side are the Nāgattara army of the record. They are led by a man on an elephant, wielding a spear, who is evidently the hero whose death is recorded in the inscription, and the fierceness of the attack upon him is indicated by the arrows sticking in the forehead of the elephant. He is attended by an archer in the *hauda*, and by a follower on horseback shewn below the elephant. The centre and the foreground shew the fight between the two parties. Above all this, there is another scene, the central figure of which is a man, seated on a low stool, with his feet resting either on a man kneeling on all fours or on a footstool devised in that form. He may possibly be Ereyappa. But the absence of umbrellas is rather against that view, and it seems more likely that we have here another representation of the leader of the Nāgattara army who was killed in the battle. He is attended by two female *chauri*-bearers. Behind the *chauri*-bearer at his back, there stands another woman, who seems to be trying to entice into a cage a bird which is perched on his uplifted left hand. And behind her, again, there is another woman, standing under a flag-staff. Beyond the *chauri*-bearer in front of the central seated figure, there stands another woman. And beyond her there is a man, standing, and holding across his right knee what seems to be either a quiver or the scabbard of a sword that he, also, is of some rank is shewn by the head-dress, which figures similarly on the heads of the other three principal figures, and seems to include a kind of plume standing up from the *paṭṭa* or frontlet or fillet of dignity and authority, and he is probably the Iruga of the record, who was appointed to the command of the Nāgattaras in consequence of their original leader being killed in the battle — The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. The size of them ranges from about  $\frac{7}{8}$ " in the *l* of *vēḷdode*, line 4, to about  $2\frac{1}{4}$ " in the *va* of *Tovagūrū*, line 6. The *srī* of *śrīmad*, line 2, is  $3\frac{1}{8}$ " high, and the *srī* at the end of line 19 is  $3\frac{3}{4}$ " high. The characters include a final form of *r* at the end of line 2, and either a final *l*, or else an *l* with a form of the *virāma* attached to it, in *Kūdal*, line 15. They include the distinct form of the lingual *d*, which can be seen very clearly in *mādi* and *Gangavādi*, line 3, and in *kalnād*, line 6, but the distinction was not made throughout, for instance, it was not observed in *endode*, line 6. We have, in this record, all the leading test-letters. The *lh*, *b*, and *l* present only the later cursive forms. The *lh* occurs once, in *mēlhalā*, line 1, the *b* may be seen very clearly in *badhdham* and *Beṁpūru*, line 6, and the *l*, in *lakshmi*, line 2, and *pola*, line 15. In *Galamparāgilū*, line 11-12, we have the later cursive *j*, but the old square type is presented in *jaladhī-jala*, line 1. Here, in both cases, we have the back-to-back *j*, in its open form, that is to say, with a small space at the top and also at the bottom of the central upright stroke, it is particularly clear in the second instance. The guttural *n* follows the types and forms of the *j*, as, for some reason or other not yet explained, it nearly always does in *Irugange*, line 5, *mangala*, line 6, *Komaragundu*, line 7-8, *Nāgarange*,

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line 18-19, and *mangala*, line 19, it is the later cursive *n*, differing from the corresponding *j* in only the absence of the right-hand stroke which, in the *j*, starts and turns up from the centre of the letter, on the other hand, in *Ganga*, line 1, *Gangavādi*, line 3, and *dévange*, line 4, we have an *n* of the old square type, answering to the back-to-back *j*, from which it differs, as may be seen best in line 3, essentially in the absence of the centre stroke to the right, and, as found in this particular record, by the projections to the left being turned in to meet the central upright stroke.—The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. In line 18, we have a curious word, *śavuchara*, which seems to stand for *sahachara*, 'a companion, a follower'.—In respect of orthography we may notice (1) the use of *ri* for *ri* in *ālamkrity*, line 1-2, though the *ri* is given correctly in *svayamvrita*, line 2, (2) the use of *dhḍh* for *ddh* in *badhḍham*, line 6, (3) the use of *b* for *v* in *Bira*, line 3, (4) the use of *ś* for *s* in *śvayamvrita*, line 2, and (5) the use of the Drāvidian *l* in all the Sanskrit words, except, of course, as an initial in *lakshmi*, line 2, and except in *mangala*, line 6. The last-mentioned word occurs spelt both ways. In line 19, where it is the ordinary Sanskrit word, used in its customary sense, it is written with the Drāvidian *l*. In line 6, it is part of a village-name,<sup>1</sup> and there it is written with the ordinary *l*, as seems to be always the case, even in Tamil records, when it is used in that way.

The inscription, which is partly a *virgal* or monumental record of a hero who was killed in battle and partly an ordinary *śāsana* or charter, refers itself to the period of the rule of the Western Ganga prince Ereyappa, i. e. to between about A. D. 908 and 938. It tells us that Ereyappa lent to Ayyapadēva, for the purpose of fighting against Viramahēndra, a force which was collected and commanded by the leader of the Nāgattaras. The commander of the force was killed in a battle that was fought at Tumbepādi. And Ereyappa appointed Iruga to succeed to the leadership of the Nāgattaras, and also, in recognition of the bravery that had been displayed by his predecessor, granted to Iruga the circle of villages that was known as the Bempūr twelve.

As has been pointed out by Mr Rice<sup>2</sup> since the time when the contents of this record were first discussed, Ayyapadēva was doubtless a Nolamba, and is to be identified with the Nolambādhirāja-Ayyapadēva, "of the Pallava lineage," one of the Nolambas of the Nolambavādi province on the north of the Gangavādi province, who is mentioned in an inscription at Hiri-Bidanūr.<sup>3</sup> The identity of Viramahēndra is not so certain. But there is, at any rate, no good reason now for proposing to identify him with the Nolamba Mahēndrādhirāja who is mentioned, in inscriptions at Baragūr and Hēmāvati,<sup>4</sup> as a son of a Nolambādhirāja who was a brother-in-law of Nītimārga son of the Ganga prince Rājamalla. And it seems probable that he was an Eastern Chalukya king. In that dynasty, we meet, not only with Rājamahēndra as a *viruda* both of Amma I (A. D. 918 to 925) and of Amma II (A. D. 945 to 970),<sup>5</sup> but also with Gandamahēndra as a *viruda* of Chālukya-Bhima II (A. D. 934 to 945).<sup>6</sup> The name Viramahēndra, "a very Mahēndra (Indra) among brave men," is exactly synonymous with Gandamahēndra, "a very Mahēndra among heroes." The Eastern Chalukyas were constantly at war with the Rāshtrakūta kings and the Western Ganga princes. The name of "the very terrible Ayyapa" is actually mentioned among the names of certain enemies of Chālukya-Bhima II,<sup>7</sup> whom he is said to have slain. The dates fit in satisfactorily. Thus, in all probability the Viramahēndra of this record is Chālukya-Bhima II, who, we must then understand, had invaded Mysore and was met by a combined force of Gangas and Nolambas. And the event has

<sup>1</sup> [At the end of village names, *mangala* seems to be an abbreviation of the frequent, but inconveniently long term *chaturvādi mangala*, 'a Brāhman settlement'.—E. H.]

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> For this record, see, provisionally, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. Introd. p. 10, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. Introd. p. 4, and Vol. IV. Introd. p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. pp. 266, 270.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind.* p. 269.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 270.

to be placed towards the end of the rule of Ereyappa, between about A D 934 and 938. Against this, it might be urged, in the first place, that the statement in this record, that Ereyappa was governing the Gangavâdî province as an united whole after having deprived all his enemies of their power, is suggestive of an early period in his rule, and, in the second place, that an early period is suggested by also the fact that the record includes an *z* and a *j* of the old type, which seems to have entirely disappeared in the Râshtrakûta territory by about A D 900. But the Âtakûr inscription, C below, of A D 949-50, similarly describes Bûtuga II as then governing the province after having fought and killed Râchamalla I,—regardless of the fact that that event occurred about ten years before that date. While, as regards the palæographic point, the record can at any rate not be placed before A D 906-907, which date we have for Ereyappa's predecessor Bûtuga I. There seems, therefore, no objection, from this point of view, to placing it even some thirty years later. And we thus gather from this record, in respect of palæography, that the development of the alphabet in Mysore was perceptibly slower than in the Râshtrakûta territory more to the north.

Of the places mentioned in the record in addition to Bempûr-Bêgûr, we may doubtless safely identify Tumbepâdî, where the battle was fought, with the modern 'Tumbadi' of the Madras Postal Directory and of the Indian Atlas, sheet No 60, N E (1895), in the Maddagiri tâluka of the Tumkûr district: the place is in lat 13° 34', long 77° 17', about fifty-four miles N N W  $\frac{1}{2}$  W from Bêgûr, and this identification locates the scene of the battle near enough to the Nolambavâdî province—(if not actually in it)—to account for Ayyapadêva being concerned in the matter. Iggalûr still exists under the same name, eight miles to the south-east from Bêgûr. Tovagûru is probably the 'D Togur' of the map, two-and-a-half miles on the south-east of Bêgûr. Pûvina-Pullimangala is doubtless the modern 'Hulimangala,' three-and-a-half miles on the south of Bêgûr<sup>1</sup>. And Kûdal may be 'Kudlu,' three miles N E by E from Bêgûr.

#### TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Ôm<sup>3</sup> Svasti Samasta-bhuvana-vinûta-Ganga-kula-gagana-ni[r\*]mmala-târâpati-jaladhî-jala-vipula-valaya-mêkhal[â]-kal[â]p-âlam-
- 2 krî(krî)ty-ailâdhipatyâ-lakshmi-śvayamvrita-patitâdvâdy<sup>4</sup>-aganita-guna-gana-vibhû śha n a -vibhûshita-vibhûti śrîmad-Ereyapp-arasar
- 3 pagevar=ellaman=ni[h\*]kshatram-mâdî Gangavâdî-tombhattaru-sâsiramuman<sup>6</sup>=êka-chhatra<sup>6</sup>-chchhâyeyol=âluttam-îlûdu Bi(vi)rama-
- 4 hêndranol=kâdal=endu Ayyapadêvange sâmantasahitam Nâgattaranam danduvêlode Tumbepâdîyol=kâdî kâlegam=imb=a-
- 5 îlode âneyol=ânt=irîdu sattod=adam kêld=Ereyapam<sup>7</sup> mechchî Irugange Nâgattara-vattam-gattî Bempû-panniradu-

<sup>1</sup> The old map, sheet 60, of 1828, which I was using in 1892, does not shew 'Hulimangala.' The new map, sheet No 60, N E, of 1895, does not shew the 'Woolmungle,' about twenty miles towards the E N E from Bêgûr, which I selected in 1892 from the old map, nor can I find in it the 'Nelloorputnam' and 'Chikka Nalloor,' which, on the authority of the old map, I then put forward as possible representatives of Kûtanûdu Nallûru and Nallûru-Komaranguudu, but which now seem, under any circumstances, too distant to belong to the Bempûr twelve.

<sup>2</sup> From the ink impression.

<sup>3</sup> Represented by a plain symbol.

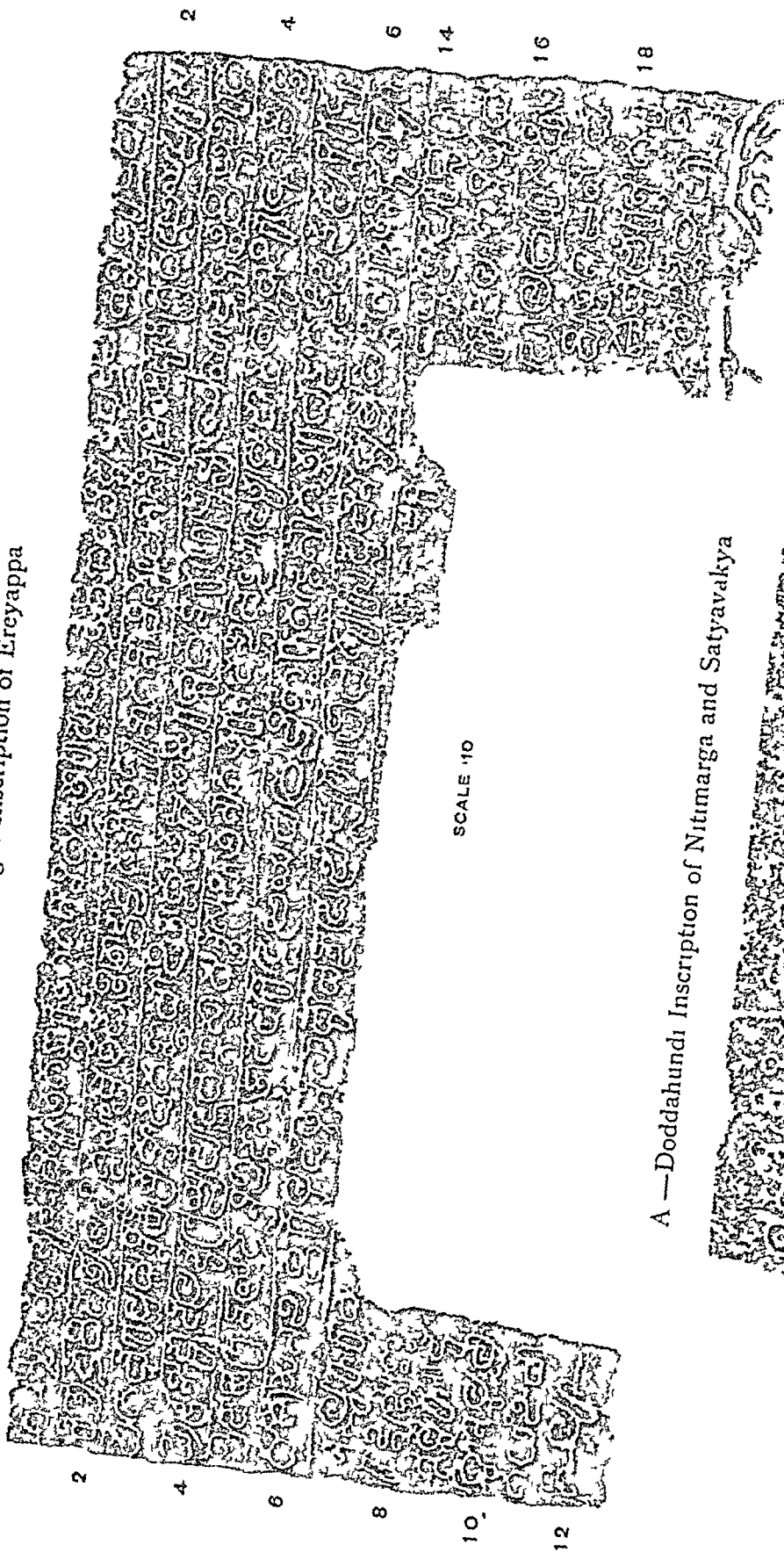
<sup>4</sup> Read *lakshmi-svayamvrita patitvâdy*. The *tea* of *patitva* is also understood after *târdpati* in line 1.

<sup>5</sup> Read *sâsiranman*. The copulative ending is not wanted, as only one province is mentioned.

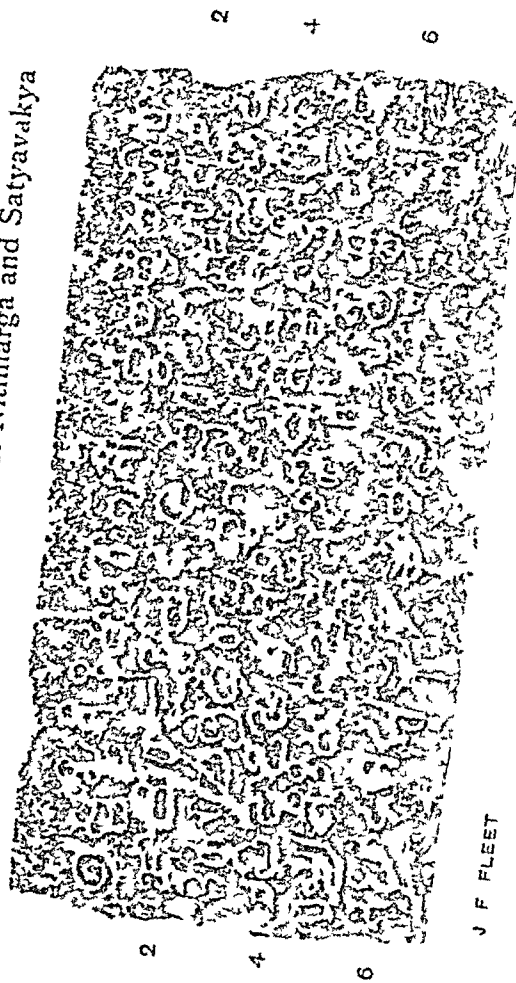
<sup>6</sup> Read *chchhatra*.

<sup>7</sup> This name would have been written more correctly with the double *pp* in the fourth syllable, as in line 2. It occurs again with the single *p* in line 17 below, and in line 20 of C., the Âtakûr inscription.

B—Begur Inscription of Ereyappa



A—Doddahundi Inscription of Nitimarga and Satyavakya



SCALE 10 W GRIGGS, COLLOTYPE

FROM IMPRESSIO IS SUPPLIED BY DR HULTZSCH



6 mam <sup>1</sup>	śāsana-badhha(dāha)m	kālnīd=ittan=Av=āyuv=endode	Bempūru    <sup>2</sup>
	Tovagūrū Pūvina-Pullimangala Kūtanīdu-Nallūru		
7 Nallūru-Koma-	13 Sāra[m]vu(?)	14 Eḷkuppe Paravūru	
8 raṅgundu    I-		15 Kūdal   mūtuma[m]	
9 ggalūru    Du-		16 pola-mēre sabita-	
10 gmonelmalli		17 m=ittan=Ereyapa[m]	
11 Galamjavā-		18 ēvucharan=Nāgara-	
12 gilū		19 ngo <sup>3</sup> [  *] Mangala-	
		mahā-srī	

## TRANSLATION

Om' Hail' When the illustrious Eroyapparasa,— whose dignity was adorned with the decoration of an uncounted number of good qualities, such as being a spotless moon in the sky which is the family of the Gangas praised throughout the whole world, and such as being the lord, chosen by herself, of the goddess of sovereignty over the earth, who has for an ornament round her waist a zore which is the great circle of the waters of the oceans,— having deprived all his enemies of their power was governing the Gangavādi ninety-six-thousand as an united whole,<sup>4</sup> he ordered<sup>5</sup> the Nāgattara, together with (his) tributary chiefs, (to supply) an army to Ayyapadēva for the purpose of fighting against Viramahendra; and thereupon he (the Nāgattara) fought at Tumbepādi, and, when the press of battle became great,<sup>6</sup> leaned upon the elephant, and was pierced and died

(L. 5)— Thereupon, having heard that, Eroyapa was pleased, and appointed Iruga to the leadership of the Nāgattaras,<sup>7</sup> and gave him, secured by a charter, the Bompūr twelve, (as an allotment of) uncultivated waste land

<sup>1</sup> Read *Bempūr ppanaradumari*

<sup>2</sup> The punctuation in this part of the record seems, at first sight, rather capricious. But it probably marks some subordinate groupings of the village. And the copulative long ā in *Tovagūrū* and *Galamyavāgilū* points in the same direction, though, in that case, there ought to have been a more systematic use of copulative endings all through lines 6 to 15

<sup>3</sup> Read *saucharan=Nāgattararge* — As regards the latter word, see the next note but one — As regards the former word, the *śaucha* of the original might stand for *saucharan*, *saucharan*, or even (see Kittel's Dictionary, under *au*) *saicharan*, or *saucharan*. But none of these words gives a suitable meaning, unless we can accept *saucharan*, and, taking it as equivalent to *sucharitan*, render it by 'well conducted, well behaved'

<sup>4</sup> *Ēla cchhattrā cchhāgyeḷ*, lit "in the shade of one umbrella" See the explanation given above, Vol V p 164, note 6

<sup>5</sup> *Vēldode* might stand for *lēldode*, from *lēlu*, = *lēdu*, 'to wish, solicit, ask' But, as indicated to me by Mr Kittel, it is, no doubt, better taken here as standing for *pēldode*, from *pēlu*, 'to utter, say, narrate, tell, command, order' — With the infinitive in *lēdal=endu*, compare *gryyal=endu* and *ādhisal=endu* (above, Vol V p. 223, note 6, and p 225, note 2) — As regards "the Nāgattara," from a comparison of the text in lines 4, 5, and 18-19, it seems that we have in line 4 the accusative singular, and in line 18-19 the dative singular (with a careless omission of the third syllable, *lā*), of a base *Nagattara*, as the proper name of a family or clan rather than of an individual.

<sup>6</sup> *Kāḷegam amb=āḷidode*, lit "when the battle space failed" — I was inclined to take *kāḷegam* as the dative singular of a proper name, *kāḷe*, and to translate "when space failed to even Kāḷe, i.e. when the press of battle became too great even for him,"—thus finding here the actual name, which otherwise is not mentioned (see the preceding note), of the hero who was killed on this occasion. Mr Kittel, however, considers that *kāḷe* is not very probable as the name of a man, and that it is better to take *kāḷegam* in the way in which it most naturally presents itself, namely, as the nominative singular of *kāḷega*, *kāḷaga*, 'fight, battle, war'

<sup>7</sup> Lit "having tied to (the forehead of) Iruga the fillet of authority of the Nāgattaras" *Vattam* is for *paṭtam*, and *gaṭṭi* for *kaṭṭi*. *Paṭtam kaṭṭu* or *gaṭṭu*, 'to tie the frontlet or fillet of dignity or authority,' is an expression of constant occurrence in respect of the crowning of kings and princes. In respect of its use in the case of lower appointments, we have instances, analogous to the present one, in the Permadī *patta* which, the Kōtūr inscription tells us, the Satyavākya of that record conferred on the son of a *Gāmunda* or village headman (*Ind Ant* Vol VI p 103, No III, and *Coorg Insers* p 6), and in the Mādivarma *patta* which belonged to a certain Māchiga, a follower of Nājambāntaka Mārasimha II (*Ep Carn* Vol IV, Bg 110). The last mentioned record

(L 6)—Those (villages) are as follows —Bompûru, Tovagûru, Pāvina-Pullimangala, and Kûtanidu-Nallûru; Nallûru-Komarangundu; Iggalûru; Dugmonelinali and Galañjavâgilu, Sâramvu (?); Elkuppe, Paravûru, and Kûdal. This much, with (a specification of) the boundaries of the fields, gave Ereyapa to his follower, the Nâgattara. May there be auspicious and great good fortune !

C — Âtakûr inscription of Krishna III and Bûtuga II — A D 949-50

This inscription was first brought to notice by Mr Rice in 1889, in his *Inscriptions at Śravana-Belgola*, Introd p 19, note 10, and p 21. A rendering of it by myself from an inked estampage sent to me by Dr Hultzsch, was issued in 1892, in *Lp Ind* Vol. II p 167. And a rendering of it by Mr Rice, with a lithograph, was published in 1894, in his *Lp Carr* Vol III Md 41. I give now a more final rendering of it from a better ink-impression, for which I am again indebted to Dr Hultzsch. The collotype is from the ink-impression. The photo-etching is from a photograph of the stone itself, owing to the bad light in which the stone stands, it fails to shew much of the writing, though it presents the sculptures clearly enough.

Âtakûr,—or, perhaps, according to a more recent custom, Âtagûr,—is a village about fifteen miles to the N E by E from Mandya, the head-quarters of the Mandya taluka of the Mysore district. It is shewn in the Indian Atlas, sheet No 60 S E (1894), as 'Atgur,' in lat 12° 39', long 77° 7', and it is shewn as 'Atagur' in the map that accompanies the revised edition of Mr Rice's *Mysore*, Vol II. in the old sheet No 60 (1828) however, it is shewn as 'Atcoor,' which answers to the spelling given in Mr Rice's *Ep Carr* Vol III and to what is probably still the more usual form of the name. With the slight difference of u for a in the second syllable, the record mentions it as Âtukûr. And the record shews also that it was the chief village of a circle known as the Âtukûr twelve. The inscription is on a stone tablet, measuring about 5' 1" broad towards the bottom by about 6' 8" high, which was found set up in front of a temple known as that of the god Châlîśalinga,—the Châlîśvara of the record itself,—about a quarter of a mile to the north of the village, and is now in the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore.

The chief part of the writing consists of nineteen lines, covering an area about 5' 1" broad (in line 19) by 4' 0" high, which run right across the lower part of the stone. But there is a subsidiary record, lines 20 to 24, on the upper part of the stone, in the margins that were left above and on each side of the sculptures belonging to the principal part of the record. Lines 20 and 21 run up the proper right margin, along the top, and down the proper left margin, line 22 is a short line on the proper right margin, below the beginning of line 21, and lines 23 and 24 are short lines on the proper left margin, commencing below, respectively, the *nna* of *Kannara* and the *nge* of *Bûtugange* of line 21. The writing is in a fairly good state of preservation throughout, and the whole of the record can be read with certainty, with the exception of the *akshara* before *Tri[nê]tran*, line 3, and perhaps of the word *âpa[ghâ]ta* in line 7.—The sculptures on the stone cover an area about 3' 2" broad by 1' 6" high. They represent a hound and a boar fighting, and they refer to an incident mentioned in lines 10 and 11 of the record.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed, of the regular type of the period to which the record refers itself. The size of them ranges from about 1" in the *la* of *Chôlane*, line 16, to about 1½" in the *ma* of *â mannan*, line 13. the *m̐ba* of *emba*, line 19, is 2¼" high, and the *ka* of *Sûdrakam̐*, in the same line, is 2½" high vertically and 3" on the slant. The

illustrates also its higher application, in giving the date as the seventh year of the tying of the fillet of Śatyavākya- (Mârasimha II.) And in this application it was synonymous with *râjyâbhîśhêkam-geyu*, 'to amount to the sovereignty or rule,' which is the expression used in giving the regnal date of the Bihûr inscription of Satyavākya (Bûtuga I) of A D 888 (*Ind Ant* Vol VI p 102, No II, and *Coorg Inscrip* p 5).—Judging from the head-dresses of the four principal figures in the sculptures on the stone, the *patta* seems to have included a kind of plume standing straight up above the head, in addition to a fillet passing round the head.







characters include final forms, or forms with the *virāma* attached, of *t* in lines 3, 6, and 9, of *l* in line 13, and of *l* in lines 6, 9, 11, and 12. The lingual *d* can be recognised in *nāda*, line 10, *viṣṭode* and *oda*, line 11, and *edog*, line 15. The palaeography does not present anything calling for special comment, as the *lh* does not occur, and the other test-letters, *n*, *j*, *b*, and *l*, present, naturally enough, only the later cursive forms. — The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, and there are verses in lines 15 to 19. In line 11 we have *moradi* as a variant of *moradi*, 'a hill, a hillock,' and in line 12 we have *angalol*, the locative singular of *angal* or *angalu* as a variant of *argala*, = *angana*, in the sense of 'an open space, an area.' And we may note the use of *v*, instead of the more customary *m*, in *erpattuiam*, line 21. — In respect of orthography we may note (1) the use of *ri* for *ri* in *nriya*, line 1, *prithui*, line 2, and *Krihna*, line 3, (2) the use of *b* for *v* in *biyayam*, line 4, and *bira*, lines 16 and 18, (3) the occasional use of *s* for *ś*, for instance, in *Saka*, line 1, and *Sūdraham*, lines 9 and 19, and (4) the use of *ś* for *s*, once, in *Somyam*, for *Saumyam*, line 1.

The principal part of the inscription is dated, without full details, in the Saumya *sanvatsara*, Śaka-Samvat 872 (current),<sup>1</sup> = A D 949-50. And it refers itself to the time of the Rāshtrakūta king Kannaradēva-Krishna III,<sup>2</sup> and of the Western Ganga prince Satyavākya-Būtuga II.<sup>3</sup> It tells us, in the first place, that Krishna III. had fought and killed the Chōla king Rājāditya, otherwise called Mūvadi-Chōla,<sup>4</sup> at a place named Takkōla, and was going in triumph, or, in other words, was making a state progress through his dominions.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *sanvatsara* agrees with the given Śaka year only according to the southern luni solar system of the cycle,— which, however, is the proper one for the period and the part of the country with which we are concerned,— and only by applying the Śaka year as a current year, see Prof Kielhorn's references to this date, in *Ind Ant Vol XXIV* p 187, No 79, and *Vol XXV* p 267, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> The following *birudas* of Krishna III are mentioned in this record,— Anlatrinōtra, Ānevadengn, Vanaga, amalla, and Kachhega, see page 53 below, note 7, the Postscript on page 83, and page 55, notes 7, 8, 9.

<sup>3</sup> His proper name occurs in line 9, in the *biruda* "the champion of Būtuga," which is applied to Manalera. — The following *birudas* of Būtuga II himself are mentioned in this record,— Nanniyaganga, Jayadntaramga, Gangagāngya, and Ganganārāyana.

<sup>4</sup> The word *mūrad* means 'three folds, three times,' from *mū*, = *māru*, 'three,' and *mad*, 'bending, folding, doubling, fold, times.' Another form of it is *mummadi*. In the Tamil records, the *biruda* appears sometimes as Mummadi Chōla, and sometimes as Mummudi Chōla. And Dr Hultzsch has rendered it by "the Chōla king (who wears) three crowns, viz those of the Chōla, Pāndya and Chēra kingdoms" (e.g., *South Ind. Insers Vol III* p 29), finding an indication that that is its purport in a verse at the end of the Ranganātha inscription which describes Sundara Pāṇḍyadeva as building "three golden domes, by which (the temple of) Sriranga glitters as he (the king) by the (three) crowns worn at (his) coronation" (above, *Vol III* p 17), and so also Mr V Venkayya (*Ind Ant Vol XXII* p 65, and see p 60, note 14), where he quotes facts which would indicate, or at least justify, the existence of a similar *biruda* among the Pāndyas, on the same view. There is a Tamil word *mudi*, meaning 'a crown.' Nevertheless, my opinion is that Mummudi Chōla is simply a variant of Mummadi-Chōla, and that in either form the *biruda* means literally "a three times Chōla." And I think, now, that the expressions Immaḍi Nalambādhirāja, Mummadi Chōla, and Nūrmadi-Taḥla mean, not "the second Nalambādhirāja, the third Chōla, the hundredth Taḥla," but "the Nalambādhirāja who was twice as great and powerful, or twice as famous, as any Nalambādhirāja who ever preceded him," and so on. An inscription of A D 1168 at Belagāmi (*P S O - C. Insers* No 185, and see *Mysore Insers* p 111) describes the temple of Dakṣiṇa Kēdāresvara as (line 30 f)—*Vārāṇśiḡam=irmmadi, Kēdārakkam nūrmadi, Śrīparvatakkam sdsirmmadi*,—"twice (as sacred) as even Vārāṇśi, a hundred times (more sacred) than even Kēdāra, a thousand times (more sacred) than even Śrīparvata." So, also, Rēvakammadi (see page 71 below, note 5) probably stands for Immaḍi-Rēvaka and means "a Rēvaka twice as beautiful or accomplished as any preceding Rēvaka."

<sup>5</sup> *Biyayam geyyutt iḍa*. From Kittel's Dictionary, it would appear that the word *biyaya*, as used in this combination, is treated by the Native grammarians as another form of *biya*, *biya*, and as coming from the Sanskrit *vi*, *vyay*, 'to go, to move, to go apart or in different directions,' and that *biyayam gey* and *biyam gey* are explained by them as meaning simply 'to walk, to go, to come.' But, as used in the inscriptions, the expression has plainly a more extended meaning than that, namely, it implies the idea of 'going in state, going in triumph.' It is evidently a shorter form of *dig vyayam gey*, for an instance of which see above, *Vol V* p 223, note 6. And, in view of that longer form, I think that the word *biyaya* is to be more correctly treated as simply a *tadbhāsa*

It then mentions Bûtuga II as governing,—the Gangavâdi ninety-six-thousand province being understood. It then introduces a follower of Bûtuga II named Manalera,<sup>1</sup> who belonged to the Sagaravamsa or race of the Sagaras and had the hereditary title of “lord of Valabhi the best of towns,” and whose prowess in battle is described in the verses in lines 15 to 19. Bûtuga II, it tells us, being pleased with the prowess displayed by Manalera, gave him his favourite hound Kâli. The hound was pitted against a great boar at the village of Belatûr, in the Kelala district.<sup>2</sup> And the hound and the boar killed each other. And, in commemoration of that, the stone was set up in front of the temple of the god Challesvara at Âtukûr, and a grant of land was made to the temple.

The subsidiary record round the top of the stone belongs also to the time of Bûtuga II, who, it says, was governing the ninety-six-thousand province after killing Rachamalla, the son of Ereyappa. It discloses the fact that it was Bûtuga II himself who actually killed the Chôla king Râjâditya, whom, it says, without mincing matters, he slew treacherously. And in return for this service, it tells us, Krishna III. gave to Bûtuga II the Banavâsi twelve-thousand province, and the districts known as the Belvola three-hundred, the Pungere three-hundred, the Kisukâd seventy, and the Bâgenâd seventy.<sup>3</sup> It further tells us that, in recognition of the valour displayed in battle by Manalera, Bûtuga II gave to Manalera the circle of villages known as the Âtukûr twelve and also a village named Kadiyûr or Kadiyûr in the Belvola district. This last grant is called in the record a *bâlgachchu* or “sword-washing” grant, meaning, no doubt, that it was accompanied by the ceremony of laving Manalera’s sword.<sup>4</sup>

of the Sanskrit *vi-jaya*, ‘victory,’ and that *viya* and *viya* are to be treated as corruptions of it. I would render the full expression *dig vijayam gey*, not by “to conquer the regions, to make the subjugation of various countries in all directions, to make universal conquest” but by “to go in triumph, to make a state progress, through the dominions”—[In modern Tamil, *vi-jayañ-jey*, if applied to princes and high officials, means “to visit” a locality.—E. H.]

<sup>1</sup> The same Manalera is probably mentioned again in the Kûlagere inscription of Nitumârga (Ereyappa) of A. D. 909-910 (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. III, VI 30, the text in Roman characters gives Manaleyâra, and the text in Kanarese characters gives Manalayâra). An earlier person of the same name seems to be mentioned in the Taggalûru inscription of Sripurusha (Muttarasa) (id. Vol. IV, Gu. 87, the texts here both give Manaleyâra). And an Irinadi Vira Manalera appears to be mentioned in an inscription of uncertain date at Hebbalu (id. Vol. III, Md. 45, here, the Roman text gives Manalera, and the Kanarese text gives Manâlera).—The Sagaravamsa is mentioned again in the Jinahalli inscription of the time of Nolambântaka Mârasimha II (id. Vol. IV, Hg. 110).—The title *Valabhipuravardîvara*, “lord of Valabhi the best of towns,” occurs again in a fragmentary inscription of uncertain date at Muttatti (id. Vol. III, TN 102).

<sup>2</sup> In a similar manner to the present record, an inscription of the sixteenth century A. D. at Têkal or Tyâkal in Mysore (*P. S. O. C. Insers.* No. 228, and see *Mysore Insers.* p. 209) mentions a fight between a hound and a tiger, and the fight is represented on the stone. The name of the hound in that case is perhaps given as Sampage, but the word may possibly mean only a *champaka* tree.

<sup>3</sup> The necessity for granting the Belvola, Pungere, Kisukâd, and Bâgenad districts to Bûtuga II on this occasion, is not altogether apparent, because we know from the Hebbâl inscription that they had already been given to him by Amoghavarsha-Vaddiga, the father of Krishna III, as the dowry of Rôvakanimma (see above, Vol. IV p. 354). But it would seem that Bûtuga II must have been deprived of them,—together, probably with the rightful succession to the leadership of the Western Gangas,—by Ereyappa and Râchamalla.

<sup>4</sup> *Bâlgachchu* is from *bal*, *bâlu*, ‘a knife, a sword,’ and *kachchu*, *karchu*, *kalchu*, ‘washing, to wash’.—The expression, in line 22-23, is *bâlgachchu gottam*, “he gave (as) a *bâlgachchu*.” Originally,—the word *bâlgachchu* not being then known,—I read *bâlgam* [*m*] [*me*] *chchu gottam*, which, as Reeve and Sanderson’s Kanarese Dictionary does not shew the difference between *bâl*, ‘sword,’ and *bâl*, ‘living, life, subsisting, livelihood, etc.’ I rendered by “gave, in token of approbation, for subsistence.” But, in giving that reading and rendering, I had to remark that I could not find the syllable *me* in the original, and that it seemed to have been omitted altogether. By a curious coincidence, Mr. Rice’s text gives the reading as *bâlg mechchu gotta*, and his translation renders this by “gave for his sword” and not only so, but his lithograph actually introduces the required syllable *me*, as if it really stood in the original,—making room for it chiefly by cramping the *nge* of the *Bâtugange* of line 21. The syllable *me*, however, does not stand, and never did stand, in the original at all. And it is not wanted, from any point of view. The true reading, *bâlgachchu-gottam*, is quite unmistakable, and is, now, quite intelligible. The

As regards the places, in addition to *Ātukūr-Ātakūr*, mentioned in this record,— *Takkōla*, where the battle was fought between *Kṛṣṇa III* and *Rajaditya*, still exists, under the same name, in the *Walājāpūt tāluḥa* of the North Arcot district, Madras, the Indian Atlas sheet No 78, N.E (1893), shews it as ‘*Takkolam*,’ six miles S E from *Arkōnam* junction in lat 13° 1’, long 79° 18’, on the *Cortelaūr river*¹ *Belatūr*, where the bound was matched against the boar, still exists under the same name, five miles W S W ½ S from *Ātakūr*. *Kādiyūr* or *Kadiyūr*, of the *Belvola* district, ought to be somewhere near *Uḷi* in *Belgaum*, or *Annigere* in *Dhārwar*, or *Kukkanūr* in the *Nizams Dominions*, but the maps do not seem to include any name answering to it. The *Banavase* province, and the *Belvola*, *Purigere*, and *Kisukād* districts, are already very well known. The *Bāgonād* seventy was—as I shewed when I originally edited this record,— the country round *Bagalkōt*, the ancient *Bāgadage* and *Bigadige*, the head-quarters of the *Bugalkot tāluḥa* of the *Bijāpur* district.

## TEXT.²

- 1 Svasti³                      Sa(sa)ka-nṛi(nṛi)pa-kāl-ātita-sa[m]vatsara-sa(śa)tangal=entu-nūr=  
[o]lpatt-[o]radaneya      Śō(sau)myam=emba
- 2 sa[m]vatsaram      pravarttiśo⁴ [l']      Svasti      Amôghavarisha⁵dēva-śrīpithuḥi⁶  
vallaḥḥa-paramāśvara-parama-
- 3 bhatt[a]raka-paḍapanḥja-bhīamaraṇa=a[n]ka]7-Ti[n]nē]tran=ānc-redengam                      vana gaja-  
mallam kachchegam      Kṛi(kṛi)shnarājam śīmat

expression *kālam kachchu*, *karchu*, or *kaḷchu*, ‘to have the feet (at the time of making a donation),’ is well known from many records. And for the noun *kaḷ gachchu*, ‘sword-washing,’ we have the analogy of the noun *kaḷ garchu*, ‘foot washing,’ in lines 10 and 47 of an inscription of A D 1112 at *Balagāmi* (*P S O C Inscr* No 172, and see *Mysore Inscr* p 65).

¹ The word *takkōla* means ‘the tree *Pimenta acris*,’ and ‘a particular fragrant drug.’ The *Madras Postal Directory* gives also a ‘*Takkol*’ about a hundred miles more to the north, in the *Siddhavattam tāluḥa* or the *Cuddapah* district. But we need not hesitate about accepting *Takkōlam* in the North Arcot district, as decided by Dr Hultzsch (see above Vol V p 167, note 1). It is the more important place of the two, it contains, among other records, an inscription of *Kṛṣṇa III*, and it is only about thirteen miles distant, to the north, from *Conjeveram* which city, together with *Fanjore*, was reduced by *Kṛṣṇa III*—doubtless during the same campaign in which the *Chōla* king was killed at *Takkōla*.

² From the ink-impression.

³ This record does not seem to begin with the customary *Om* before the *Svasti*. We have the *Om* at the end of lines 14 and 19, represented by symbols respectively plain and slightly ornate. And we perhaps have it at certain other places, see the next note.

⁴ After this word, and after *Kannaradīva[m]*, line 4, and after *idu*, line 4, and after *arī*, line 24, and before the *svasti* at the beginning of lines 5, 7, and 20 there are certain marks which are perhaps intended for symbols representing the word *Om*, which would be appropriate enough at each place, except after *Kannaradīva[m]* in line 4. But it cannot be said for certain that they actually are such symbols.

⁵ Read *varsha*. *Varisha* is a well established *tadbhava* of *varsha*. But it is hardly admissible in such a combination as the one that we have here.

⁶ Read *prithivī*. Here, again, in *prithivī* we have a well established *tadbhava*, which, however, is hardly admissible in such a combination.

⁷ My original reading,—*n[ri]pa Tri[nē]tran*, “a very *Trinētra* among kings,”—cannot be upheld. The *Tri[nē]tran* is practically certain. But I cannot satisfy myself as to what the word before it is. We should expect either *Raṭṭa*,—giving the meaning of “a very *Trinētra* among the *Raṭṭas*,”—on the analogy of *Sagaratrinētra* in lines 8 and 17 below and of *Chōlatrinētra* (*South Ind Inscr* Vol I p 139), or some word meaning ‘king,’ on the analogy of *Nripatitrinētra* is a *viruda* of *Gōvinda IV* (*Ind Ant* Vol XII p 251, text line 33), *Rājatrinētra* as a *viruda* of *Kaḷka II* (*ibid* p 266, text line 41), and *Mandalikatrinētra* as a *viruda* of *Nolambantaka Mārasimha II* (above, Vol V p 177, text line 91), and we might, of course, read *bhramara[m]*, and take the *n* as the initial of some such word. I cannot, however, think of any such word, which the doubtful *akshara* will suit. The spurious *Gaṇjām* grant (*Ep Carn* Vol IV, Sr 160) gives *Lōkatrinētra*, “a very *Trinētra* among mankind,” as an alleged *viruda* of *Mārasinga Preyappa*, the alleged son of *Śivamāra II*, but *lōka*, again, is not admissible here. Provisionally, I accept the reading which is given in Mr Rice’s text, and is of course shewn in his lithograph, namely, *anka Trinētran*, “a very *Trinētra* in fight or war,” because I find that a *Balagāmi* inscription of A D 1181 (*P S O C Inscr* No 192, and see *Mysore Inscr* p 117)

- 4 Kannaradēva[m] Mūvadī<sup>1</sup>-Chōla-Rājādityana mēle [ba]ndu Takkōladol=kādi  
kendu bijayam-geyyutt-īdu<sup>2</sup> [I\*]
- 5 Svasti<sup>3</sup> Satyavākya-Kongunivarmma-dharm[m]amahārājadhīrāja[m] Kōlāla-  
puravar-ēśvaram Nandagiri-nātham
- 6 śrīmat Permmānadigal nanniya-Ganga[m] jaya[d=u]ttarangam Ganga-  
G[āṅgā]ya[m] Ganga-Nāīāyanan=ātan=ālu[tt-ī]l[d]u<sup>4</sup>
- 7 Svasti<sup>5</sup> sakala-loka-paritāp-apa[ghā]ta-[pra]bhāv-āvatān[ta]-Gang[ā\*]-pīavāh-ōdāra-  
Sagara-vamśa[m\*] Va-
- 8 labhi(bhi)-pūlavai-ēśvaran=udāra-Bhagīathan=īriva-bedengam Sag[ara]-Trinētram  
senase-mūg-arivom
- 9 kadan-aika-Su(śū)drakam Būtugan=ankakāram śrīmat Manal[e]rang[e]<sup>6</sup>  
anuvaiadol mechchi bēdi-koll=endo-
- 10 da dayeya mere-voll=emba Kaliyam daye-geyy=endu london=Ā naya[m]  
Kelale-nada Belatūra padu-
- 11 vana deseya moradiyol pūm[du]m pa[n]dige vittode pandiyum nāyum=  
oda-sattuv=adarkke-
- 12 y=Ātukūrol Challēśvarada munde kallan=nadisi pūriya kereya kelage maṭti-  
kāl=angalol=ū-kkanduga-
- 13 manna[m] kottai=Ā mannan=okkal nādan=ālvomn<sup>7</sup>=ūran=ālvor=i mannan=  
alidon=ā nāya geyda pāpamam kondo-
- 14 n=ā sthānaman=ālvā goravan=ā kallam pūjāsā=untar=appode n[ā]ya geyda  
pāpamam konda[m] [I\*] Ōm<sup>8</sup> [I\*]
- 15 Urad<sup>9</sup>=idī-ānta Chōla-chaturanga-balangalan=attī muttī talt=īrīv=edeg=orvvar=  
appodam=idī[ī]chchuvā
- 16 gandan=āmpēv=endu pottālisuvā<sup>10</sup> bhīram neṇeye kāneme Chōlāne<sup>11</sup>  
sakhiy=āge talt=īridudan=āme ka-
- 17 ndev=ene mechchador=ā=Śsagara-Trinētranam || Narapatī bennol=īldon=īdir-  
āntudu varī-samūham=īlī
- 18 machcharisuvār=ellarum seiraguv=āldapor=inn=īren=endu singad=ant-īre Hari  
bhīa-Lakshmi nerav=āg-ne Chō-
- 19 la[nā]-kotey=emba sindhurada śūr-āgrāmam bhīrye p[o]yīdam<sup>12</sup> kadan-  
aika-Su(śū)drakam [I\*] Ōm [I\*]

describes the *Dandanāyaka* Kesamaya, in line 28, as *kadana Trinētra*, "a very Trinētra in destruction, killing, slaughter, or war." But the *akshara* before the *tri* does not seem identical with the *nka* of *pankaja* in the same line and elsewhere, but appears rather to include an *m*, and also the compound itself, *anka Trinētra*, seems, somehow, not a satisfactory one.—Regarding this *śrūda*, now see the Postscript on page 83 below.

<sup>1</sup> Mr Rice's text gives *alāōrade*, which is rendered in the translation by "without fear,"—being imagined, I suppose, to be a compound of *alku* (which, however, should be *alku*), 'fear,' and *ōrade*, the negative participle of *ōvu*, 'to take care of, to guard, protect, cherish'—The real reading, *Mūvadī*, is quite certain for some marks which stand before this word, and after *Kannaradēvam*, see note 4 on page 53 above.

<sup>2</sup> Regarding the marks after this word, see note 4 on page 53 above.

<sup>3</sup> Regarding the marks before this word, see note 4 on page 53 above.

<sup>4</sup> The *l* and the *u* are quite recognisable in the ink-impression, though not in the collotype.

<sup>5</sup> Regarding the marks before this word, see note 4 on page 53 above.

<sup>6</sup> Originally, I read *Manalarata[ng=ō]nuvarado!* Mr Rice's text gives *Manālarange anuvaiadol!* The real name, *Manalera*, is quite distinct, in the present ink impression, in line 21 below.

<sup>7</sup> Read *aṭṭon*.

<sup>8</sup> Metre, Champakamālā, and in the folio

<sup>10</sup> Read *pochocharisuvā*, as suggested the *prasa* or alliteration of the second syll which no authority can be found.

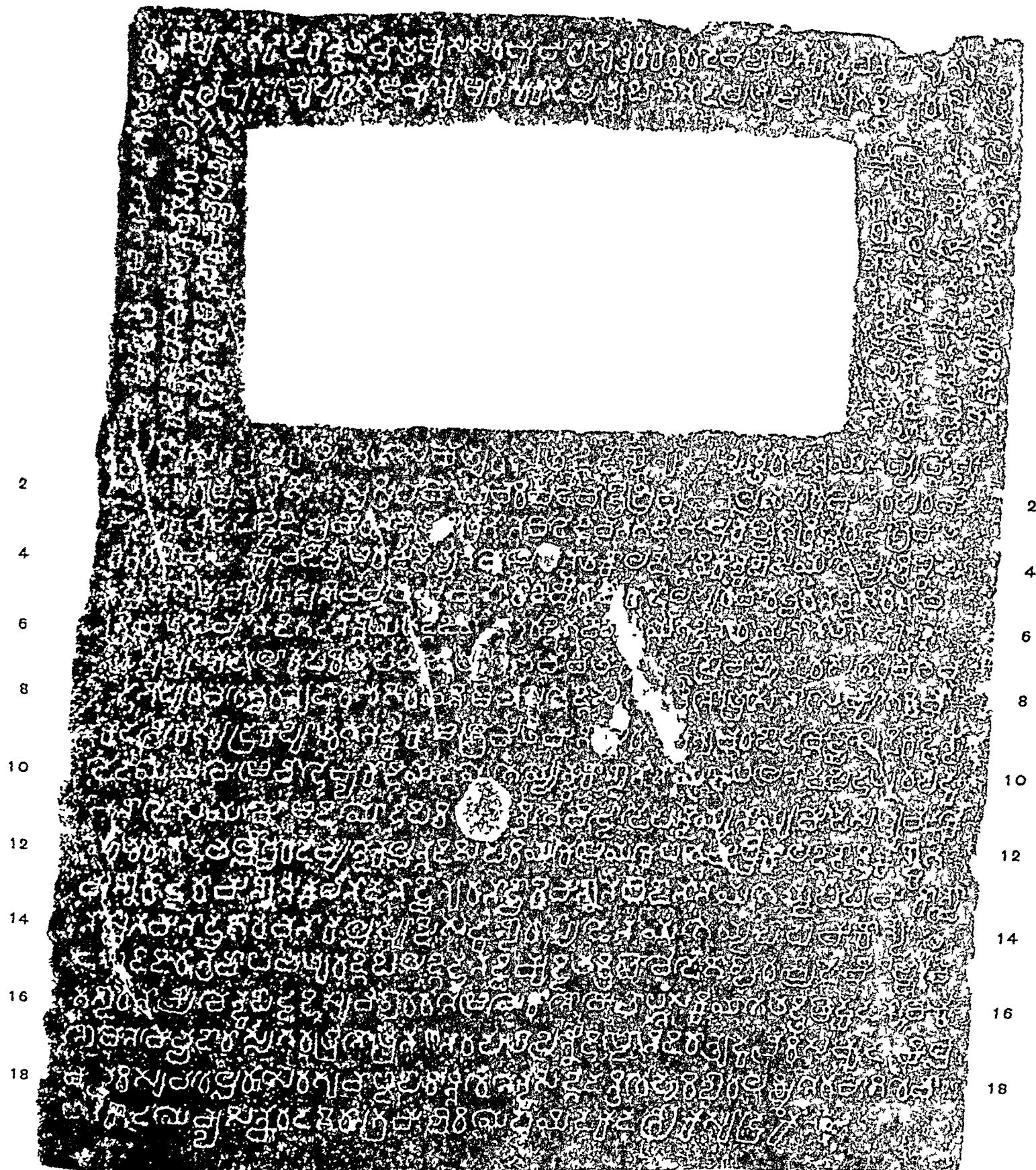
<sup>11</sup> The *ne* was at first omitted, and

<sup>12</sup> The metre is faulty here, we have

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## The Subsidiary Record at the Top of the Stone.

- 20 Svasti Śrī-Ereyapana magam Rāchamallanam Būtugam kādī kondu  
tombhattaru-sāsiramumam<sup>1</sup> ā[utt-ire [I\*] Kannaradēvam Chōlanam  
kāduv-andu Būtugam Rājādityanam bisu-geye kallaṇ=āgi suig=iridu
- 21 kādī kondu Banavase-pannirchchāsiramum Belvola-mūnūrum Purigere  
mūmnūrum<sup>2</sup> Kīśukād-erpa(lpa)ttum Bāgenād-erpa(lpa)ttuvam Būtugange  
Kannaradēvam mechchu-gottam [[I\*] Būtuganum<sup>3</sup> Manaleram ta-
- 22 nna munde nind=iridudarkke mechchi Ātuk[ū]r-ppa-
- 23 nneradum Belvolada Kādīyūrumam<sup>4</sup> bāl-ga-
- 24 chchu-gottam [[I\*] Mangala-mahā-śrī<sup>5</sup> [[I\*]

## TRANSLATION

Hail! While the samvatsara named Saumya, the eight hundred and seventy-second (in) the centuries of years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king, was current —

(Line 2)—Hail! When Kṛṣṇarāja (III), the glorious Kannaradēva,—a very bee on the water-lilies that were the feet of the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the *Paramēśvara* the *Paramabhattāraka*, Amōghavarashadeva-(Vaddiga), a very Trinētra (Śiva) in battle,<sup>6</sup> a marvel with elephants,<sup>7</sup> a wrestler against forest-elephants,<sup>8</sup> he who wears the girdle (of prowess),<sup>9</sup>—having attacked the Mūvadi-Chōla<sup>10</sup> Rājāditya, and having fought and killed him at Takkōla, was going in triumph <sup>11</sup>—

(L 5)—Hail! The *Dharmamahārājādhirāja* Satyavākya-Kongunivarman, the lord of Kōlāla the best of towns, the lord of the mountain Nandagiri, the glorious Permānadi, the

<sup>1</sup> Read *sāsiramam*, or *sāsīraman*, compare page 48 above, note 5

<sup>2</sup> Read *mūnūrum*

<sup>3</sup> Read *Būtugam*, the copulative ending is not required

<sup>4</sup> I read originally *Kōleyūrumam*. The present ink impression, however, shews clearly *Kādīyūrumam*, as given in Mr Rice's text,—or, of course, optionally *Kādīyūrumam*

<sup>5</sup> Regarding the marks after this word, see note 4 on page 53 above

<sup>6</sup> See note 7 on page 53 above, and the Postscript on page 83 below

<sup>7</sup> *Ānevedengā*. This *biruda* occurs in also line 1 of the Soratūr inscription of Kṛṣṇa III of A.D. 851 (*Ind Ant* Vol XII p 257) — I have previously translated it by "a very marvel of refuge," and "a marvel in giving support (or, in resistance)," taking *ane* as the infinitive, in *e*, of *anu*, to which Reeve and Sanderson's Dictionary gives the active meanings of 'to stay, prop, support, to oppose, resist'. I now, however, follow Mr Rice's translation, partly because Mr Kittel considers that more suitable, since in his opinion *ānalke* would have been used if the meaning had been such as I then thought, and partly because I have elsewhere met with the *biruda* Turagavedengā, which can only be rendered by "a marvel with horses"

<sup>8</sup> *Vannagajamalla*. This *biruda* of Kṛṣṇa III is used in line 8 of the Śravana-Belgola epitaph of Nolambantaka Mārasimha II (above, Vol V p 176). In a slightly different form,—*Madagajamalla*, "a wrestler against rutting elephants,"—it occurs in also line 2 of the Soratūr inscription (see the preceding note) — For the recognition of Gandamārtanda as a formal *biruda*, and as denoting Kṛṣṇa III, in line 9 of the Śravana Belgola epitaph, I was indebted to Mr V Venkayya, who detected it from the passage in line 50 ff of the Karhad grant of A.D. 958 (above, Vol IV p 285), which describes Kṛṣṇa III, as founding temples of Kālapīyāśvara, Gandamārtandēśvara, and Kṛṣṇaśvara. I was not able to introduce an acknowledgment of this into the proofs of my paper on the Śravana-Belgola epitaph

<sup>9</sup> *Kachchega*. Finding *kachche* given in Reeve and Sanderson's Dictionary in the sense of 'quarrel dispute, fighting,' I have previously rendered this *biruda* by "a (real) fighter (or disputant)," and a somewhat similar *biruda*, *Kachcheya-Ganga*, by "the quarrelsome or fighting Ganga" (above, Vol III p 183, note 4). Mr Rice's translation renders it by "warlike." I owe the present rendering of it to Mr Kittel, who, in support of it, has referred me to *bīra-gachche*, 'a *kachche* fit for warriors or brave men'. *Kachche* is a *tadbhava* of *kaksha*, 'a girdle, a string or zone for fastening a cloth round the waist'. *Kachcheya Ganga* may be rendered by "the girdled Ganga"

<sup>10</sup> See page 51 above, note 4

<sup>11</sup> See page 51 above, note 5.



truthful Ganga, the Intel of victory, the Gāngāya among the Gangas, the Nārāyana among the Gangas,—he, when governing,—

(L 7)—Hail !,—being pleased in battle with the illustrious Manalera,—who is of the noble race of the Sagaras, which by its power brought down the stream of the river Gaṅgā in order to ward off the affliction of all mankind, (*who has the hereditary title of*) lord of Valabhi the best of towns; who is a very Bhagiratha among noble men, who is a marvel among those who pierce, who is a very Trinētra among the Sagaras, who cuts off noses when he is angry, who is the sole Śūdraka in war, who is the champion<sup>1</sup> of Būtuga (II),—said “Make thy request !” Thereupon, he said—“Be gracious enough to give me thy favourite<sup>2</sup> (hound) Kāh, which is called the one that bays loudly,”<sup>3</sup> and he obtained it

(L 10)—On their loosing that hound at a mighty bow on the hill in the western quarter of the village of Belatūr of the Kelale district, the bow and the hound killed each other<sup>4</sup> And, to (*commemorate*) that, they set up (*this*) stone in front of the temple of the god Challēsvara<sup>5</sup> at Ātukūr; and they gave land (*yielding*) two *handugas* (*of grain*) in the open space of the channel, called the channel of the *mañi*-trees, below the large tank

(L 13)—Any cultivator who destroys that land, and any governor of the district or any governors of the village who destroy this land, shall incur the guilt of the sin committed by that hound<sup>6</sup> If the *Gorala* who manages the estate<sup>7</sup> should fail to do worship to that stone, he shall incur the guilt of the sin committed by the hound ! Om !

(L 15)—At the place where,—having followed and come up with the four-fold forces<sup>8</sup> of the Chōla, which stood to confront us without wavering,—we were to come to close quarters and pierce them, we certainly saw not any (*others among our*) valiant men who strode forward<sup>9</sup> saying “We will meet the heroes that oppose us,” but we did see how,—the Chōla himself being the witness,—he (Manalera) came to close quarters and pierced who, then, could fail to be pleased with him, the Trinētra among the Sagaras? The king was at his back, a multitude of enemies faced him in front, and all those here (*on our side*), who jealously sought to excel him, met with disaster<sup>10</sup> then, saying “I can stand back no longer,” he, the sole Śūdraka in war, with the help of the god Hari (Vishnu) and the brave Lakshmi struck, like a lion, the forehead of the elephant that was called the fortress of the Chōla, so that it burst open Om !

<sup>1</sup> In *anakaṛa*, we take *anaka* in the sense of ‘fight, war’ *Kara* is said to be a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *kāra*, ‘making, doing, causing, a maker, a doer’—Kittel’s Dictionary gives to *anakaṛa* the meanings of ‘an influential or a chief servant, a leading hero’ But, in such combinations as the present one, the rendering ‘champion,’ which I fixed some time ago, seems more appropriate, especially as I find the following in the *Madras Manual of the Administration*, Vol III p 34, under the word *anaka*—“Challenge In Malabar, a duel, “formerly frequent among the Nayar race These combats arose from private feuds A preparation and “training for twelve years preceded the actual fight in order to qualify the combatants in the use of their weapons “They were not necessarily the principals in the quarrel, generally their champions These undertook to defend the “cause they had taken up till they were killed Source of revenue to the local rajah, each combatant paying for “the privilege of fighting [maryauday]”—The last sentence or, seems rather dubious, so, also, the twelve years’ training

<sup>2</sup> *Dayeya*, lit “of (thy) favour or affection”

<sup>3</sup> *Mere voḷḷu*, lit “the ostentatious barker,” *baguḷu*, *logaḷu*, *doguḷu*, ‘barking, crying out’

<sup>4</sup> *Oda sattuvu*, lit “

<sup>5</sup> The genitive is used as a noun in the ancient records

<sup>6</sup> This seems rather justified on the

<sup>7</sup> *Sihana*, the

<sup>8</sup> *Chaturanga*

<sup>9</sup> *Pochcharisura*, appearing, shining”

<sup>10</sup> *Seragur=āḷḍu*

lustre and *bolu*, = *logalu*,

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The Subsidiary Record at the Top of the Stone.

(L 20)—Hail<sup>1</sup> While Bûtuga (II), having fought and killed Râchamalla, the son of the illustrious Ereyapa, was governing the ninety-six thousand —

(L 20)—At the time when Kannaradêva was fighting against the Chôla, Bûtuga (II), while embracing<sup>1</sup> Râjâditya, treacherously<sup>2</sup> stabbed him with a dagger, and thus fought and killed him, and Kannaradêva gave to Bûtuga, in token of approbation, the Banavase twelve-thousand, the Belvola three-hundred, the Purigore three-hundred, the Kîsukâd seventy, and the Bâgenâd seventy

(L 21)—Being pleased with the manner in which Manalera stood out in front of him and pierced (*his fess*), Butuga gave (*to him*), as a *bûlgachchu*-grant,<sup>3</sup> the Âtukûr twelve and the village of Kadiyûr<sup>4</sup> of (the) Belvola (district) May there be auspicious and great good fortune<sup>1</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

Further Remarks on the Western Gangas of Talakâd.

I have spoken, on page 40 above, of certain additions, modifications, and corrections, which I should have liked to be able to make in my article in Vol V above, pp 151 to 180, before it was published, but which, for the reason given, it was impracticable to introduce into it I enter on that subject now And, to accompany my remarks, I give, on page 59 below, a revised table of the Western Gangas of Talakâd,<sup>5</sup> including the necessary alterations up to date

In the way of additions, it is only necessary, at present, to state that an inscription at Kûragallu<sup>6</sup> gives us the name of Paramabbe (or Saramabbe) as the wife of Bûtuga I, and that an inscription at Elkûru<sup>7</sup> gives us a Ganga prince subsequent to Râchamalla II. the record does not disclose his proper name, but he was a Nitimârga, with the *birudas* of Jayadankakâra, "the champion of victory,"<sup>8</sup> and probably Komaravedenga, "a marvel among princes,"<sup>9</sup> and the record furnishes for him the date of the Vikârîn *samvatsara*, Śaka-Samvat 921 (expired), = A D 999-1000, without any specification of the month<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bisu geye* We have to find here the opportunity for stabbing Râjâditya treacherously Mr Rice's translation gives "making Râjâditya angry," but there is no point in such a rendering I originally translated "while they were taking the air together," on the authority of Reeve and Sanderson's Dictionary giving *bisuge* in the sense of 'going abroad, taking an airing,' but it seems that *bisuge* does not really occur in that meaning Mr Kittel says that he has no hesitation in translating "when he made close connection (*with him*), i.e., probably, when he embraced him,"—connecting the first part of the compound with, I suppose, *bisu*, 3, 'to unite firmly, to solder, to join, to be united,' and thus at once suggests a suitable meaning, namely, that pretended overtures of peace were made, and that Râjâditya was stabbed at a meeting that took place between him and Bûtuga

<sup>2</sup> *Kallan=âga*, lit "having become a thief, as a thief"

<sup>3</sup> See page 52 above, and note 4

<sup>4</sup> Or Kâdiyûr

<sup>5</sup> The numbers before some of the names indicate the members of the family who actually ruled, or probably ruled, over the Gangavâdi province, and the order in which the succession went When the exact relationship between two consecutive individuals is not established, dots are used instead of lines

<sup>6</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol IV, Hs 92, and see page 69 below, note 1

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, Ch 10

<sup>8</sup> This *biruda* is rather exceptional and peculiar, because *ankakâra* is usually, and most naturally, preceded by a proper name, and *jayada*, or any word of that sort, is usually followed by *uttaramga* But we have an analogy for it, in the case of Tapadankakâra, "the champion of penance or asceticism," which occurs as a *biruda* or epithet of a Saiva priest named Varîśvara in line 38 of a Halagâmi inscription of A D 1096 (my *P S O-C Insers* No. 166, and see Mr Rice's *Mysore Insers* p 172, where, however, it is rendered, together with the following word *amalam*, by "with a body purified by penance") See also the Postscript on page 83 below

<sup>9</sup> This *biruda* is given as Komaravedenga in the text in Roman characters, out as Kôviravedanga in the text in Kanarese characters Kôviravedanga is unintelligible Komaravedenga is likely to be correct, in the spurious Sûdî grant, it is attributed to the alleged Ereganga, who is placed next after Bûtuga I (above, Vol V p 183)

<sup>10</sup> An inscription at Bêlûrn, in the Mandya taluka, Mysore district (Mr Rice's *Ep Carn* Vol III, Md 78), purports to give us a still later Ganga prince,—a Ganga Permanadi, who, it says, was governing the Karnâta in

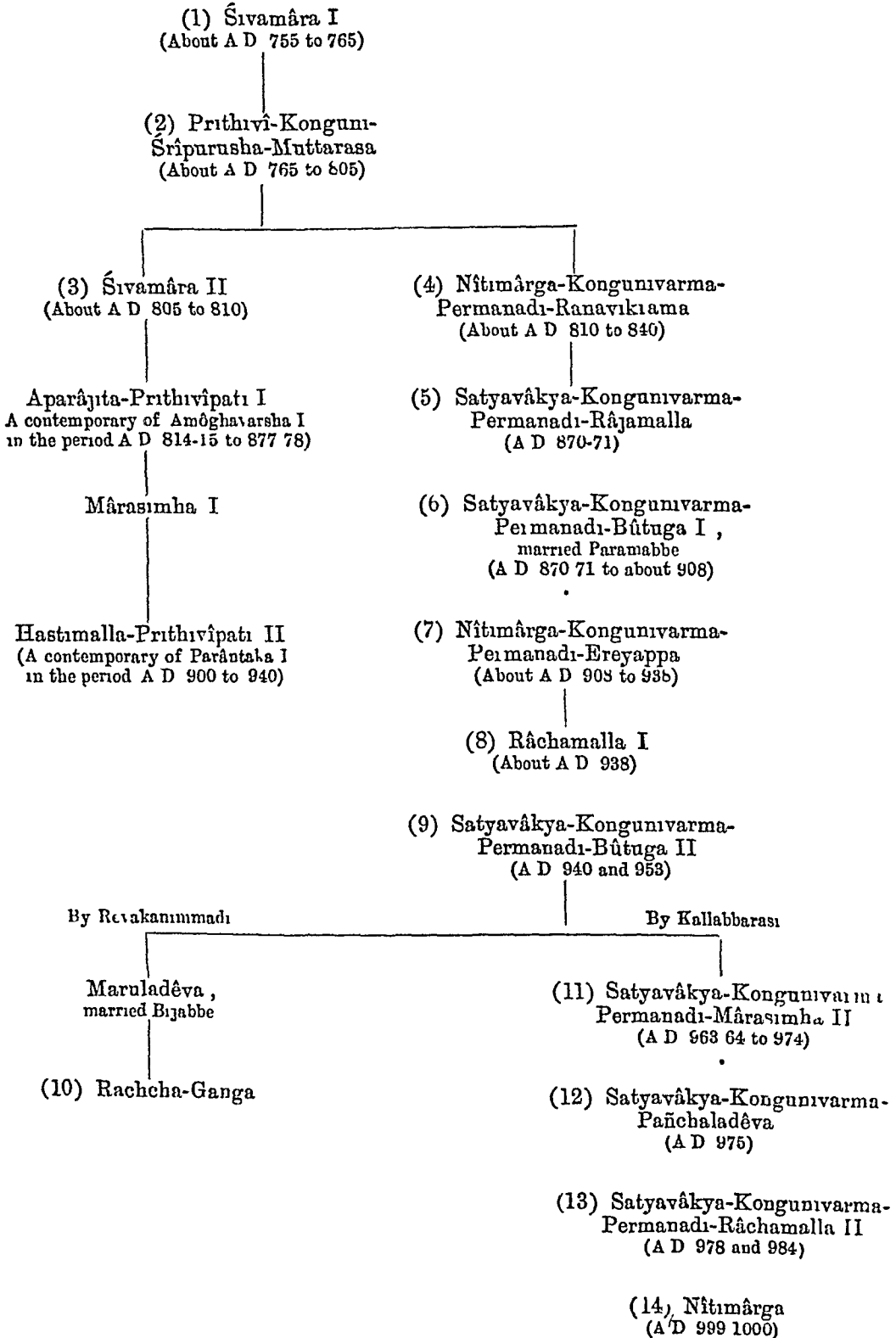
In respect of modifications and corrections, I have first to say that everything in my article that was based, directly or indirectly, on the spurious Suradhénupura grant, must be expunged. This document appears to have been first brought to notice by Mr Rice in 1894 in his *Ep Carn Vol III* Introd p 3, where it was put forward as furnishing a date in the Sarvapt *samvatsara*, corresponding to Śaka-Samvat 729 (expired), = A D 807-808, falling in the third year of Śivamāra II, and as fixing the commencement of his rule in A D. 804. It is, however, not even an ancient forgery. In February, 1899 I received from Mr Rice, with a copy of the text, a statement of facts which shew that it has been fabricated within the last thirty years or so, and with just the same object as that with which the ancient spurious grants were fabricated, namely, to establish an actual right or an asserted claim to property. And, with Mr Rice's permission, I quote, in full explanation of the matter, what he wrote to me about this document, in his letter dated the 19th January, 1899, as follows — 'The "Suradhénupura plates are of no use. The story of them is this. They are in the usual form of the Vijayanagara grants, engraved in the same Nāgarī characters generally employed in such grants, signed as usual in big Kannada characters *śrī-Virūpākṣha*, and the seal on the ring is a boar. But on reading I found that, though the first words were *śrī-Gaṇeśōya namaḥ*, it went on to nearly the end of the second side with the epithets and genealogy of the Gangas as contained in the various plates that have been discovered. This was certainly puzzling, as at the time the grant was entered in my list no one except myself and the old Munshi who helped me with the Mercara and Nāgamangala plates was acquainted with this string of epithets and names. On inquiry, however, I found that this Munshi (then dead) was one of the principal shareholders in the village, which was shortly expecting the Inām inquiry. This explained everything, as he was a man with a screw loose, though a good scholar, and would often have misled me if I had not found out that he was not to be trusted. It seems evident that the village had a Vijayanagara grant and that he must have got two plates engraved with the knowledge he had acquired, and substituted them, having the whole put on a ring together. Still, I thought that he had really perhaps had access to a Ganga grant, from which he had taken the particulars and date. But I am now convinced that the whole thing was a hoax. The date is an impossible one, and the changes in the names of kings (*Bhūri Vikrama*, *Nava Chohka*, *Purushōttama*) are concoctions of his own, as well as the final *Narasimha-dharma-varma* (note the order) which he gives as another name of Śivamāra." In the face of this explanation it is not necessary to pay any further attention to this document, or to make any further comments on it beyond remarking that what this Munshi did is precisely what was done right and left in Mysore about seven centuries ago, and somewhat later in a neighbouring part of the country where, Mr G R Subramiah Pantulu has told us,<sup>1</sup> forged grants of the Vijayanagara series are probably nearly as plentiful as the genuine grants, which are themselves extremely numerous, and the liberties that he took with some of the names that were available to him, illustrate exactly the liberties that the persons who fabricated ancient forgeries would take, sometimes in misrepresenting real names and sometimes in inventing imaginary names, in putting together pedigrees to serve their purposes<sup>2</sup>

the month Phālguna, falling in A D 1023 (if we accept the Śaka date), Śaka Samvat 944 (expired). But, with this Śaka year it wrongly couples the *Darmukhin samvatsara*, which would be either A D 996-97 or A D 1056-57. And, with so great a discrepancy, — to say nothing of the fact that the details of the date are not correct, either for the given Śaka year (current or expired), or for A D 996-97 or 1056-57, — it is impossible to attach any value to the date or to the record itself. Moreover, the expression "governing the Karnaṭa" is foreign to the phraseology of the Ganga records, and suggests a much later period.

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XXVII p 277

<sup>2</sup> It may be added, incidentally, that Mr Rice speaks of the matter rather kindly, in calling the document simply a hoax. If any attempt was actually made to produce it before the Inām Commission, a criminal offence was committed, for which on exposition of the real nature of the document, a substantial sentence of rigorous imprisonment would have been passed.

## The Western Gangas of Talakâd



The other corrections affect that part of the succession that lies between Satyaśky, Rājamalla, the grandson of Śrīpuruṣha-Muttarasa, and Satyaśalya Bātuga II, the father of Nalambāntaka-Mārasimha II, that is to say, the period between A.D. 870-71 and A.D. 940, which latter is the earliest fixed date for Bātuga II.

To understand the matter fully and settle this period finally, we must first consider exactly the way in which Mr Rice has dealt with this period, and the steps by which he has led up to it. We will start with Śivamāra I, the founder of that branch of the Western Coorgs stock with which we are dealing, for we must at any rate go back to Śrīpuruṣha-Muttarasa, and so, while we are about it, we may as well run through the whole lot of authentic names. It is not necessary to waste any time on the alleged names before Śivamāra I; because they are all fictitious.

Mr Rice has taken the spurious grants, and the dates put forward by them, as his guide, and has adapted the genuine records to them. And, from the two sources taken together in this way, he has arrived at the following succession and dates,<sup>1</sup> starting with Śivamāra I, to whom he has assigned the period "A.D. 672 to 717 + 12." Here, the initial date is based on the spurious Hallegere grant<sup>2</sup> which purports to give a date in the month Jyēṣṭha, Śaka-Samvat 635 expired, falling in A.D. 713, as being in the thirty-fourth year of Śivamāra I.

Differing from the Sūdi grant, the spurious records from Mysore itself describe Śrīpuruṣha-Muttarasa as the grandson of Śivamāra I, and omit to mention his father's name. With this unnamed son of Śivamāra I, Mr Rice apparently proposed to identify a certain Mārasimha, who was at that time supposed to be indicated as a son of Śivamāra I, by the Udayēndiram grant of Hastimalla-Prithivipati II, at any rate, he has proposed to place the Mārasimha of the Udayēndiram grant, whom he has specified as "the predecessor of Śrīpuruṣha,"<sup>3</sup> next after Śivamāra I, and he has assigned to him the period from some date after A.D. 713 "to A.D. 726,"<sup>4</sup>—the final date being fixed by the initial date which he has accepted for the next in succession. But the existence of this Mārasimha is based on nothing but the imperfect original rendering of the Udayēndiram grant.<sup>5</sup> The revised rendering of that record<sup>6</sup> has shewn us that the Mārasimha there mentioned must be placed at least a century after A.D. 726. And the Vallimalai inscription<sup>7</sup> has shewn us that Śrīpuruṣha-Muttarasa was in reality the son of Śivamāra I.

Next after this Mārasimha, Mr Rice has placed Śrīpuruṣha-Muttarasa. To him, he originally assigned the period "A.D. 727 to 777,"<sup>8</sup>—the initial date being taken from the assertion in the spurious Dēvarhalli grant<sup>9</sup>—(formerly known as the Nagamangala grant)—that the fiftieth year of Śrīpuruṣha-Muttarasa was Śaka-Samvat 698 expired, = A.D. 776-77. The final date was afterwards extended to "A.D. 804,"<sup>10</sup> which was supposed to be the initial date

<sup>1</sup> See, chiefly, *Ep. Carn.* Vol III Introd. pp. 2 to 6, the Table on pp. 7, 8, and the Classified List of the Inscriptions after p. 36, and Vol IV Introd. pp. 5, 8 to 12, and the Classified List after p. 28, also, for a few points, *Coorg Insers.* Introd. pp. 3 to 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol III Introd. p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol III, Md. 113, with a lithograph.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol III Introd. p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol III Introd. p. 7.

<sup>6</sup> By Mr Foulkes, in the *Manual of the Salem District*, Vol II p. 369.

<sup>7</sup> By Dr Hultzsch, *South-Ind. Insers.* Vol II p. 375.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol IV p. 140, A.

<sup>9</sup> *Coorg Insers.* Introd. p. 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol IV, Ng. 85, with a lithograph.—For a facsimile of two sides of this grant, see above, Vol IV p. 164, in my article on the spurious Sūdi grant.

<sup>11</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol III Introd. p. 7.—The natural inference is that the spurious Suradhēnupura document was brought to Mr Rice's notice after 1886 (the date of the publication of his *Coorg Insers.*) and before 1894 (the date of the publication of his *Ep. Carn.* Vol III). In order to deal with the spurious grants in the final manner in which they should some day be disposed of, we ought to know the exact order, and the years, in which each of them came to notice. Our information on this point is at present very scanty.

established for the next in succession by the spurious Suradhênupura document And it must be taken to be now cut down to A D 797, or earlier, by the subsequent assignment of this date to the next in succession

Next after Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, Mr Rice has placed his son, or alleged son, Śivamāra II. He originally put him at some indefinite time between A D 813 and 869,<sup>1</sup> placing him after the Chākīrāja for whom the Kadaba grant<sup>2</sup> purports to put forward a date in A D 813 He then allotted to him the date of "A D 804," as his initial date,—leaving the final date uncertain,—from the spurious Suradhênupura document<sup>3</sup> And he has now apparently carried him back to A D 797, if not earlier,<sup>4</sup> from the spurious Manne grant, which mentions Lōkatrinētra-Mārasimha as a son of Śivamāra II, describes him as administering the whole of the Ganga province as Yuvarāja, and gives a date in the month Āshādha, Śaka-Samvat 719 (expired), falling in A.D 797 Mr Rice's suggestion<sup>5</sup> is that Śivamāra II was perhaps then a prisoner in the hands of the Rāshtrakūtas, and that that is why this Mārasimha is described as Yuvarāja in command of the whole Ganga country With the additional name of Ereyappa,—Lōkatrinētra-Mārasinga-Ereyappa,—this person is mentioned, again as Yuvarāja, in also another spurious grant, from Gañjam in the Seringapatam tāluka,<sup>6</sup> this record does not put forward any date

Next after Śivamāra II, Mr Rice has placed his alleged younger brother Vijayāditya, with any date up "to A D 869,"<sup>7</sup>—this final date being necessitated by the initial date which he has proposed for the next ruler

Next after Vijayāditya, he has placed Vijayāditya's alleged son Satyavākya-Rājamalla, with the proposed period "A D 869 to ? 893"<sup>8</sup> Here, the initial date is based<sup>9</sup> on the Bihūr inscription,<sup>10</sup> which specifies the month Phālguna, Śaka-Samvat 809 (expired), falling in A D 888, as being in the eighteenth year of a Satyavākya, whose proper name, however, it does not disclose, and the final date is the initial date proposed for the next in succession And to this Satyavākya-Rājamalla he has referred, in addition to the Bihūr record of A D 888, the inscription at Husukūru,<sup>11</sup> which mentions the ruling prince both as Satyavākya and as Rājamalla, and gives for him the date of Śaka-Samvat 792 (expired),= A D 870-71, without any details of the month, etc This Husukūru inscription mentions also Būtarasa-(Būtuga I), who, it tells us, was then governing the Kongalnād and Pūnād provinces as Yuvarāja And Būtarasa is mentioned again in a fragmentary inscription at Chik-Kāti,<sup>12</sup> which also refers itself to the rule of a Satyavākya, naturally identified by Mr Rice with Rājamalla

Next after Satyavākya-Rājamalla, Mr Rice in 1894 placed a Nītimārga, whose proper name he did not then indicate, with the proposed period "A D ? 893 to ? 915,"<sup>13</sup> to whom we shall revert directly Since then, however, he has introduced the name of Ranavikramayya,—an alleged son of Rājamalla the alleged son of Vijayāditya,—with the proposed date of "about A D 890," and with the suggestion that this Ranavikramayya may be the Būtarasa-(Būtuga I) of the Husukūru and Chik-Kāti inscriptions, or may be someone else<sup>14</sup> The name of this

<sup>1</sup> *Coorg Inscr* Introd p 4

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol IV p 332

<sup>3</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol III Introd pp 3, 7

<sup>4</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol IV Introd p 9—This Manne grant has not been published yet But I am able to quote it from photographs which Mr Rice was kind enough to send me

<sup>5</sup> *Loc cit* in note 4

<sup>6</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol IV, Sr 160

<sup>7</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol III Introd p 7

<sup>8</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol III Introd p 8

<sup>9</sup> See *Coorg Inscr* Introd p 4

<sup>10</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol VI p 102, No 2 (Mr Kittel's rendering), with a lithograph, and *Coorg Inscr* p 5 (Mr Rice's rendering)

<sup>11</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol III, Nj 75—I am dealing now, as on the previous occasion, with only the really important and useful records,—mostly those which include personal names or dates, or which can by any other means be applied in a specific manner

<sup>12</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol IV, Gu 94

<sup>13</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol III Introd p 8

<sup>14</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol IV Introd p 11, and the Classified List after p 85

Ranavikramayya is taken from the Galgākere grant<sup>1</sup>. This is another obviously spurious record. It does not include any date, Śaka or regnal, and, so, the proposed date of "about A D 890" is purely conjectural.

We revert to Mr. Rice's Nītimārga, with the proposed period "A D ? 893 to ? 915". Here, the initial date is based on an inscription at Honnāyakanhalli, which was understood to give "reason to suppose his reign began in Śaka 815 (A D 893),"<sup>2</sup> and the final date is based on an inscription at Iggali,<sup>3</sup> which, however, is dated in the twenty-second year, not of a Nītimārga, but of a Satyavākya, and therefore does not apply to the case at all. The suggestion has been thrown out, that this Nītimārga may be either Ranavikramayya or Būtuga I, or both of them.<sup>4</sup> And to this Nītimārga Mr. Rice has referred, in addition to the Iggali inscription (in reality, a record of a Satyavākya), an inscription at Gattavādi<sup>5</sup> (again, in reality, a record of a Satyavākya, and not of a Nītimārga), dated in the fifth regnal year, erroneously supposed, in consequence of confusing the appellations, to be A D 898,—another inscription at the same place,<sup>6</sup> a record of really a Nītimārga, and dated in his fifth year, and therefore referred to A D 898,—and an inscription at Kūlagere,<sup>7</sup> also a record of really a Nītimārga, dated Śaka-Samvat 831 (expired), = A D 909-910, without any details of the month, etc., and without any mention of the regnal year.

Next after this Nītimārga Mr. Rice has placed a Satyavākya, whom he has identified with Ereyappa,<sup>8</sup> and to him he has assigned an inscription at Malligere,<sup>9</sup> which refers itself to the rule of a Satyavākya, without disclosing his proper name, and gives for him the date of Śaka-Samvat 828 (expired), = A D 906-907, without any details of the month, etc., or of the regnal year. For this Satyavākya-Ereyappa, he has proposed various other dates ranging from "about A D 900" to "about A D 925."<sup>10</sup> These are based on records which do not include any Śaka dates, and, mostly, not even regnal dates, so that the proposed dates A D are purely conjectural. And we need notice only one of those records here. It is an inscription at Jinnahalli,<sup>11</sup> which refers itself to the seventh year of a Satyavākya, whose proper name it does not disclose. Mr. Rice has identified this Satyavākya with Ereyappa, and has consequently placed this record "A D ? 900" but the record mentions this Satyavākya by also the *biruda* of Guttiyaganga, Guttiyaganga was Satyavākya-Nolambāntaka-Māhasimha II,<sup>12</sup> and the true date of this record is, therefore, A D 969-70.

Next after Ereyappa, we have the name of his son Rāchamalla I, who was killed by Būtuga II in or before A D 940. In respect of Rāchamalla, Mr. Rice has said<sup>13</sup> that "we must apparently understand that on the death of Ereyappa, Rāchamalla and Būtuga were rival claimants to the throne, and that the former did not actually reign, or if he did, only for a short time." The only record, as yet brought to notice, referable actually to the life-time of this Rāchamalla, is an inscription at Hiranandi.<sup>14</sup> It does not contain any date, Śaka or regnal. But Mr. Rice has proposed to place it "about A D 930." And he has suggested<sup>15</sup> that, by this record, "we seem to be let into the plot by which Būtuga endeavoured to get Rāchamalla into his power. He sent an officer to invite him to come to Manne, the royal residence, that they might make a division of the country and the treasury. But Būtuga, as we know, was not to be trusted. His envoy was therefore met by five feudal chiefs and the headmen with the

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV, Id. 60, with a lithograph.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III, Introd. p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III, Nj. 139, for the attribution of this record to Nītimārga, see Introd. p. 4, as well as the Classified List after p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV, Introd. p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III, Nj. 97.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* Nj. 98.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III, Ml. 30.

<sup>8</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III, Introd. p. 4, and Vol. IV, Introd. p. 11.

<sup>9</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV, Kp. 38.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* the Classified List.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* Hg. 110.

<sup>12</sup> See above, Vol. V, pp. 163, 180.

<sup>13</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III, Introd. p. 5.

<sup>14</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV, Hg. 116.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* Introd. p. 12, see also the translation of the record.

"blunt answer—We do not wish any other than Rāchamalla to rule over the kingdom of "Bayal-nād" This, however, hardly does justice to the original, which is in much more plain and forcible terms, and I will give my own rendering of it further on

And finally, next after Rāchamalla I Mr Rice has placed Satyavākya-Būtuga II., with, apparently, the period from about A.D 930 to A.D 963 The initial date follows from his opinion that the Hiranandi inscription, which he has placed "about A.D 930," "brings us ' to the death of Ereyappa and the beginning of Būtuga's reign,"<sup>1</sup> and the final date is the initial date of Nolambāntaka-Marasimha II, whom he has placed immediately after Būtuga II.<sup>2</sup>

In these arrangements, Mr Rice has found himself more than once confronted with a difficulty in the shape of overlapping dates, and, in particular, he has found<sup>3</sup> that the period A.D 893 to 915 which he has "provisionally" assigned to Nitimārga, "seems to trench upon "the date Śaka 828 (A.D 906) given in Kp 38,"—(the Malhgere inscription)—"for his son "whose distinctive name was Ereyappa" He has proposed to remove any difficulty of this kind by the suggestion<sup>4</sup> that "from instances like this"—(namely, an inscription at Kyātanahalli,<sup>5</sup> which has been supposed to mention Ereyappa as *Yumarāja*, and has been placed "about A.D 916"),—"and similar ones among the Hoysala and other dynasties, it is evident that the heir-apparent to the throne, when of age, was often associated with the king in the government, "and represented as himself performing all the functions of royalty It is necessary to bear this "in mind in order to account for the frequent overlapping of dates in the reckoning of the "end of the father's reign and the beginning of his son's" We need not, however, consider what may or may not have been the custom among any other families The overlapping of dates results only from pushing on Satyavākya-Rājamalla to too late a period, and from wrongly identifying Ereyappa as a Satyavākya instead of a Nitimārga If the Ganga records are handled properly, there is no instance, as yet, of any overlapping dates at all, and we have no reason to expect to meet with any such dates

I take the matter differently, and follow the genuine records I have, indeed allowed myself, in my previous article, to enter into certain speculations based on the possibility that, as the spurious grants unquestionably include most of the real historic names mixed up with the fictitious names of their own invention they may also have preserved a few other germs of historical and chronological truth, more or less correct, or more or less distorted and in anachronistic sequence But it seems very questionable, whether it is safe to allow them even so much credit as that It appears more likely that we ought to set them aside as simply epigraphic curiosities, in respect of which we may consider hereafter, if it is thought worth while, how much or how little of the true history was known to the persons who fabricated them but which we must not use in attempting to construct any of the true history And on the present occasion, at any rate, I shall not make any use of them, except in connection with the name of Śivamāra II

The first four generations of the family are enumerated in the Vallimalai inscription,<sup>6</sup> which tells us that the son of Śivamāra (I) was Śrīpurusha-(Muttarasa), Śrīpurusha's son was Rānavikrama, and Rānavikrama's son was Rājamalla This record is not dated, and it, therefore, does not help in that way Its great value consists in its disposing finally of the imaginary generation which the spurious grants from Mysore would set up between Śivamāra I and Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, and in its giving us the true name of the person, Rānavikrama, whom the spurious grants call Vijayāditya, or in whose place, ignoring him altogether, they substitute a Vijayāditya

<sup>1</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol IV Introd p 12

<sup>2</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol. III Introd p 8

<sup>3</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol IV Introd p 11

<sup>4</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol III Introd p 4

<sup>5</sup> *Ep Ind* Vol III., Sr 147, and see page 68 below, note 6

<sup>6</sup> *Above*, Vol IV p 140, A



Of Śivamāra I we have not, as yet, any genuine record affording a clue to a specific date for him. But historical considerations require us to place him about A.D. 760. And the palæographic indications of certain genuine records which are fairly attributable to him, are fully in accordance with that view. I have proposed for him the period about A.D. 755 to 765. I may hereafter place him a very few years earlier or later. But, for the present, the period that I have proposed is a sufficiently close approximation to the truth.

Of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, again, we have not, as yet, any genuine record affording a clue to a specific date for him. On palæographic and historical grounds, I have allotted to him the period about A.D. 765 to 805. It may be necessary hereafter to place him ten years or so earlier, or even later, and also to allow him a somewhat longer period, because there seems to be a record at Mēlāgāni or at Bissēhalli,<sup>1</sup> overlooked by me, which quotes his forty-second year. But here again, for the present, the proposed period is close enough to the truth.

Next after Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa, I have placed Śivamāra II, with the period about A.D. 805 to 810. How far this entry can be upheld, must be a matter for future consideration, for the following reasons. In the first place, we have no genuine records fairly referable to him as a ruling prince. In the second place, we have no absolute statement anywhere, save in the spurious grants, that Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa had a son named Śivamāra. In the third place, in selecting A.D. 805 as his initial date, I allowed myself to be guided by the Suradhēnupura forgery,—(not having any reason to suspect that it was so very modern and feeble a fraud),—on the chance that that document, though spurious, preserved a genuine date which, not only was not an impossible one,<sup>2</sup> but was a very possible one, and one that would fit in exactly with the fact that the paramount sovereign, the Rāshtrakūta king Gōvinda III, was actually in the Kanarese country, on the Tungabhadra, and apparently in Mysore itself, in A.D. 804,<sup>3</sup> which

<sup>1</sup> See *Coorg Inscriptions* Introd. p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> It became "impossible" only on the discovery of the spurious Manne grant, purporting to be dated A.D. 797, which would establish in connection with Śivamāra II a date, when he either was ruling or else had ruled and passed away, eight years before the commencement of his rule according to the Suradhēnupura forgery.

<sup>3</sup> See the record of that year, mentioned in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I Part II), p. 379. Mr. Rice (*Mysore*, revised edition, Vol. I p. 325) has identified the Rāmēśvara tīrtha,—where, the record says, Gōvinda III was then encamped,—with an island in the Tungabhadra, five miles south of Honnali in the Shimoga district, Mysore.—I take this opportunity of referring to passages in my *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* pp. 396, 403, where I have suggested that a certain place,—in respect of which the "lord of Vengi," i.e. the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayaditya II, is said to have assisted Gōvinda III in fortifying it, by constructing an outer wall round it,—was Mānyakheta, the modern Malkhēd in the Nizam's Dominions, and that, subsequently, Amoghavarsha I completed the fortification of the city and made it the capital of his dynasty. The place is referred to in verse 19 of the Rādhāpur grant of A.D. 807 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI p. 71). The preceding verse tells us that Gōvinda III had, in the course of previous events, marched with his army to the banks of the Tungabhadra, and there "had drawn to himself the wealth of the Pallavas," or, in other words, had levied tribute or fines from them, and, with the help of the record from the Kanarese country (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI p. 125), we may place that about the beginning of A.D. 804. And the use of the word *yatra*, "where," in verse 19, locates the place, round which the *vāhyāntī vrati* or "external circumvallation" was built for him by "the lord of Vengi," on, or somewhere in the neighbourhood of, the Tungabhadra. The reference may be only to a fortification of some large encampment actually on the Tungabhadra, and, in that case, we may locate that encampment, because of the mention of the Pallavas and the lord of Vengi, as far to the east as possible,—somewhere in the neighbourhood of the confluence of the Tungabhadra and the Krishna. But Malkhēd is only some eighty-five or ninety miles away, on the north, from the Tungabhadra. It probably already existed, as a place of some importance. The usefulness of it, if fortified, with a view to resisting attacks from the east, would be evident. And it is very likely that Gōvinda III then decided on making it the capital, and caused the external fortifications of it to be built for him by the king of Vengi. In that case, the passage in verse 12 of the Dāḍī grant of A.D. 940 (above, Vol. V p. 193, text lines 18, 19),—which Dr. Bhandarkar has interpreted as shewing that Malkhēd was founded by Amoghavarsha I,—may be translated so as to mean that Amoghavarsha I merely further embellished a city which had been selected as the capital, and had been fortified, by Gōvinda III, just as, among the Western Chalukyas, Fulakeśin I acquired Bādāmi (page 8 above, verse 7), but his son and successor Kirtivarman I, in whose time, we know, the large Vaiṣṇava cave at least was made there, is called "the first maker or creator" of it, i.e. the person who began to adorn the city with temples and other buildings (above, Vol. III p. 52, and see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 345).

would give him the convenient opportunity of doing what the spurious Manne grant asserts that he did, namely, of joining in the coronation of Śivamāra II. And in the fourth place, it is not unlikely that we shall find, hereafter, that the Ganga prince who was imprisoned by Dhruva, was released from long captivity and sent back to his own country by Gōvinda III, and then after no long time was imprisoned again by the latter king, was, not Śivamāra II, but Śrīpuruṣha-Muttarasa,—the fresh act of pride and opposition, which led to the second captivity, being the assumption by him of the paramount titles some time after his twenty-ninth year, and, if so, Śivamāra II would have to be placed somewhat later than the period that I have proposed for him. On the other hand, some evidence in support of the existence of a Śivamāra who may be taken as a son of Śrīpuruṣha-Muttarasa, is furnished by an inscription at Sivarpatna,<sup>1</sup> which mentions a Śivamāra who was governing the village of Kadabūr, Kadabūr, or possibly Kadambūr or Kadambūr, under Śrīpuruṣha-Muttarasa and in perhaps his twenty-ninth year,—(this record, however, does not assert any relationship),—and by a spurious inscription, or a record into which a spurious date has been introduced in putting it on the stone, at Kalbhāvi in the Belgaum District,<sup>2</sup> which mentions a Ganga prince named Saigotta-Śivamāra, and preserves also the name of Kambharasa, as another variant of the name of the Raṇavalōka-Kambayya of one of the Śravana-Belgola records<sup>3</sup> and other documents, who was contemporaneous with Gōvinda III. And also, though for the line of descent from Śivamāra II we are as yet dependent on only the Udayēnduram grant of the Ganga-Bāna prince Hastimalla Prithivīpati II, of A.D. 915 or thereabouts,<sup>4</sup>—a record the value of which has still to be examined critically,—still, items of information, tending to corroborate that line of descent, are beginning to come to light. A Tamil inscription at Tiruvallam mentions a Śivamahārāja-Perumānādīgal and his son Pratīpati-Araiyar,<sup>5</sup> whom Dr. Hultzsch has very reasonably proposed to identify with the Śivamāra and his son Prithivīpati I who are mentioned in the grant of A.D. 915, and the Hirī-Bīdanūr inscription<sup>6</sup> mentions, as a contemporary of Vīra-Nolamba son of Ayyapadēva,—(who would come about A.D. 940 to 950),—a certain Nanniya-Ganga son of a Ganga prince Pīḍuvipati (which name also is evidently a form of Prithivīpati, as pointed out by Mr. Rice), and the synchronisms justify us in finding in this Pīḍuvipati the Hastimalla-Prithivīpati II of A.D. 909 and 915. Accordingly, this entry also,—Śivamāra II, about A.D. 805 to 810,—may be allowed to stand for the present as it is.

The son, or another son, of Śrīpuruṣha-Muttarasa was Raṇavikrama; and Raṇavikrama's son was Rājamalla. We learn this from the Vallimalai inscription,<sup>7</sup> which may have omitted to mention Śivamāra II, either because there was really no such person, or because he did not rule, or because it sought to give only the actual lineal descent from father to son. Rājamalla may be safely identified with the ruling prince who is mentioned in the Husukūru inscription<sup>8</sup> by the proper name of Rājamalla, as well as the appellation of Satyavākya, and with the date of Śaka Samvat 792 (expired), = A.D. 870-71, without any details of the month, etc. He can be carried on, without objection, to that date. But he cannot be placed any later, if only for the reason that the Biliūr inscription shews that a rule—of a Satyavākya (proper name

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol V p 161, and p 155, note 7

<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XVIII p 309. It is obvious, now, that in line 26 we should read *Kambharasar*, instead of the *Kamcharasar* then given by me. The passage is somewhat damaged, and, when that is the case, it is always easy to introduce confusion between the Kanarese *ch* and *bh* of the period of that record.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Rice's *Inscrs at Srav-Bel* No 24, and see *Dyn Kan Distrs* p 897, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> *South Ind Inscrs* Vol II p 375. I find reason to think that in this grant, as it stands, we have, not a record that was actually written in that year, but a reproduction of some such record, made at an appreciably later time, into which some additions were introduced. This would account for the appearance in this record,—in rather a fragmentary shape,—of the fictitious Western Ganga pedigree, of which there is no hint at all in the other record of Prithivīpati II, the Sholinghur inscription of A.D. 909 (above, Vol IV p 221).

<sup>5</sup> *South Ind Inscrs* Vol III p 98.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol IV p 140, A.

<sup>8</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol IV Introd p 10, and note 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol III, Nj 75.

not disclosed in it)—began in that same year, and, if we were to identify Satyavākya-Rājamalla, as Mr Rice has done, with that Satyavākya, thus making the year A D 870-71 his initial date, then we should have to allow a rule of sixty years by his father Ranavikrama,<sup>1</sup> which is not admissible after so long a rule as that of Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa immediately before or almost so. And there is also another reason Mr Rice has brought to notice<sup>2</sup> inscriptions at Baragūr and Hēmāvati which mention an intermarriage of the Gangas and the Nolambas during this period. The Baragūr inscriptions tell us that Satyavākya-Rājamalla had a son Nītimārga, whose younger sister Jāyabbe<sup>3</sup> was married to Nolambādhirāja son of Pallavādhirāja, and that Nolambādhirāja and Jāyabbe had a son Mahēndrādhirāja, who was ruling (the Nolambavādi province) at the time when these records were written. One of these Baragūr inscriptions is dated Ś-S 800 (expired), = A D 878-79. This date is obviously the date of Mahēndrādhirāja. And it follows that Satyavākya-Rājamalla must have come very appreciably before A D 878-79, for him to have a grandson who was then ruling (the Nolambavādi province), even if he was only an infant ruling it nominally. The date of A D 370-71, which is coupled with the name of Satyavākya-Rājamalla in the Husukūru inscription, can, therefore, be only taken as his final date. And, pending the discovery of dated records which may fix anything more definite, we may divide the preceding interval into the periods of A D 810 to 840 for Ranavikrama and A D 840 to 870-71 for Satyavākya-Rājamalla. I identify Satyavākya-Rājamalla with the Satyavākya—(proper name not disclosed)—of the Doddahundi inscription,<sup>4</sup> and, consequently, his father Ranavikrama with the Nītimārga—(proper name not disclosed)—who is named in that same record as the father of that Satyavākya. No chronological question is involved in this, because that record does not contain any date, Śaka or regnal. But the record can only be placed in the period A D 800 (or thereabouts) to 860, and it falls quite naturally into its proper place anywhere about A D 840. In connection with the records of Satyavākya-Rājamalla, we need only note further the fact that the Husukūru inscription mentions, as his *Yuvarāja* or chosen successor, Būtarasa, who, it tells us, was then governing the Kongalnād and Pūnād provinces. The Kongalnād was an *enchāsira* or eight-thousand province,—see, for instance, an inscription at Kūragallu,<sup>5</sup> which mentions it as such,—i.e. a province that included, according to fact or tradition or conventional acceptance, eight thousand cities, towns, and villages.<sup>6</sup> And the Pūnād or Punnād was an *arūsāsira* or six-thousand province, see, for instance, an inscription at Dēbūr.<sup>7</sup> The two provinces were

<sup>1</sup> Unless, of course, we place Śrīpurusha-Muttarasa appreciably later than even the period that I have proposed for him. In favour of doing that, it might be urged that there is the Saragūru grant (*Ep Carn* Vol IV, Hg 4, with a lithograph), purporting to be of his time, the characters of which prove one or other of two things,—either that the grant is spurious, or that it must be placed much nearer A D 870 than 805. But I do not think that Śrīpurusha Muttarasa can be carried on any later than A D 814-15 at the utmost.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol III Introd p 4, and Vol IV Introd p 11. I am quoting the Baragūr inscriptions from readings for which I am indebted to Mr Rice.

<sup>3</sup> Or perhaps Jālabbe, or something else, the final reading of the name seems to have not been fixed yet.

<sup>4</sup> See page 43 above.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol IV, Hs 92.

<sup>6</sup> On the question of these numerical components of the names of territorial divisions, see *Dyn Kan Distrs* p 299, and note 2, and *Ind Ant* Vol XXIX p 277, note 18.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol III, Nj 26.—The Pūnād province figures, unfortunately, as a ten thousand province throughout Mr Rice's writings and maps (see, notably, *Ep Carn* Vol IV Introd p 4, and the maps in *Mysore*, Vol I pp 300, 314). But it is correctly mentioned as a six thousand in even line 18 of the spurious Merkāra grant, on which is based the erroneous assertion that it was a ten thousand. The mistake is traceable back to Dr Burnell, who wrote when the science of epigraphy was in its infancy, and who arrived at the conclusion that the *akshara* before the word *sahasra*, 'thousand,' in the passage in question, is a slight variation of the cave numerical symbol for 'ten' (*South Ind Palaeo* p 67). I pointed out, some years ago (*Ind Ant* Vol XVIII p 362), that, according to the lithograph in *Ind Ant* Vol I p 362 (see also *Coorg Insers* p 4),—which undoubtedly represents the original much more correctly than does the representation of the *akshara* given in Dr Burnell's book,—the *akshara* is distinctly the syllable *śṣṭ*. I did not venture then to decide what it might mean. But, with the Dēbūr inscription as our guide, we know now that it is a Prākrit word meaning 'six,' and that the passage speaks of "the village

evidently contiguous The Pûnâd province has been identified by Mr Rice with the southern part of the Mysore district, below the Lakshmantîrtha and the Kâvêrî<sup>1</sup> The Kûragallu inscription seems to tacitly place in the Kongalnâd province Kûragallu itself, which is in the Hunsûr tâluka of the Mysore district, and, if it does so, then that province was immediately on the north-west of Pûnâd

We come now to the period between A D 870-71 and 940, which is the leading subject of the present inquiry We have to deal with a Satyavākya and a Nitimârga, whose proper names are, perhaps, not so obviously fixed, as they might have been, by any records as yet brought to notice, and with an Ereyappa, for whom, under that name, the records do not as yet furnish any specific date And here I have, as a preliminary, to draw attention to two important corrections.

In the first place, for the initial date of Nitimarga-Ereyappa, I adopted A D 893-94, which Mr Rice deduced,<sup>2</sup> from the Honnâyakanhalli inscription, as the initial date of the Nitimârga of this period But he has now withdrawn that date He has told us<sup>3</sup> that he thought there was a clue in the Honnâyakanhalli inscription to Śaka-Samvat 815 (expired), = A D 893 94, but that this does not now seem to be the case. And we are thus free from any necessity of placing the commencement of a rule in A D 893-94.

In the second place, the date of an inscription at Râmpura<sup>4</sup> has been misread This record is rightly referred by Mr Rice to the period with which we are dealing And it really is a record of a Satyavākya, whose proper name is not disclosed in it Whereas, however, the published version represents it as dated in his fourth year, I find, from an ink-impression that has reached me, that it is really dated in his thirty-fourth year<sup>5</sup> And there is nothing in this to surprise us, for, not only have we an inscription at Iggali dated in his twenty-second year,<sup>6</sup> but also Mr Rice has told us<sup>7</sup> that there is an inscription at Sâtanûr dated in his twenty-ninth year, and the Malligere inscription, noticed just below, gives a Śaka date for him three years later still

Next after Satyavākya-Râjamalla, then, we have to locate a Satyavākya and a Nitimârga And the order in which they came, namely the Satyavākya first and then the

named Badâneguppe in the Edenâdu seventy of the Punâdu *chhâsahasra* or six-thousand” The passage is mostly in very bad Sanskrit, but it contains also the Prâkrit form *saptari*, for *saptatî*, ‘seventy’ The *chhâ* that is used in it for ‘six,’ figures also in Marâthî, in *chhatîs*, ‘thirty six,’ and *chhappann*, ‘fifty six,’ in both of which words the following consonant is doubled, instead of lengthening the *a* of *chhâ* We have *chhâ* for ‘six’ in Pâli also, with the short *a* sometimes lengthened in composition, for instance *chhâ rattam*, ‘a period of six nights’ (see Childers’ Pâli Dictionary) And the spurious Bangalore grant which purports to be dated A D 445, gives us the long *a* even with a doubling of the following consonant, in the word *chhânnavati*, ‘ninety six’ (*Ind Ant* Vol VIII p 95, text line 2 3 from the top, and Plate)

<sup>1</sup> See the maps in his *Mysore*, Vol I pp 300, 314, and, more clearly on this point, in his *Mysore Inscr* Intro p 84

<sup>2</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol III Introd p 4

<sup>3</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol IV Introd p 11, note 4

<sup>4</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol III, Sr. 148, with a lithograph—The published text gives *Satyavâkhyâ Permmânadî २२] dîutîa nâikaneya varshada*, rendered in the translation by “the fourth year of the reign of Satyavākya-Permanadî” And the lithograph shews what is virtually the same thing, namely *Satyavâkhyâ-Permmânadîgal=dîutîa nâikaneya varshada* This, however, in the lithograph, is only the result of manipulation, either of an impression or in the course of lithography The ink impression shews distinctly that the real reading of the original is *Satyavâkhyâ Permmânadîgala mu[va]tta nâikaneya varshada*, “of the thirty fourth year of Satyavākya Permmânadî” The *akshara va* is damaged and illegible, at the end of line 2 In the preceding *akshara*, the stroke on the right (proper left) side of the *m* is also damaged, and perhaps the stroke that makes the difference between a subscript *u* and *i*, or, quite possibly, *u* was written by mistake for *u*, or, even the form *muva* may have been used, instead of *muvatta*, which, however, is not so likely, But it is absolutely certain that this record is dated in the thirty fourth year of a Satyavākya

<sup>5</sup> See, fully, in the preceding note

<sup>6</sup> See page 68 below

<sup>7</sup> *Ep Carn*, Vol IV Introd p 11 I assume that this is really a record of a Satyavākya, as implied

Nitimarga, is proved by the Śaka dates given in the Bihūr, Malligere, and Kūlagere inscriptions. The Bihūr inscription<sup>1</sup> gives us the Satyavākya— (proper name not disclosed),— with a date in the month Phālguna, Śaka-Samvat 809 (expired), falling in A.D. 888, in his eighteenth year. The Malligere inscription<sup>2</sup> gives us, again, the Satyavākya— (proper name not disclosed),— with the date of Ś-S 828 (expired),=A.D. 906-907, without any details of the month, *etc*, and without any specification of the regnal year. And the Kūlagere inscription<sup>3</sup> gives us the Nitimarga—(proper name not disclosed),— with the date of Ś-S 831 (expired),= A.D. 909-910, without any details of the month, *etc*, and without any specification of the regnal year.

We may safely identify the Satyavākya with the Būtarasa who is mentioned in the Husukūru inscription, of A.D. 870-71, as then governing the Kongalnād and Pūnād provinces as *Yuvarāja* under Rājamalla. There is every reason to believe that, being the *Yuvarāja* or chosen successor of Rājamalla, Būtarasa was also his actual successor, and there is, at any rate, no hint anywhere, as yet, that he died without succeeding. And we shall probably find hereafter that he was the eldest son of Rājamalla. Making this identification,— then, for the period of Būtarasa's own rule, we have, in the first place the Bihūr inscription,<sup>4</sup> which mentions him simply as Satyavākya, and which gives a Śaka date with details falling in February or March, A.D. 888, in his eighteenth year, and thus fixes the commencement of his rule in A.D. 870 or 871. We may place next the Iggali inscription,<sup>5</sup> dated, without any details of the month, *etc*, in his twenty-second year, = A.D. 891-92: this record mentions a certain Rācheya-Ganga, who, it tells us, then died fighting against the Nolumma or Nolamba, and it introduces the first certain mention of Ereyappa, whom it describes as convened with Satyavākya-(Būtarasa) when the grant registered in it was settled. To somewhere about the same time, because it mentions Ereyappa in exactly the same way, we may refer the Kyātanahalli inscription<sup>6</sup> this record is not dated in any way, and it is noteworthy chiefly because it shews that certain epithets applied to Ereyappa in the Bêgūr inscription and supposed<sup>7</sup> to belong exclusively to him, had been already used by his predecessor: it specifically applies those epithets to the Satyavākya-Permānadi whom it mentions, not as Ereyappa, but along with Ereyappa, from whom it most distinctly separates him. The Rāmpura inscription,<sup>8</sup> dated in the month Mārgaśira of his thirty-fourth year, belongs to A.D. 903 or 904 according to the actual commencement of his rule. And the Malligere inscription,<sup>9</sup> dated Śaka-Samvat 828 (expired), without any details of the regnal year, month, *etc*, carries him on to A.D. 906-907. There are also two other records of his time, requiring to be noticed here

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol VI p 102, No 2, with a lithograph (Mr Kittel's rendering), and *Coorg Inscr* p 5 (Mr Rice's rendering)

<sup>2</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol IV, Kp 38

<sup>3</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol III, M1 30

<sup>4</sup> See note 1 above

<sup>5</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol III, Nj 139

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, Sr 147 — It seems to be the treatment of this record that led Mr Rice into wrongly stamping Ereyappa as a Satyavākya, through the translation of it giving "Satyavākya Permānadi, Ereyapparasa," instead of "Satyavākya Permānadi and Ereyapparasa." The translator ignored the copulative endings in *Permānadi-gaḷum Ereyapparasarum=īḍu*, line 11. The two persons are distinctly separated by those copulative endings — The following word, *īḍu*, does not mean "halting," as rendered in the translation here, and in the case of Nj 139 and 192 in the same volume, and of Hg 103 in Vol IV. It is equivalent to the more specific *odaṇ=īḍu* of Hg 103, which means "being together, being in the company of each other, being convened" — It may also be noted that the Kyātanahalli inscription, Sr 147, has been wrongly interpreted as describing Ereyappa as "*Yuvarāja* of the entire Śrīrājya." The words occur as part of one of the adjectives qualifying the saints Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta. And they can only mean something like "[reverenced] by all *Yuvarājas* of the Śrīrājya."

<sup>7</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol. IV Introd p 11

<sup>8</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol III, Sr 148, as regards the date, see page 67 above, note 4

<sup>9</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol IV, Kp 38

One is an inscription at Kûragallu <sup>1</sup> it mentions him, as the ruling prince, under the appellation of Permanadi, but it goes on to give his name in the form of Bûtuga; and it further mentions his wife Paramabbe (or Saramabbe) as "governing" the village of Kuigal, and Ereyappa as "governing" the Kongalnâd eight-thousand. And the other is an inscription at Kattemanuganahalli,<sup>2</sup> which mentions Nîtimârğa-Ereyapparasa as "governing" the Nugunâd and Navalenâd provinces or districts, of which the former appears to be the country on the banks of the Nugu or Nûgu river, a tributary of the Kabbani, in the Heggadadêvankôte and Nañjangûd tâlukas of the Mysore district. These two records do not contain any dates, Śaka or regnal. But they may be placed somewhere towards the end of the rule of Bûtuga I, because of the advance that they shew in the status of Ereyappa, as compared with the Iggali and Kyâtanahalli records.<sup>3</sup> Next, then, after Satyavâlġya-Râjamalla, we have Satyavâlġya-Bûtarasa-Bûtuga I, with fixed dates ranging from A D 870-71 to 906-907.<sup>4</sup>

Next after Satyavâlġya-Bûtuga I came the Nîtimârġa, whom we may unhesitatingly identify with the Ereyappa of the Iggali, Kyâtanahalli, and Kûragallu records, and the Nîtimârġa-Ereyappa of the Kattemanuganahalli record, of the time of his predecessor. As regards the period of his own rule, we have as yet no record that actually gives a Śaka date for him under the name of Ereyappa, but the Kûlagere inscription<sup>5</sup> gives for him, under the appellation of Nîtimârġa, the date of Śaka-Samvat 831 (expired), = A D 909-910, without any details of the month, etc, and without any specification of the regnal year, and we may provisionally fix his initial date in A D. 908. The relationship of Ereyappa to Bûtuga I, and the circumstances under which he succeeded, have not been ascertained yet. We shall probably

<sup>1</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol IV, Hs 92 — The name of his wife is given as Paramabbe in the text in Roman characters, and as Saramabbe in the Kanarese text. Both the texts give "Ireyappa," but this is, no doubt, a mistake for "Ereyappa." — Mr Rice (*ibid* Introd p 12, and the Classified List of Inscriptions) has referred this record to the period of the rule of Freyappa, and appears to treat Paramabbe (or Saramabbe) as a wife of Bûtuga II. But it is only in his predecessor's time that Ereyappa could be "governing" simply a province, and it is impossible to find here, correctly, any reference to Bûtuga II, who came after Freyappa.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol IV, Hg 103 — This record is, in my opinion, sufficient in itself to shew that Ereyappa was a Nîtimârġa, not a Satyavâlġya, it mentions him as Nîtimârġa in line 1 in the first set of epithets, and as Ereypparasa (according to the published texts) in line 5 in the second set of epithets. The published translation, indeed, has separated the appellation Nîtimârġa from the name Ereyappa, and has made them two distinct persons, by introducing the words "was ruling the kingdom of the world" in line 3, after the word *Permmânadiga*, and the result of this would be that the ruling prince was a Nîtimârġa, and that Ereyappa was a governor under him. But that addition to the text is neither necessary nor justifiable. The second *Seasti*, in line 3, introduces only a second set of epithets. The ruling prince is mentioned only as Permânadi, in line 10, which tells us that he and Ereyappa were convened together when the grant registered in this record was made.

<sup>3</sup> The Malligere inscription, after introducing the ruling prince as Satyavâlġya-Permânadi, perhaps goes on to introduce someone else, to whom it applies the epithets that are applied in the Kyâtanahalli inscription to Satyavâlġya (Bûtuga I) and in the Bêgûr inscription to Ereyappa, and, if so, that other person must be Ereyappa, by that time entrusted with still greater powers and invested with still higher dignities. But the rest of the record is described as out of sight or illegible.

<sup>4</sup> I did not on the previous occasion, and I do not now, overlook the point that this arrangement places a Satyavâlġya next in succession after a Satyavâlġya, whereas it might perhaps be urged that we should expect a Nîtimârġa to follow a Satyavâlġya, a Satyavâlġya to follow a Nîtimârġa, and so on. But the Śaka dates prove conclusively that this was not the case at this point. And we have plainly three Satyavâlġyas in succession later on in the case of Mârasimha II, Pañchaladêva, and Râchamalla II. We do not know at present exactly how the appellations Satyavâlġya and Nîtimârġa were determined. But, if a conjecture may be hazarded, it is that Satyavâlġya was the customary appellation of the eldest son. We do not know that Mârasimha II was not the eldest son of Bûtuga II — it seems probable, in fact, that he was so, because it is unlikely that he should abdicate after ruling for only ten or eleven years, unless he was considerably advanced in years when he began to rule, and the fact that his half brother Maruladeva was the son of a king's daughter, would easily account for the succession going first to Maruladêva's son Rachcha Ganga. The Satyavâlġya of the Doddahundi inscription, i.e. Râjamalla, is distinctly specified (see page 45 above) as the eldest son of the Nîtimârġa, i.e. Ranavikrama, of that record. And Nîtimârġa-Ranavikrama was a younger son, if we accept the existence of Sivamâra II.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol III., Ml 80

find, however, that he was a younger son of Bûtuga I. And, from the fact that none of the records, that have as yet come to light, speak of him as the *Yutarāja* or chosen successor of Bûtuga I,<sup>1</sup> and from certain other indications, it seems likely that he took advantage of the executive authority entrusted to him by Bûtuga I, and diverted the succession from the direct and proper line. There are hints to this effect, in the description of his son Râchamalla I. as a poisonous tree which was uprooted, and of Bûtuga II as a pure tree which was planted in its place, by Krishna III,<sup>2</sup> and in the fact that Krishna III gave again to Bûtuga II the Belvola, Purigere, Kiskukâd, and Bâgenâd districts,<sup>3</sup> which had previously been given to him, as the dowry of his wife Rêvakanimmadi, by Amôghavarsha-Vaddiga. And there is also the statement in the Bêgûr inscription, that Ereyappa governed the Gangavâdi province as an united whole, after depriving all his enemies of their power.<sup>4</sup> The exact application of this latter statement, indeed, is not yet certain. On the one hand, taken in connection with the mention of hostilities with the Nolambas in A D 891-92, in the time of Bûtuga I,<sup>5</sup> and with the existence of an intrusive Nolamba record of A D 895-96 at Tâyalûr in the Mandya taluka,<sup>6</sup> it may mean that Ereyappa was successful against some determined effort of the Nolambas to overthrow the Ganga power altogether, and on the other hand, as the Bêgûr inscription shews that he was, at that time, on very friendly terms with the Nolamba Ayyapadêva, the fact may be that the enemies whom he overthrew were his own relations, and that he was assisted in doing that by the Nolambas. Still, however this may be, we shall probably find hereafter that Bûtuga II was the eldest son of the Râcheya-Ganga whose death in A D 891-92, in battle against the Nolamma or Nolamba, is mentioned in the Iggali inscription, and that Râcheya-Ganga was the eldest son of Bûtuga I, and that it was the death of Râcheya-Ganga in A.D 891-92 that enabled Ereyappa to secure the succession,—to the exclusion of Bûtuga II, who was eventually placed in possession of his rights by Krishna III. To the period of the rule of Ereyappa himself belongs the Bêgûr inscription,<sup>7</sup> which mentions him as Ereyappa, and describes him as lending a force to Ayyapadêva, for the purpose of fighting against a certain Viramahendra who seems to be the Eastern Chalukya king Bhîma II. This record has to be placed near the end of his rule. To an earlier period in his time belongs an inscription at Gattavâdi,<sup>8</sup> which mentions him as the ruling prince under the appellation of Nitimârga, and is dated, without any details of the Śaka year, month, etc., in his fifth year, corresponding probably to A D 912-13. There is, apparently, an inscription at Marûr in the Hassan district,<sup>9</sup> dated in his nineteenth year, which would carry him on to about A D 926-27. As we shall see shortly, he must have ruled for not less than twenty-five years, up to some date after A.D 933. And we may provisionally fix the end of his rule in A D. 938.

Nitimârga-Ereyappa left a son named Râchamalla I. And it was by killing Râchamalla that Bûtuga II obtained the succession. We know this from the Âtakûr inscription<sup>10</sup> That the event occurred in or before A D 940, is shewn by the Râshtrakûta grant from Dêôli, dated in that year, which mentions the fact and implies that Bûtuga II received maternal assistance from the Râshtrakûta king Krishna III, who was his brother-in-law, for, it says, Krishna III, "planted in Gangapâtî, as in a garden, the pure tree Bhûtârya, having uprooted the poisonous

<sup>1</sup> Regarding an instance in which he has been supposed to be thus described, see page 68 above, note 6

<sup>2</sup> See below

<sup>3</sup> See page 57 above

<sup>4</sup> Page 49 above

<sup>5</sup> Page 68 above

<sup>6</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol III, Md 13, and see above, Vol V p 165

<sup>7</sup> Page 49 above

<sup>8</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol III, Nj 98 — This record mentions a certain Mârâgâmunda, and a person whose name is given in the published texts as Taparekere Basavayya. The other Gattavâdi inscription (Nj 97), of the fifth year of a Satyavâkya (proper name not disclosed), mentions evidently the same two persons, the first of them as Maragavunda and the second of them as Tâyûra Papekere Basavayya according to the published texts. This brings these two records into immediate sequence. And Nj 97 is, therefore, to be referred either to Satyavâkya-Bûtuga I., or to Satyavâkya Bûtuga II.

<sup>9</sup> See *Ep Carn* Vol IV Introd p 12

<sup>10</sup> Page 57 above.

tree Rāchhyāmalla"<sup>1</sup> And the event must also be placed some few years after A.D. 933, because we have a date in that year for Gōvinda IV, and the reign of Amôghavarsha-Vaddiga intervened after that and before the reign of Krishna III. That Rāchamalla did actually succeed his father, is distinctly implied by the Déôli grant. And we have now a record which is to be referred to the period of his rule, and which probably discloses the actual outbreak of hostilities between him and Bûtuga I. It is the Hiranandi inscription,<sup>2</sup> which tells us that— "When Ereyappa ascended to heaven, Bhuvanāditya came and said that Kiriya-Rāchamalla had given, at Mannebetta or Mannibidu (?), half the country and the treasury, whereupon, the five *Sāmantas*<sup>3</sup> and the *Pergades* and the governor (?) of the Bayalnād country said— We will not allow any other than Rāchamalla to rule, then they fought at Māgundi (or perhaps at Bhuvanāytana-Māgundi) and the four sons of Nindiya-Korantiyarasa fought and died," etc. It is, thus, plain that Rāchamalla I did actually succeed to the leadership of the Gangas. And it seems that he deliberately gave half the principality to Bûtuga II, and thus paved the way to his own overthrow. At the same time, it appears tolerably certain that he ruled for only a short time. And we may probably place the death of Ereyappa, the accession of Rāchamalla I and the killing of the latter by Bûtuga II, all in A.D. 938.

In this way, Rāchamalla I was succeeded by Satyavākya-Bûtuga II., at some time between A.D. 933 and 940, and probably in A.D. 938, or very closely thereabouts. As has been intimated above, we shall probably find hereafter that Bûtuga II was a grandson of Bûtuga I, and a son of the Rācheya-Ganga who died in A.D. 891-92. And we have, at present, nothing else to add to the account of him given on the previous occasion, except that certain inscriptions at Annigere and Gāwarawād in the Dhārwar district, and at Hūli in Belgaum, shew that the exact name of the elder sister of Krishna III, who was one of his wives, was Rēvakanimmadi,<sup>4</sup> and that we have now a later date for him in A.D. 953.<sup>5</sup>

On the present occasion, we are not concerned with the general history of the Gangas after A.D. 940. But it may be conveniently noted here, in connection with Pañchaladēva, that the war between him and the Western Chālukya Āhavamalla-Taila II, in the course of which Pañchaladēva was overthrown and killed, is referred to by the Kanarese poet Ranna,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol IV p 289, and Vol V p 191.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol IV, Hg 116, and see page 62 above. — I take the text, of course, as given by Mr. Rice. But there are points in it that call for comment. The text in Roman characters speaks of "Kongani Kiriya Rāchamalla," but the text in Kanarese characters omits the Kongani, and suggests, instead, some illegible *Uruda* of the usual kind ending in *vedenga*. For the *Manne bettado* of the Roman text, the Kanarese text has *Mannibēdīdol*,—presumably for *Mannibidino*. There is nothing in either text, implying an invitation to go to Mannebetta or Mannibidu. *Kottān* means "he gave, he has (already) given," not "he will give or would give." *Bayal nādānu* is certainly not the accusative singular of *Bayal nād*, governed by *rōjyamam geyal*; if it is the real reading at all, it is the nominative singular masculine of a base *Bayal nāda*, with the copulative ending *ari*, and it must denote some leading official, probably the *Nālgāmunda* of the Bayalnād country; we have the same word in the locative, and in the ordinary nominative without the copulative ending, in the Kattamanuganahalli inscription (Hg 103), which tells us, not that on the day that "there was a fight in Bayal nād, when Bayal nād coming, attacked Kottamangala," but that "on the day, or at the time, when there was a quarrel with or war against the *Bayal nāda*, the *Bayal nāda* came," etc. The *tyām* of the Roman text and *iyām* of the Kanarese text must be a mistake for *tyem*, and *tyem* means, not "we do not wish," but "we will not give, we will not allow."

<sup>3</sup> The five *Sāmantas* were probably the subordinate commanders of five bodies of local troops; compare the reference to the *Sāmantas* of the *Nāgātara* in the Begūr inscription (page 49 above). The same expression, *ay sāmantarum* "and the five *Sāmantas*,"—occurs in an inscription at Mūdaballi, *Ep. Carn.* Vol III, Nj 130.

<sup>4</sup> Accordingly, a certain correction proposed for line 5 of the Hebbāl inscription (see above, Vol IV p 352, note 3) is not necessary. — The name Rēvakanimmadi is, I suppose, practically another form of Immadi-Rēvaka, and, if so, it probably means "a Rēvaka who was twice as beautiful or accomplished as any preceding Pēvaka" (see page 51 above, note 4).

<sup>5</sup> See the Postscript, page 83 below.

<sup>6</sup> See Mr. Rice's *Karṇāṭakabaddanūśānam* Introd. p 28 ff., where Āhavamalla is wrongly identified with Irivabedanga Satyāśrava, and Pañchala is evidently a mistake for Pañchala.



who mentions, in his *Ajitatīrthakarapurāna* or *Ajitatīrthēśvaracharita* (finished A.D. 993-94), a defeat inflicted on the army of Pañchala by a general of Taila II named Nāgadēva

\* \* \* \* \*

There is a great deal more to be said, both about the genuine history of the Gangas, and about the spurious records. Both these subjects are of extreme interest to me, partly because the history of the Gangas of Mysore is greatly intermingled, for a certain period, with the history of the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency, which has always been my special line of inquiry, and partly because the ancient history of India, as a whole, deserves, and unfortunately still in many respects remains, to be worked out critically and on sound bases, with an elimination of all the fables that have been imported into it from the spurious records of Mysore, from similar records in other parts of the country, and from various chronicles and lists of kings, some of them of early date and some of them quite modern, which have been credited with an authenticity and value which they do not really possess at all. But certain preliminary studies must be completed, before either of these subjects can be handled finally.

In connection with the genuine history of the Gangas of Mysore, we must, among other things, determine more closely the date of the overthrow of the original Pallava dynasty of Kāñchī, and of the supplantation of it by a branch of the Gangas in the person of, probably, Vijaya-Narasimhavarman<sup>1</sup>. We must clear up certain points in the relations of the Rāshtrakūta kings Dhruva and Gōvinda III with the princes of Mysore. And we must examine more fully certain traditions of the later Ganga dynasty of Kalinga, on the east coast of Southern India, which have a distinct connection with Mysore. These topics will be dealt with shortly. And, for the present, it is sufficient to throw out the following few hints as to what will be established.

We can now recognise clearly one genuine early Ganga prince anterior to Śivamāra I. He is the Satyāśraya-Dhruvarāja-Indravarman of the Goa grant,<sup>2</sup> which shews him as a viceroy in charge of four provinces under the Western Chalukya kings Kirtivarman I, Mangalēśa, and Pulakēśin II, under an appointment running from A.D. 591-92. He was plainly a close relation, and probably a brother, of Durlabhadēvī of the Batpūra family, the wife of Pulakēśin I. He was an ancestor, and probably the grandfather, of Rājasimha-Indravarman I, the first king of the earlier Gānga dynasty of Kalinga, who adopted the era of A.D. 591-92 as the official reckoning in his dominions. And the name of "the original great Bappūra race," to which he is allotted by the Goa grant, must be derived from a secondary appellation of some great city in Mysore,—very likely of Kōlār itself.

We have perhaps another Ganga name, earlier than that of Śivamāra I, and belonging to the period A.D. 680 to 696, in the case of the official named Kāndarba, who was the administrative officer when the grant was made which is recorded in the Balagāmi inscription of the Western Chalukya king Vinayāditya and the Sēndraka prince Pogilī.<sup>3</sup> The emblem at the top of that record is an elephant, the elephant was not the crest of the Western Chalukyas, nor is it likely that it was the crest of the Sēndrakas,<sup>4</sup> but it was the crest

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. V pp. 157, 160.

<sup>2</sup> See the notice of this record in *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 355, and cancel my suggestion (*id.* p. 349, and in the Table at p. 336, also, in the Table in Vol. III above, p. 2) that this person may have been a son of Mangalēśa.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX p. 142. For the emblem at the top of the stone, see the photograph in Col. Dixon's collection, No. 98, reproduced in my *P. S. O.-C. Inscr.* No. 152.

<sup>4</sup> It seems highly probable that the name Sēndraka is the origin of the later name Sinda. The Sinda princes are known for the period A.D. 990-91 to 1179, and chiefly in connection with the country round Pattadakal and Bāgalkōṭ in the Bijāpur district and Yelburga in the Nizām's Dominions (*Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 572 ff). But there was also a branch of them in the neighbourhood of the territory held in earlier times by the Sēndrakas (*id.* p. 577).

of the Western Gangas, and it is found above their records at Bihûr, Peggu-ûr, Kyâtanahalli, and Tâyalûr<sup>1</sup>

It is probable that Vijaya-Narasimhavarman represented the main line of the Gangas; and he was very likely a lineal descendant of Satyâśraya-Dhruvarâja-Indravarman.

And it is becoming tolerably certain that Śivamâra I and his descendants did not belong to the main line, but were the hereditary princes of the Kongalûd eight-thousand province. This would explain why Śivamâra I and Śripurusha-Muttarasa called themselves "the Konguni king," and why their descendants assumed the appellation Konganivarman, Kongunivarman, Kongunivarman, or Kongulivarman, from which there was evolved, by the persons who fabricated the spurious grants, the name of the fictitious "Konganivarman, the first Ganga,"<sup>2</sup> as the imaginary founder of the line.

As regards the spurious grants,—only ten, including the Sûdi grant, were known when I wrote about them in Vol III of this Journal, p 159 ff, I dealt there with only some of the features in respect of which they have to be criticised, I could not examine any of the details, except the date, of the Hosûr grant, purporting to be dated A D 762, because I was not aware that the text of it, with a lithograph, had been published in Mr Rice's article on "the Ganga kings" in the *Madras Journ. Lit and Science*, 1878, p 138 ff, and, similarly for want of a lithograph or impressions, I was not able to examine any of the details of the Bangalore Museum grant, which purports to have been issued in the third year of Durvinita. Since then, some more spurious copper-plate grants of the same series have been published.<sup>3</sup> And there are others already known, the publication of which is awaited. In the final examination of them, one interesting line of inquiry will be to collate the texts, examine all the peculiarities of vocabulary and diction, discover the locality in which these curious documents, or at least the majority of them, were fabricated, and trace the order in which they were concocted, and so, perhaps, the steps by which the fictitious pedigree was built up. In connection with all this, it will be desirable to see what real equivalents can be found for the false dates recorded in some of them, and in certain other records of the same nature connected with them. On this point, my present view is that, while some of the false dates are no doubt altogether imaginary, others of them may have been arrived at by calculations more or less correct, and others, again, give the true details of the dates on which the records were fabricated, or of dates, close to those dates, taken from almanacs accessible to the forgers, falsified in respect of the years by striking off an even number of cycles of the sixty-year system, or by similar means, in order to present a semblance of antiquity, and it is an

that branch had the crest of a tiger and a deer, and one of the branches at Bâgalkôṭ had the tiger crest. The Sindas claimed to belong to the Naga race. And a statement referable to the eleventh century A D, and to be accepted for what it may be worth, would allot the Sîndrakas themselves—(whom it mentions as Sîndras)—to the lineage of the Bhujagendras or serpent kings (id p 292).

<sup>1</sup> See the lithographs in *Ind Ant* Vol VI p 101, *Coorg Insers* p 7, and *Ep Carn* Vol III, Sr 147 and Md 14.—In pointing out (above, Vol V p 165, note 4) an objection to treating the Tavalûr record (Md 14) as "an intrusive Pallava inscription," I omitted to notice the fact that the emblem of the elephant proves conclusively that it is not such.

<sup>2</sup> This exact expression occurs in an inscription at Kâdîâpura, *Ep Carn* Vol III, Nj 110, which purports to be of A D 1148. It is extremely doubtful whether it is even a genuine record of that period. But, if we assume that it is genuine as far as it goes, then, of course, in putting forward Śaka Samvat 25 expired, = A D 103 104, as the date of "Konganivarman, the first Ganga," it simply puts forward, in good faith, a false statement successfully palmed off on the officials of the period with a view to setting up a previous grant of the village. Historically, as regards the Gangas, the record is worthless, except in perhaps shewing that, by A D 1148, the date of A D 103 104 had come to be connected with the imaginary Konganivarman.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol III, Md 113, the Hallegere grant, purporting to be dated A D 713, and Nj 122, the Jagûrû grant, purporting to be dated A D 267, and Vol IV, 1d 60, the Galgûkere grant, Sr 160, the Gañjâm grant, and probably (see page 66 above, note 1) Hg 4, the Saragûrû grant, all of them with lithographs.



alteration made by Mr Rice, in the text of the twelfth verse of the Udayéndiram grant of the Ganga-Bāna prince Hastimalla-Prithivīpati II, which we now know to be, not only a rather violent liberty, but one that is altogether unsustainable,—and over the dubious title *Rāja* or *Vṛiddharāja*. In each case, the facts are as I stated them. Mr Rice's remarks are simply an attempt to divert attention from the main issue, the spurious nature of the grants. The points themselves will be dealt with, as far as may be necessary and without reviving any contentious matter, in the ultimate full examination of the spurious grants. They involve nothing of historical importance, except in connection with the Jain teacher Simhanandin, who seems to have been undoubtedly a real person, though the legends about him in Mysore, especially in respect of connecting him with the Gangas, were of a very wild kind. And the time for going usefully into his history will come, when we examine the full Purāṇic genealogy and legendary history that were eventually devised in connection with the Gangas of Mysore.

And we need not spend much time over a point, in connection with the invention of the fictitious pedigree that is presented in the spurious grants, which it would not be necessary to notice here in detail at all, but that I have, in this case, to deal with a more than usually unbecoming misrepresentation of what I said.

In 1894 I said<sup>1</sup>—"The question may very reasonably present itself,—What was the object "of the invention of the genealogy that is exhibited in these spurious records?" I remarked,— "There are plain indications that, just about the period,—the last quarter of the ninth century A D,—that has been established above as the earliest possible one for the fabrication of "the Merkara grant, all the reigning families of Southern India were beginning to look up their "pedigrees and devise more or less fabulous genealogies." And the answer at which I arrived, was, that the Western Gangas had followed, in the person of the great prince Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II, the example that had thus been set, and that the time when their genealogy, as presented in the spurious grants, was invented, was fixed very closely by an inscription at Lakshmēshwar, which purports to be of his time and to be dated A D 968-69, and which then seemed to me "to represent, in a rudimentary form, the beginning of a longer "genealogy which was elaborated subsequently."

Mr Rice has stamped as a "very remarkable statement" what I said as to there being indications that, about the last quarter of the ninth century A D, there was a general tendency in Southern India to look up pedigrees and devise more or less fabulous genealogies. We may dismiss that observation of his summarily, partly because he has made no attempt to shew how my statement was a remarkable one, and partly because my statement was and is in accordance with facts.

But we cannot dismiss so summarily what he said next. He has said<sup>2</sup> that, "in support "of this very remarkable statement," I have given the information that "the Pallava puranic "genealogy first appears in the 7th century, that of the Rāshtrakūtas in 933, that of the "Western Gangas was probably devised about 950 but may have been concocted a little earlier, "that of the Cholas between 1063 and 1112, that of the Eastern Gangas in 1118." And on this he said, by way of comment,— "But it is singular that not one of these periods falls within "the 9th century, the time when all the royal families were imagined to be engaged with a "strange unanimity in 'furbishing up their pedigrees.' Another thing to be noted is that the "genealogy of the Gangas, with whom we are now particularly dealing, is in no sense puranic."

Now, in the first place, it is only with a reservation that it can be said that the genealogy of the Gangas is in no sense Purāṇic. We know,<sup>3</sup> from inscriptions of the eleventh century

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol III p 171

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol IV Introd p 7 f

<sup>3</sup> See Mr Rice's *Mysore*, revised edition, Vol I p 308 ff.

at Humcha and other places in that neighbourhood, that eventually a full Purânic genealogy and legendary history of the usual kind were duly invented for the Gangas of Mysore. But the Purânic element does not figure in the genealogy given in the spurious grants, with which I was dealing. And I treated that genealogy simply as what it is, namely a fictitious genealogy of a pretended historical kind, calling it specifically on one occasion<sup>1</sup> "the pretended historical genealogy of the Western Gangas." That I, naturally, treated the invention of it in connection with the invention of some of the Purânic genealogies, is no reason for saying that I stamped it as Purânic. And I did not do so.

In the second place, as regards the extraordinary sentence which Mr. Rice has put, by the use of inverted commas, into my mouth,—no such sentence has ever been written by me, nor has anything ever been written by me, that could justify my statements being represented in that form. The sentence is founded upon words which were actually used by me. But it has been made up by Mr. Rice himself, from garbled extracts from different sentences written by me on different occasions. And my reference to the Pallava Purânic genealogy was made in a way very different from that in which it has been presented by Mr. Rice.

In 1894, in the remarks which, in particular,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Rice was attacking in 1898, I made no mention at all of the Pallava Purânic genealogy, and I wrote<sup>3</sup>— "The Purânic genealogy of the Râshtrakûtas makes its first appearance in the Sânglî grant of A D 933. The Purânic genealogy of the Chalukyas presents itself first in the Korumelli grant of shortly after A D 1022. The Chôla Purânic genealogy is, apparently, first met with in the *Kalingattu-Parani*, which was composed in the reign of the Eastern Chalukya king Kulôttunga-Chôdadêva I (A D 1063 to 1112). And the Purânic genealogy of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinganagara is first made known by a grant of A D 1118-19." I plainly put forward each date as the date at which we first come across each genealogy, and not as the date of its actual invention. And it should be obvious to anyone that the genealogies must have existed for some appreciable time, before they could be actually quoted in records.

So much I wrote in 1894, adding the opinion, from the Lakshmêshwar inscription, that, in the time of Nolambântaka-Mârasimha II, the Western Gangas followed the general example that had thus been set, and that their genealogy, as put forward in the spurious grants, was probably invented closely about A D 968-69. Subsequently, in 1895 or 1896, in my account of the Pallavas, I wrote<sup>4</sup>— "In their records, the Pallavas claim to belong to the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*. Some of the records give them a regular Purânic genealogy which appears first in the "seventh century A D." And at this place I made no reference at all to any of the other genealogies. Further on in the same work, I had occasion to give a full notice of the legendary history, including the Purânic genealogy, of the Chalukyas, taken, in its final and most complete shape, from a record of the period A D 1022 to 1063.<sup>5</sup> And to this I attached the following note,<sup>6</sup>—the first part of which does little more than recapitulate what I had said in 1894,— "The Purânic genealogy of the Râshtrakutas makes its first appearance in the Sânglî grant of A D 933. The pretended historical genealogy of the Western Gangas may have been concocted a little earlier, but was more probably devised about A D 950. The Chola Purânic

<sup>1</sup> *Dyn Kan Distrs* p 342, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ep Carn* Vol IV Introd. p 6, para 3, the last three lines.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol III p 171 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Dyn Kan Distrs* p 316 — I say I wrote this "in 1895 or 1896," for the following reason. The date of a remark must be, ordinarily, the date of the publication of it. The last of the proof sheets of my *Dynasties* were passed by me, for printing, in September, 1895. And the title page was among them. It naturally was dated 1895. And that is the date that appears on the title-page of the very few separate copies that were struck off. Nevertheless, and though I expressly gave instructions that uniformity was to be observed, the date was changed, without my being consulted, to 1896, in the title page as issued in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol I Part II., after page 276,—apparently because that volume was not issued till 1896.

<sup>5</sup> *Dyn Kan Distrs* p 338 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Id* p 342, note 1.

"genealogy is apparently first met with in the *Kalingattu-Parani*, which was composed in the reign of the Eastern Chalukya king Kulöttunga-Chôdadêva I, A D 1063 to 1112 And the "Purânic genealogy of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinganagara is first presented in a record of "A D 1118-19" Here, in this note, for the first time I mentioned the Pallava Purânic genealogy in connection with the others. But I did not adduce, as Mr Rice says I did, that genealogy, which appears first in the seventh century A D, as having been put together in the tenth century, as I then put it,—differing a little from my previous suggestion of the last quarter of the ninth century What I said, is,— "The Purânic genealogy of the Pallavas has "been mentioned on page 316 above This is the earliest such pedigree that has as yet come to "light And possibly a discovery of it, in some ancient record, set the later fashion which "became so general "

These are the passages from which Mr Rice has strung together the extraordinary sentence that he has put into my mouth He has further, on the same occasion, quoted me as describing the reigning families of Southern India as "furbishing up their pedigrees" He has repeated this twice, as if there were something peculiar in the expression I cannot find any passage in my writings, in which I used these words, nor can friends, who have searched for it, find it, nor can even Mr Rice himself, to whom I have applied, give me the reference to any passage in which I have used it I therefore cannot say whether I did use it, or not Let it be taken for granted, however, that I did use it It is a very appropriate expression "To furbish" means "to polish" And "polishing up" describes exactly the process that each Purânic genealogy went through, at some time or another, before it was eventually settled in its final form

We may leave here all these minor matters, with simply the additional remark that it is easy enough to apparently demolish an opponent by first attributing to him statements and admissions that he has not made, and arguments that he has not used, but that that seems hardly the proper way of carrying on even a controversy And we may now turn our attention to a more important point, the palæographic question, upon which something useful may be said

In 1894<sup>1</sup> I noticed some of the palæographic blunders in the spurious grants There is a good deal more to be said in this line hereafter, for I dealt then with only two characters, the *kh* and the *b* But these two characters themselves are letters which furnish, as I said, "a leading test in dealing with southern records," and the later cursive forms of them are, in certain circumstances, "tell-tale letters" The later cursive forms of them cannot be carried back to much, if at all, before A D 804 Through the occurrence of them in the spurious grants, I was enabled to present the conclusion that the Merkâra grant, purporting to have been issued A D 466, and the Dêvarhalli grant (then known as the Nâgamangala grant), purporting to have been issued A D 776-77, cannot have been written before the beginning of the ninth century A D And I indicated that the transitional period, when both the old square forms and the later cursive forms of the two characters in question were in use together, was somewhere about A D 865

Mr Rice has touched upon only one of these characters, the *kh*. He has asserted that of this character "both forms were indiscriminately used from a much earlier period,"<sup>2</sup> and he has told us that he "had determined the above some time ago"<sup>3</sup> but he has not favoured us with the reference to his examination of the question, and so we cannot consider in detail anything that he may have put forward, but can only say that he has determined a fact which, in Western India, did not exist He has quoted the Tables of Dr Bühler's *Indische Palæographie*, as giving the cursive form of the *kh* for the fourth, sixth, and seventh centuries A D And he has told us that "Dr Buhler (p 65 of his work) expressly points out that Dr Fleet is wrong in

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol III p 161 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol IV Introd p 6

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid* p 7, note 1

"his dictum as to the age of the cursive form" In support of his assertion that "both forms" "were indiscriminately used from a much earlier period," he has, further, specifically quoted an instance of the occurrence of the cursive *kh* in an inscription on "the Dharmarāja Mandapa" at Māmallapuram on the east coast, which, as remarked by myself without any suggestion of dissent, has been assigned by Dr. Hultzsch to probably the sixth century A D He has admitted the undeniable fact that both forms occur in the Ganga grants that I was reviewing. And he has allowed us to understand that his conclusion is, that the preparation of those records should consequently be referred to a period in which both forms were in use, that is to say, in his opinion, to at any rate a much earlier period than A D 804

Now, for the alleged instance of the fourth century A D., Mr Rice has referred us to Dr Buhler's Table in col XX But neither does that column, nor does any part of that Table, present a form of the *kh* approximating in any way whatsoever to the cursive *kh* with which we are concerned

For the sixth and seventh centuries, he has referred us to Dr Buhler's Table vii. cols V. and XXIII Here, again, the form of the *kh* in col V does not approximate in any way whatsoever to the cursive *kh* with which we are concerned it is a very badly formed *kh* of the old square type, and it is, moreover, from a Valabhī record not connected in any way with the territories with which we are dealing The *kh* in col. XXIII, however, is, indeed, probably a fully developed cursive *kh* of the type of the *kh* with which we are concerned, but I shall shew directly that it has nothing to do with the matter

As regards the remarks made by Dr Buhler on page 65 of his work, and referred to by Mr Rice, they occur in his examination of what he called "the middle step" or period of the Kanarese and Telugu types of the southern alphabets Dr Buhler has there drawn attention to "the strongly cursive, already Old-Kanarese, *lha*, Table viii, 12, cols III to V, which by Fleet (*Ep Ind* III 162) is said to be not older than about A D 800, but which, in the closely cognate "Pallava inscriptions (Table vii, 9, col XXIII), appears already since the seventh century"<sup>1</sup> This, of course, is a more important matter, because Dr Böhler was a very great authority. But, for reasons that will be indicated below, the Tables of his palæographic volume, and some of the results based on them, have to be received with great caution And, in this case, the remark that he made is a misleading one, not by any means applicable in the way in which Mr Rice would use it

Finally, for the instance of the cursive *kh* in the inscription on "the Dharmarāja Mandapa," Mr Rice has referred us to the lithograph in Capt Carr's *Seven Pagodas*, Plate xiv, — (to which he might have added Plate xviii, which gives the alphabet of the record in tabulated form), — and to the seventh stanza of the text in Dr Hultzsch's *South-Ind Inscr*s Vol I p 6, No 19. Here, there are mistakes, which do not, indeed, involve anything of importance, beyond illustrating further the rudimentary and superficial manner in which Mr. Rice has dealt with the whole question, but which may as well be corrected in order to save perplexity and trouble to others The intended record, the one of which Capt Carr has given us a reproduction, is not on the Dharmarāja Mandapa, it is at the Ganēśa temple, the record on the Dharmarāja Mandapa is another copy of it, arranged differently, of which we apparently have not as yet any reproduction, the reference to Dr Hultzsch's text should have been to p 4, No 18, and we look in vain to the seventh stanza for the word that is quoted by Mr Rice, it is in the ninth verse that it occurs Now, the inscription really intended is in rather elaborate characters, from which fact Mr Rice has made a curious deduction, in respect of the lithograph of the entire record given in Capt Carr's Plate xiv, he has said "there is nothing to show that this is a mechanical "copy, but the highly florid nature of the alphabet insures that it must have been carefully "copied" There is, of course, a good deal of difference between copying carefully and copying

<sup>1</sup> This is as given to me from the German, the English translation is not out yet

accurately With characters so florid and elaborate as are those of this record, and "so faintly cut,"<sup>1</sup> and with the absolute certainty that the reproduction of them, though based on tracings to which "several days' labour" was devoted, was not a purely mechanical one, we have every reason to doubt the absolute trustworthiness of the lithograph And what do we find on actual examination? The *lh* quoted by Mr Rice occurs in the word *sumukhah*, line 9, but the lithograph gives us *samakhah*, omitting twice the vowel *u* The *lh* occurs in also the word *khyâtô* in verse 5, line 5, and here the lithograph shews *tyâtô*, omitting the *â* and turning the *lh* into *t* Here are four mistakes in the reproduction, in only five syllables But it is not necessary to criticise this reproduction any further, because I do not wish to rely on any faults in it I grant everything that Mr Rice wishes I concede that we have here, in the word *sumukhah*, a cursive *lh* of precisely the same type, and almost of the same form, with the cursive *kh* of Western India which, I say, cannot be carried back to before A.D 804 And I concede that this instance, adduced by Mr Rice, is to be referred to probably the sixth century A.D. But it has absolutely nothing to do with the matter that we have in hand It is a Grantha character,—a character of an alphabet which, though derived from the same original stock with the alphabet of Western India, was developed on totally different lines and at a much earlier period, and which shews, in the sixth century and perhaps before that time, many characters which, while preserving the leading features of the original type, already exhibit many and wide divergencies, both in the type and in the details To the same alphabet belong the characters of the record in which occurs the cursive *kh* given in Dr Buhler's Table vii, col XXIII, No 9 it is the Kailasanâtha inscription of Râjasimha, of which the text has been given by Dr Hultzsch in his *South-Ind Inscr*s Vol I p 12, No 24, with a facsimile in a Plate issued in Vol II, and the *kh* in question is the *kh* of the word *pramukharh* in verse 7, near the beginning of line 11 And this record, again, has absolutely nothing to do with the development of the alphabet of Western India

And here we may leave the details of the palæographic question, until the publication of the collotype facsimiles that I have in hand, which will shew the development of the alphabet of Western India during the ninth century A.D., and will prove everything that I have said about the letters *kh* and *b*, and a great deal more too I have only to add the following general remarks

In the first place, if we act on Mr Rice's suggestion, and place the writing of those grants, which shew both forms of the *lh* and *b*, in the period when both those forms really were in use together, we must refer them to about the middle of the ninth century A.D. We must, then—(one instance will suffice),—place about A.D 850 the Dêvarhalli grant, which purports to have been issued A.D 776-77 And the reference of it to a period three quarters of a century (or even one quarter of a century) later than the date asserted by itself, stamps it as a forgery, just as much as the reference of it to any period later still

In the second place, Mr Rice has expressed surprise at my saying that the writers of this and other spurious records forgot themselves, and introduced tell-tale characters, when they used in certain words the later cursive forms But there is no occasion for any such expression of surprise That is exactly what the writers did And they simply betrayed themselves in just the same way in which forgers are liable to betray themselves, and do betray themselves, all over the world In a recent notorious case in England, the first clue to the detection of an almost unparalleled series of forgeries, for genealogical purposes, was given by the fact that the forger forgot himself, and was careless enough to introduce a numeral of quite modern form into a date that purported to be of the sixteenth century

Finally, a few words as regards the general subject of the present position of Indian palæography The departments of Indian research are numerous, and each one is a complete

<sup>1</sup> See p 56 of Capt Carr's book



study in itself My special aim has always been to edit as many records as possible, and to write up from them, and from records edited by others, such branches of the history as have engaged my interest In the palæographic line, I have been satisfied to be able to determine for myself the age and reliability of any documents with which I might be concerned, and have been content to leave to others the systematic prosecution of that line of research But I have also sought to help it on as far as possible, by means of the lithographs that were issued with my own articles, or that were prepared under my direction to accompany articles written by others When, however, the science of Indian epigraphy and palæography was not very far advanced, it was thought more important to publish clear and easily legible lithographs, than to give facsimiles which an unpractised eye might find it difficult to deal with because of their including all the imperfections of the originals due to damage and decay And that procedure necessitated a considerable amount of touching up by hand, either of the originals, or of the impressions of them, or of the proofs The mistakes that may be made, in such a process, are well illustrated by the evolution of a cursive *kh*, from the old square *lh* of the original, in the lithograph, which was prepared in 1878 more or less under my own direction, of a record of A D 694,<sup>1</sup> and by the introduction into Mr Rice's lithograph of the Âtakûr inscription, simply to suit a purely imaginary reading, of a syllable which does not exist in the original at all<sup>2</sup> The mischief of that procedure was recognised about 1882, and attention was then given to obtaining better impressions, from which there might be given, without any manipulation, mechanical facsimiles which would be absolutely faithful and reliable reproductions of typical originals But, unfortunately, sufficient prominence was not given to the change that was then made, and to the reason for it, and the palæographic inquiry went on, without those who were concerned in it being duly informed The palæographic line of research has been brought to a climax, for the present, by the publication of Dr Buhler's volume And it would be impossible to speak in too high terms of the way in which he sought to attain the objects aimed at in it But it must be remarked that, great as has been the loss that we have sustained, in every line, through his sudden and premature death, it is peculiarly calamitous that he should have passed away just when so important a book had been issued by him and before it had been subjected to criticism which he himself could have attended to The Tables of his volume are, unluckily, largely based on the manipulated reproductions that were issued in accordance with the earlier practice And, moreover, the details of them were by no means all selected and arranged by him For these reasons, and for others which a study of the work will disclose, we can only receive with great caution the Tables, and some of the results based on them, put forward in his book And we must hope that someone else will be forthcoming, to carry one stage further the inquiry that he brought so far

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I have to add a few words, by way of correction of views previously expressed by me, on the subject of the invention of the fictitious genealogy that is presented in the spurious grants.

In 1894 I suggested<sup>3</sup> that it was devised by the Western Gangas themselves, in imitation of the Purânic genealogies of other families,— that it was started in the time of Nolambântaka-Mârasimha II,— and that the Lakshmêshwar inscription, dated A D 968-69 and purporting to be of his time, seemed to represent the beginning of it in a rudimentary form, and to fix very closely the time when it was invented

I have, in the first place, to withdraw the Lakshmêshwar inscription as a basis for any such suggestion This record<sup>4</sup> is on a stone tablet which contains, after it, records that

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol V p 155, note 8

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol III p 172

<sup>3</sup> See page 52 above, note 4

<sup>4</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol VII p 101

purport to be of the time of Satyaśraya-(Palakéśin II) and the Sîndra prince Durgasakti (not dated), and of Vikramaditya II (dated A D 735). And another stone tablet at the same place<sup>1</sup> contains a record of Vijayāditya (dated A D 723), followed by other records of the same king (dated A D 730), of Gangakāndarpa-(Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II) (dated, again, A D 968-69), and of Vinayāditya (dated A D 687). These records, though bearing such very different dates, are all in characters of one and the same period, and were all put on the stones at one and the same time. When I dealt with them,—more than twenty years ago,—I believed, and said that they are in characters of the tenth century A D, that is to say, I took them as having been put on the stones in the recorded year A D 968-69, in the time of Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II. And I too carelessly endorsed that belief in 1894,<sup>2</sup> without examining impressions of them again. That belief was wrong. The characters are of an appreciably later date, and are fairly referable to the second half of the eleventh century A D. And there is no doubt that these records were put on the stones in connection with the rebuilding of the Jain temples and the restoration of their endowments under the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, after the end of the Chola occupation, and for the purpose of what Sir Walter Elliot has called “the unification of the titles.”<sup>3</sup> As regards the historical value of them,—it is obvious that the Chalukya records are, at the best, only copies of originals, to be taken for what they may be worth. And, for the present, we need only remark that, with the exception of the record of Satyaśraya-(Palakéśin II) and the Sîndra prince Durgasakti, they are plainly based, more or less directly, on original charters which were deciphered intelligently,—that they are questionable, as dishonest records, only in so far as the writers of them may have substituted names of villages and grantees, to suit their own purposes, for other names standing in the originals,—and that, apparently, the only specially important item in them is the mention of the name Pūjyapīḍa, as that of the teacher of the alleged grantee, in the record of A D 730.<sup>4</sup> As regards the Ganga records,—they are questionable in the same way, as dishonest records, in so far as they may put forward fraudulent claims to property. The one that has been edited in full, includes the first three steps of the fictitious pedigree, and, therefore, it was based, in that portion, either on a spurious record, or on a draft of which the ultimate origin is to be traced to the spurious records. But that fact does not make it itself necessarily a dishonest record, because, by the time when it was put on the stone, the fictitious pedigree had evidently become an accepted story, liable to be quoted in even *bonâ fide* records. Even as regards the fictitious pedigree, it makes a mistake, in representing Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II as the younger brother of the imaginary Harivarman of the third generation. This, however, is a detail, of no real importance, which may be accounted for in any way that may seem appropriate. And the only item of special interest, that can be found in the record at present, is the mention of a Jain temple called Mukharavasati.<sup>5</sup> The important point, for the present, is, that this record was put on the stone about a century later than the date recorded in it, which is a date that fell during the period of Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II, and that, consequently, it does not place in the time of that prince the first attempt to devise the fictitious pedigree.

In the second place, when I formed the conclusions that I presented in 1894, we knew of but very few Western Ganga records, beyond these Lakshmēshwari inscriptions and the spurious

<sup>1</sup> Noticed, but not edited in full, *Ind Ant* Vol VII p 111

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol III p 172, note 4

<sup>3</sup> *Coins of Southern India*, p 114

<sup>4</sup> The possible bearing of this is too complicated a matter to be gone into on the present occasion

<sup>5</sup> It is mentioned, incidentally, among the boundaries of one of the properties claimed by the record. The mention of it suggests that, at some time before the eleventh century, there was a person named Mukhara, by whom the temple was founded, or after whom it was named. All else that can be said, is, that, if there was such a person, he may have been a Ganga—(which, however, the record does not assert),—or he may have belonged to any other family, and that it is highly probable that he was the person from whom there was evolved the imaginary Mokhara, or Mushkara, the alleged grandfather of Śivamāra I, of the spurious grants.

copper-plate grants from Sûdi and Mysore. Since then, Mr. Rice has given us, in his *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vols. III and IV, about a hundred records on stone, from Mysore, which he has referred to the Gauga period, and nearly all of which are genuine and have been properly so referred. And we have further, in the way of genuine records, the Valluabai inscription of Rajamallu grandson of Siipurusha-Muttarasa from the North Arcot district,—the Belûr, Peggu-ûr, and Kotûr inscriptions from Coorg—the Bôgûr inscription of Lijjavar and the Śravana-Belgola epitaph of Nolambantaka-Mânasimha II, from Mysore,—and, from the Dharmavâd district, the Adaragûdûr and Gundûr inscriptions of the same prince and the Hubbîl inscription of A D 975. Neither anywhere in the whole of this mass of genuine materials, nor in any other such record known to me, is there the slightest allusion to, or hint of, the fictitious genealogy, anterior to Śivamara I, that is presented in the spurious records. And it is now plain that that genealogy was not claimed by Śivamara I. and his descendants, but was simply evolved by the persons who fabricated the forged grants, in correcting the necessary pseudo-historical portions of their spurious title-deeds.

The general subject of Purāṇic genealogies will be an interesting topic for examination on some future occasion. Meanwhile, in respect of such of the great families of Southern India as can be traced back to before A D. 1000, the position is as follows. The earliest such genealogy that we meet with, in any but a merely allusive and rudimentary form, is that of the Pallavas of Kañchi, and it appears first in the Kuram grant of the second half of the seventh century A D.<sup>1</sup> We meet next, as a matter of certainty, with that of the Rîchtrâlûtas of Mâlkîhêd, in the Nausârî grants of A D 915.<sup>2</sup> And that of the Yādavas of the Sauna country, from whom sprang the Yādavas of Dâvâgiri, is first found in the Saungomûr grant of A D 1000.<sup>3</sup> As a matter of certainty, the Purāṇic genealogy of the Chôlas is first met with in the so-called Leiden grant of A D 1019 or 1020,<sup>4</sup> but it would be carried back, in somewhat different forms, to the period A D 900 to 940, if a fragmentary grant of Vîra Chôla from Udayînduram<sup>5</sup> is a genuine original record and is referable to the time of Parântaka I.<sup>6</sup>—and to the year A D 915, if the Udayînduram grant of the Gauga-Bann prince Hastumalla-Prithivîpati II, dated in the fifteenth year of Parântaka I,<sup>7</sup> is, again, a genuine original record actually drawn up in that year.<sup>8</sup> The full Purāṇic genealogy and legendary history of the Chalukyas are first met with in a record of the eastern branch, the Korumelli grant of the period A D 1022 to 1063.<sup>9</sup> And the Purāṇic genealogy and legendary history of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinganagara are first found in a grant that bears the date of A D 1118-19.<sup>10</sup> These are the dates at which, as far as our information goes at present, the genealogies are first met with. But, obviously, each of the genealogies had been selected, thought over, and elaborated at a time appreciably earlier than that at which we first come across it. The earliest of them was that of the Pallavas. It was, probably, a discovery of it, in some ancient record, that set the fashion which became so general. And all the historical considerations point to the latter half of the ninth century A D and to the tenth century, as the period during which the other early great families of Southern India applied themselves to putting forward, or in some cases elaborating, claims to descent from the Lunar and Solar Races, and to working up their own traditions so as to establish presentable historical connections with those races.

In the way of fictitious pedigrees of a pretended historical kind, without Purāṇic introductions, we have an instance in that of the Kādambas of Hângal,—from the name of

<sup>1</sup> *South Ind Inscr* Vol I p 144

<sup>2</sup> *Jour Bo Br R As Soc* Vol XVIII pp 261, 267

<sup>3</sup> *Ep Ind* Vol II p 212

<sup>4</sup> See provisionally, *Archæol Surv South Ind* Vol IV p 204

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol III p 79

<sup>7</sup> *South-Ind Inscr* Vol II p 375

<sup>9</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XIV p 48

<sup>6</sup> See Dr Hultzsch's remarks, above, Vol IV p 223

<sup>8</sup> See page 65 above, note 4

<sup>10</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XVIII p 165

Mayûravarman I to that of Âdityavarman,— which is put forward in the Kargudam inscription of A D 1108<sup>1</sup> The alleged genealogy of the Western Gangas of Talakad, as presented in the spurious records, is a genealogy of this same kind, without a Purânic introduction A Purânic introduction was eventually prefixed to it And, as far as is disclosed at present, in genuine records,— that is to say, in records which contain all that fabulous matter, but put it forward, *bonâ fide*, as a story that had come to be really believed, and without using it fraudulently,— the fictitious historical pedigree and the Purânic introduction, both together, first appear in records of the eleventh century A D at 'Purale,' Humcha, and 'Kallur Gudda' in Mysore<sup>2</sup> The Purânic introduction seems to have been invented in that century We shall consider, on another occasion, the period to which the inception of the fictitious historical pedigree may be carried back

#### POSTSCRIPT.

I subjoin a few supplementary remarks which suggested themselves after this paper had gone into pages

Page 53, text line 3, and note 7 The reading *a[nka]-Tri[nē]tran* may be accepted, see some remarks under Krishna III, in a note on the appellations of the Râshtrakûta king, which will be given in a subsequent article in this volume

Page 57, note 8 Another instance of the occurrence of *anahâra* in a *biruda* the first component of which is not a proper name, is Chaladankakâra, "the champion of firmness of character," in the case of the Râshtrakûta prince Indra IV (*Inscr. at Srav-Bel* No 57, verses 5, 6)

Page 71, line 24 The date of A D 953 for Bûtuga II is supplied by an inscription at Chûñchli in the Gadag tâluka, see some remarks under Krishna III in the place referred to above

Page 72, line 2 It may be added that the killing of Pañchala in battle at the command of Nûrmaḍi-Taila II is attributed to the *Muhâmandalesvara* Âhavamalla-Bhûteyadêva or Bhûtiga, whose descendant Barma was governing the Lôkâpura twelve and other circles, at Toragal, in A D 1187, in the time of Sômêśvara IV, see *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 96, text lines 4 to 6 (the verse has not been well translated) I am indebted to Professor Kielhorn for drawing my attention to this reference

#### NO 7 — THE DATE OF THE KOTTAYAM (SYRIAN CHRISTIANS') PLATE OF VIRA-RAGHAVA

By F KIELHORN, PH D, LL D, C I E, GÖTTINGEN

After a careful examination of the Grantha letters in the Kôttayam plate of Vira-Râghava, above, Vol IV page 293, Mr Venkayya has intimated that, on palæographical grounds, Vira-Râghava's grant may be assigned to about the 13th or 14th century A D Convinced of the general correctness of Mr Venkayya's conclusion, I have examined the date of the grant for the four hundred years from A D 1100 to A D 1500, and am enabled to state that during that period<sup>3</sup> there is only a single day for which the date is absolutely correct, *viz.* Saturday, the 15th March A.D 1320.

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol X p 249, and see *Dyn Kan Distrs* pp 559, 560

<sup>2</sup> See Mr Rice's *Mysore*, revised edition, Vol I p 308 ff, also, his Annual Report for the year ending 31st March, 1891, which gives the date of the Humcha record as Saka Samvat 999 (expired), = A.D 1077 78

<sup>3</sup> For the same period of years I have calculated the date of the Tiruppuvânam plates of the Pândya Jatâvarman *alias* Kulaśekharaḍêva, from the data furnished by Dr Hultzsch in *Ind Ant* Vol XX p. 288, with the result that the only day between A D 1100 and 1500 which satisfies all the requirements of the date, is Saturday, the 29th November A D 1214 I may have an opportunity to treat more fully of this date on another occasion

The data furnished by the original date are—"the day of (the *nakshatra*) Rôhîni, a Saturday on which passed<sup>1</sup> (the day) twenty-one (of) the month of Mîna, (when) Jupiter (was in) Makara."

In Śaka-Samvat 1241 expired=A D 1319-20 the Mîna-samkrânti by the Ârya-siddhânta took place 3 hours 22 minutes after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 24th February A D 1320, which therefore was the first day of the month of Mîna. Accordingly, the 21st day of the month of Mîna was Saturday, the 15th March A D 1320. On this day (which was the 5th of the bright half of Chaitra) the moon was in the *nakshatra* Rôhîni during the whole of the day, and the true longitude of Jupiter by the Ârya-siddhânta was  $9^{\circ} 1' 14''$ , i.e. Jupiter was in the 10th sign Makara.

I may add that in the period from A D 1100 to A D 1500 there are two other Saturdays, 95 years before and 95 years<sup>2</sup> after the 15th March A D 1320, either of which answers two of the other requirements of the original date, but not all of them. They are —

Saturday, the 15th March A D 1225, which was the 21st day of the month of Mîna, and on which the *nakshatra* was Rôhîni, while the true longitude of Jupiter was only  $8^{\circ} 27' 58''$ , and—

Saturday, the 16th March A D 1415, when the *nakshatra* was Rôhîni, and the true longitude of Jupiter  $9^{\circ} 4' 28''$ , but which was the 20th day of the month of Mîna.

I venture to hope that the results of Mr Venkayya's examination of the plate and of my own calculations will be considered to render it extremely probable that Vîra-Râghava's grant was made in A D 1320, and not in either A D 775 or so strangely early a year as A D 230<sup>3</sup>.

## NO 8 — MAYIDAVOLU PLATES OF SIVASKANDAVARMAN

By E HULTZSCH, PH D, DRESDEN

These copper-plates were found about the middle of 1899 by a man who was digging the soil of a field in the *pâdu* or abandoned village north of Mayidavôlu. The *pâdu* is about four acres in extent and contains the ruins of a small old temple. Mayidavôlu<sup>4</sup> is a small village 12 miles east of Narasârâvupêta, the head-quarters of a tâluka of the Kistna district. As good luck would have it, the find of the plates came to the notice of that zealous antiquarian, Mr J Ramayya, B A, B L, to whom epigraphy is already indebted for the Chikkulla plates (above, Vol IV p 193) and the Tottaramûdi plates (*ibid* p 318). He forwarded the plates to Mr Venkayya, who sent me three sets of ink-impressions and the following description of the original — "Eight plates and fifteen sides. The length of the plates varies from  $6\frac{7}{8}''$  to  $7''$ . As regards the breadth, the plates are slightly narrower in the middle than at the ends, the average may be taken as  $2\frac{1}{4}''$ . The plates were held together by a ring which is  $3\frac{1}{4}''$  in diameter and  $\frac{1}{4}''$  thick, it has been cut by me before taking the impressions. The ends of the ring are secured in an elliptical seal which measures very nearly  $1\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{4}''$ . The seal bears in relief an animal couchant and facing the proper right—apparently a bull, as it has a hump on its back—and

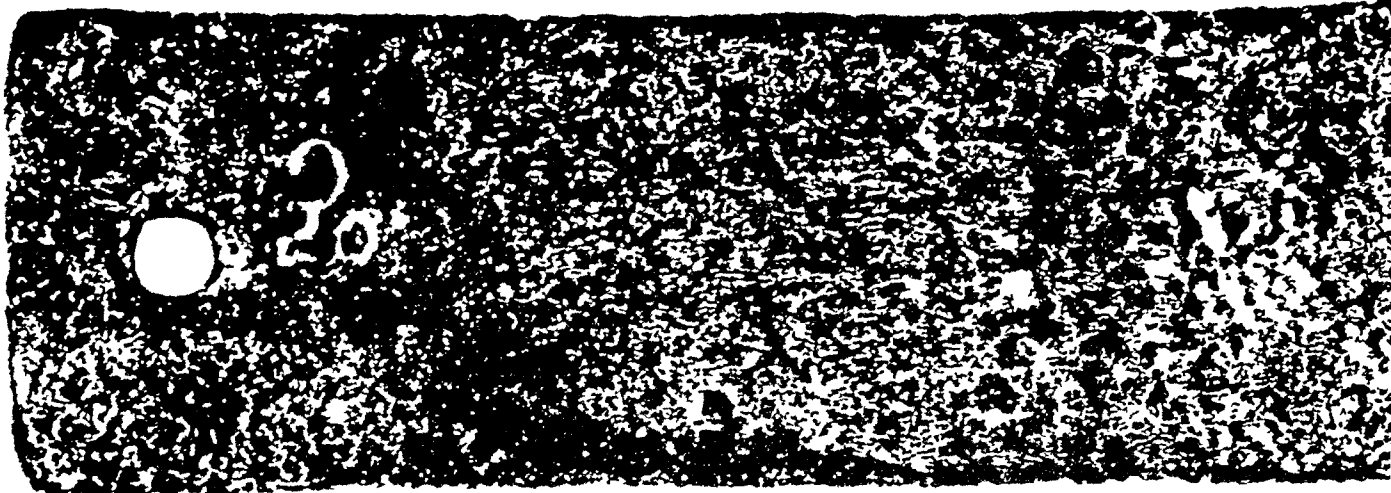
<sup>1</sup> I owe a literal translation of the date to Dr Hultzsch.

<sup>2</sup> The same number of years (or, more accurately, the number of 34699 days) intervenes between the two days in the 7th and 8th centuries A D which would answer all the requirements of the date, viz Saturday, the 10th March A D 680, and Saturday, the 11th March A D 775.

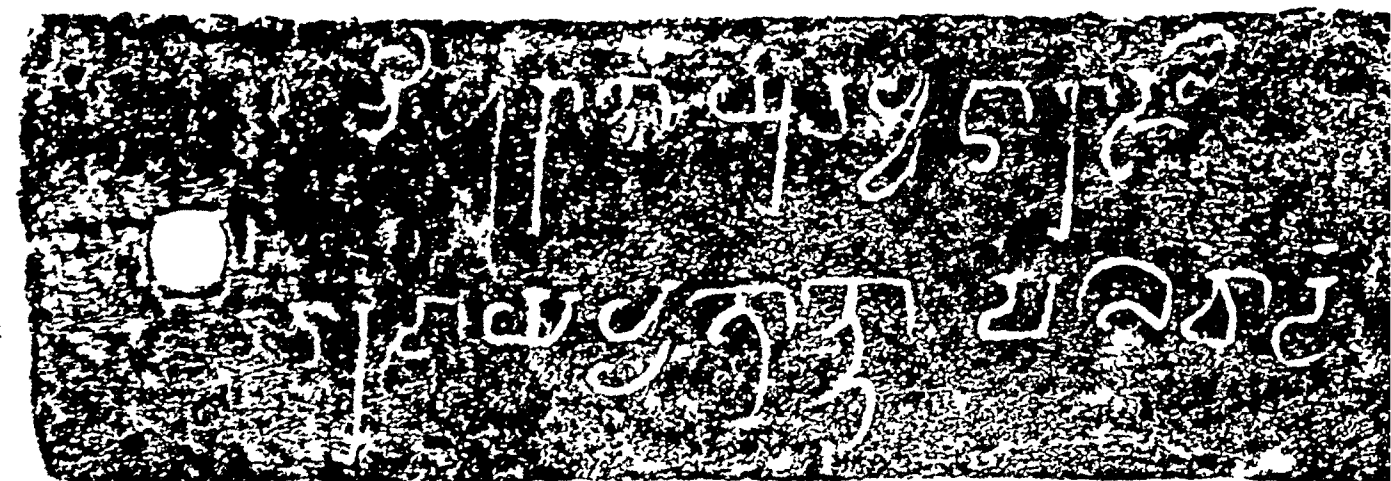
<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol IV p 292, note 7. So far as I can see, the astronomical calculations of Mr Kookel Keloo Nair were not quite correct. Saturday, the 6th March A D 280, was the 21st day of Mîna and the *nakshatra* for part of the day was Rôhîni; but Jupiter was in the sign Kumbha, not in Makara — I do not venture to hope that we ever shall find in an inscription a date of the third century A D that would admit of exact verification.

<sup>4</sup> See Mr Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol I p 72.

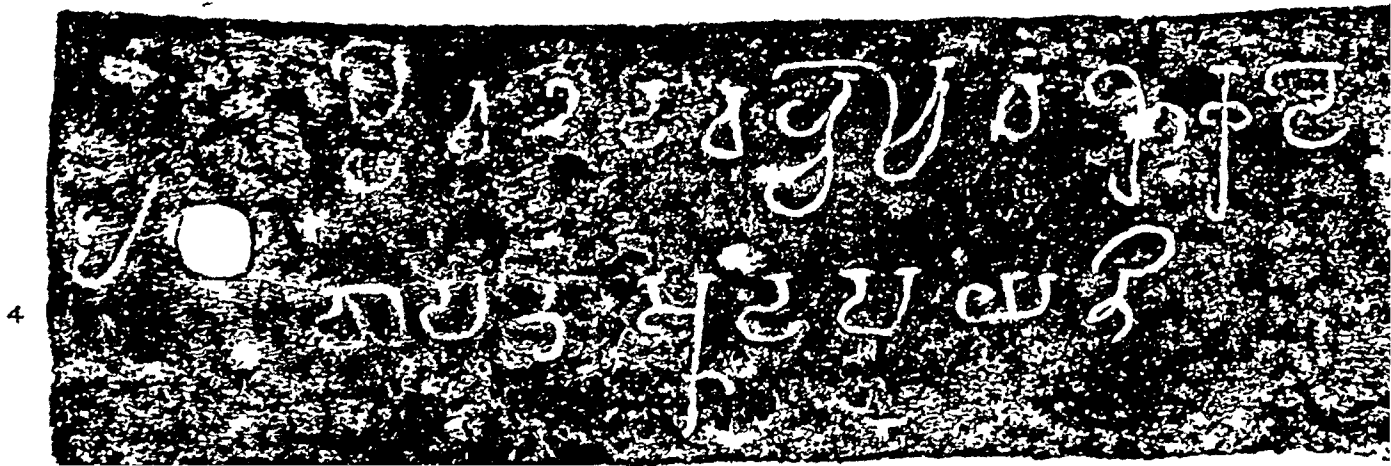
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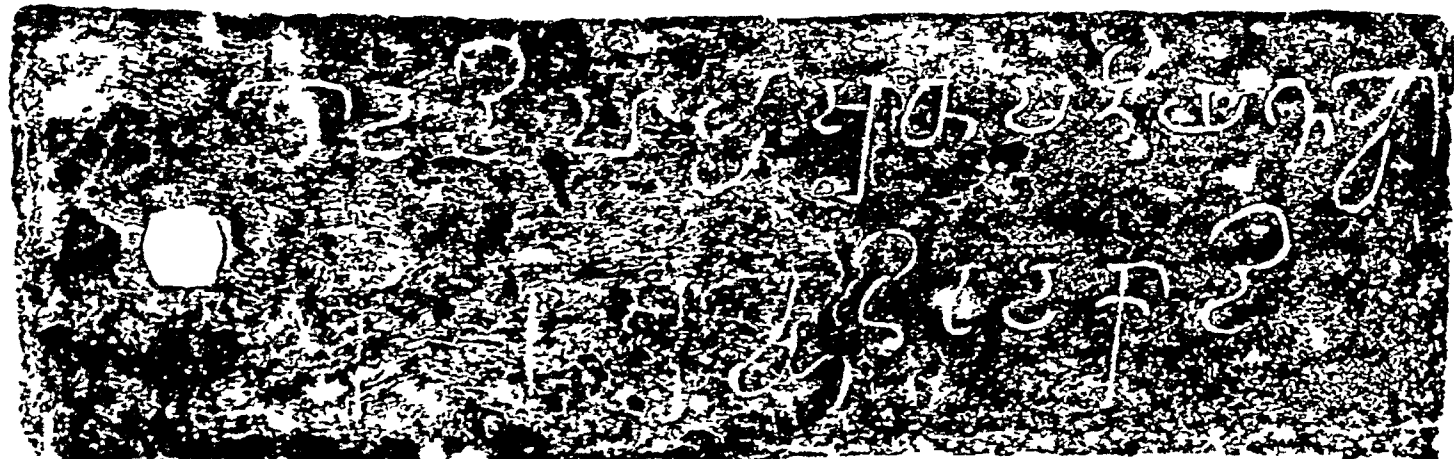
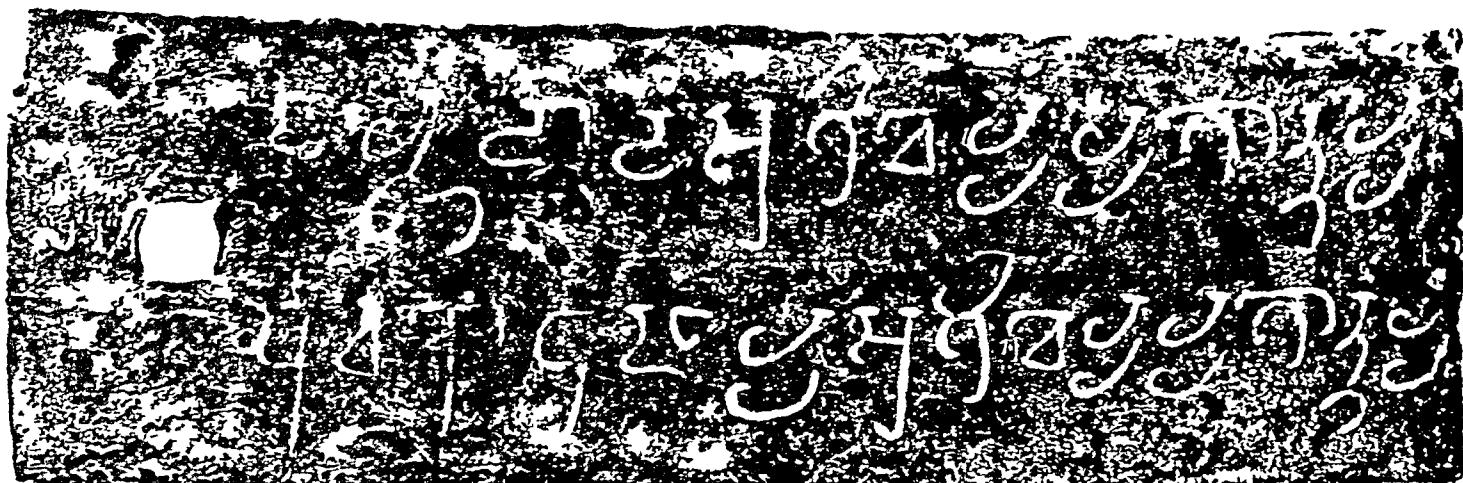


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2a







below it, the legend *Śivaśka[ndavarmanah?]* in an alphabet which appears to be slightly different from that of the inscription. The bull and the legend are enclosed in a circle which is partially preserved."

After I had despatched the manuscript of this article to the press, Mr Venkayya sent me the original copper-plates and informed me that, at the instance of Mr J Ramayya, they have now been presented to the Madras Museum by their owner, Mayidavolu Jaya Ramayya. The writing on the plates is carefully done, and its preservation is tolerably good, all damaged syllables can be supplied with certainty.

Like the Hirahadagalli plates,<sup>1</sup> the new copper-plate grant was issued from Kāñchīpura by Śivaskandavarman of the Bhāradvāja gōtra and of the Pallava family (ll 1—3). As he is here styled *Yuta-Mahārāja*<sup>2</sup> or heir-apparent, the date of the grant (l 25 f) is apparently prior to that of the Hirahadagalli plates and has to be referred to the reign of Śivaskandavarman's unknown predecessor. Śivaskandavarman granted to two Brāhmanas a village named Viripara (ll 10 and 12), which belonged to Andhrāpatha<sup>3</sup> (l 9), i.e. the Telugu country. Viripara, which I am unable to identify, must have been situated near Amarāvati in the Kistna district, for Śivaskandavarman addressed his order regarding the grant to his (or his father's) representative at Dhaññakada<sup>4</sup> (l 3), the modern Amarāvati. We thus learn that, during the reigns of Śivaskandavarman and his predecessor, the Pallava kingdom included not only—in the south—the Tondai mandalam, to which then capital, Kāñchīpura, belongs and perhaps—in the west—the Bellary district, in which the Hirahadagalli plates were purchased, but—in the north—the Telugu country as far as the Krishnā river.

The date of the grant (l 25 f) is given in words and numerical symbols. It was the 5th tithi of the 6th fortnight of summer in the 10th year (of the reign of Śivaskandavarman's predecessor). As shown by Professor Kielhorn,<sup>5</sup> neither numerical symbols nor season-dates have been found in records later than the 8th century A D. But the subjoined grant has to be assigned to a much earlier period because of its archaic alphabet, and because, like the Nāsik inscriptions of the Andhra kings, the Hirahadagalli plates, and the plates of Vijayaskandavarman, it is written in Prākṛit<sup>6</sup>.

The language of the inscription is a Prākṛit dialect which differs from the literary Pāli in several respects. Thus consonants are softened in *ḥada* (l 3), *bhaḍa* (l 15), and *khādaka* (l 13), but hardened in *papesa* (l 15) for *parosa*. The unaspirate takes the place of the aspirate in *Āindhāpatīya* (l 9). The letter *y* is sometimes replaced by *j*, e.g. in *jo* (l 21) and *majādā* (l 18) for Sanskrit *maryādā* (*nariyādā* in Pāli), while *y* takes the place of *j* in *Bhāradāya* (l 2) for Sanskrit *Bhāradvāja* and of *ch* in *ya* (l 6) for *cha* (which occurs in lines 17 and 20). Two cases of peculiar *sandhi* are *sayattī* (l 27) for *svayam=iti* and *Gonamḍiya* (l 9) for *Gonandī + ajja*. Of inflected nouns may be noted the Māgadhi nominatives *vejayike* and *vadhanike*<sup>7</sup> (l 5 f), the ablative *purāto* (l 1), and the neuter *ādīm* (l 10) for *ādī* (against *dōni*, l 5, for *idānim*). The personal pronoun of the first person is represented by the base *amha* (ll 5 and 21), the nominative *amho* (l 23) and the instrumental *amhehi* (ll 5 and 10). The inscription contains several verbal forms, viz. the gerund *atichhitūna* (l 21 f) from *ati + chhid*, the presents *ānapayati* (l 4) and *vitārāma* (l 13), the imperatives *pariharatha* and

<sup>1</sup> Edited by the late Professor Bühler, *Ep Ind* Vol I p 2 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The same title is applied to Vijayabuddhavarman in the plates of Vijayaskandavarman, *Ind Ant* Vol IX p 101, l 2.

<sup>3</sup> On the synonymous terms Āndhra maṇḍala, Āndhra patha, and Vaduga vaḥi, see *South-Ind Inscr* Vol III p 90.

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol III p 94 and note 5.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol IV p 195 and note 4.

<sup>6</sup> See *Ep Ind* Vol I p 5, and *Dyn Kan Distrs*, 2nd edition, p 320.

<sup>7</sup> The same two words occur in the Hirahadagalli plates, l 9. The plates of Vijayaskandavarman have *vaddhanīyam* (l 8 f).



*pariharāpetha* (l 20), and the potentials *karejḡā*, *kārāpṛjḡā* and *karejāmo* (ll 22—24), which correspond to Pāli *kareyya* *kārāpeyya* and *kareyyāma*

As regards orthography, double consonants are rarely expressed by a compound letter, as in *paṭṭhā* (l 28), *sagotta* (ll 2 and 7 f.), and *ṣamno* (l 3), or by a nasal with preceding *anusvāra* (in *Dhamṇa*<sup>1</sup> l 3). Generally the writer follows the practice of the earl-inscriptions, where a single consonant does duty for the double letter; see *Agīeṇa* (l 7 f.) for Sanskrit *Āgmicśya*, *diṭha* (plate 1 a) and *chhaṭha* (l 26) for *diṣṭha* and *chhaṣṭha*, *raṃpaḍata* (l 11) against *datta* (l 27), *ana* (l 17) for *anna*<sup>2</sup> (*añña* in Pāli), *Paḷava* (l 2) for *Pallava*, *sara* (ll 12, 17, 19) for *sacca* (*sabba* in Pāli), and *tasa* (l 23) etc for *tassa* etc.

The alphabet of the new plates is an epigraphic curiosity. Though on the whole resembling that of the Hirahadagalli plates, it exhibits a few letters which differ from the corresponding characters of all Indian alphabets. Thus the letter *e* consists of two equal curves, one below the other, but not connected with it. The letter *m* consists of the same upper curve and of a loop which starts from its upper right corner and reaches below the line; in the group *mmo* (l 3) the same loop is attached once more to the right of the syllable *mo*. The dental and lingual nasals are not distinguished from each other, but represented by a symbol which assumes various slightly dissimilar shapes and resembles *d* and *ḍ* so closely, that only the context can show which letter is meant in each individual case. I have transcribed it by *n* wherever it cannot be read as *d* or *ḍ*. The *j* of *ceyyike* (l 5) looks, roughly speaking, like an angle and a circle. This circle is open on the right in *ṣujasa* (l 8) and *ṣājo* (l 1), while it is joined to the horizontal leg of the angle in *ḍiyasa* (l 9). In *majḍḍāya* (l 18) and *karejāmo* (l 24) we have the usual form of *jā*. The group *jḡā* in *karejḡā* (l 22) and *kārāpṛjḡā* (l 23) is identical in shape with *jo* (l 21)<sup>3</sup>. Finally I would draw attention to the letter *e* in *etasa* (l 11) and *eteḥi* (l 16), which looks like an archaic Tamil *su*.

Plates II to VIII are marked with the numerical symbols '2' to '8' on the left of the first side between the ring-hole and the margin<sup>4</sup>. The symbol '10' and duplicates of the symbols '5' and '6' occur in the date portion on plate VII b. The symbol '4' differs from that of the Hirahadagalli plates and already resembles the corresponding modern figure.

#### TEXT<sup>4</sup>

##### *First Plate, First Side.*

Ditha[m]<sup>5</sup> [||\*]

##### *First Plate, Second Side*

- 1 [Kām]chipurāto<sup>6</sup> yuva-mahārājo
- 2 Bhāradāya-sagotto Palavānam

##### *Second Plate, First Side*

- 3 Sivakha[m]davammo Dhamṇakade
- 4 vāpatam ānapayati [||\*]

<sup>1</sup> This form occurs in the Hirahadagalli plates, II 6 and 43.

<sup>2</sup> In the Hirahadagalli plates the *jḡā* of *kārejjḡā* (l 40) differs from the *jo* of *ṣājo* (l 2).

<sup>3</sup> The symbol, if any, on the first plate is obliterated.

<sup>4</sup> From Mr Venkayya's ink impressions and from the original plates.

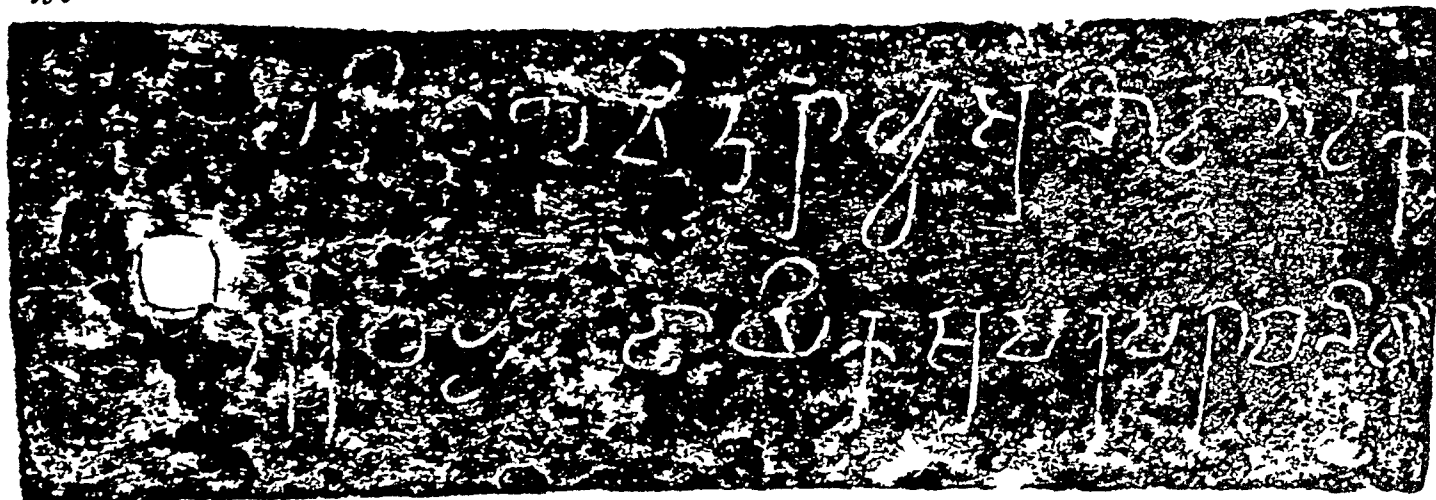
<sup>5</sup> The same word is entered on plate 1 a of the Hirahadagalli plates.

<sup>6</sup> The first syllable of this word is almost entirely obliterated, but can be supplied with certainty from line 1 of the Hirahadagalli plates.

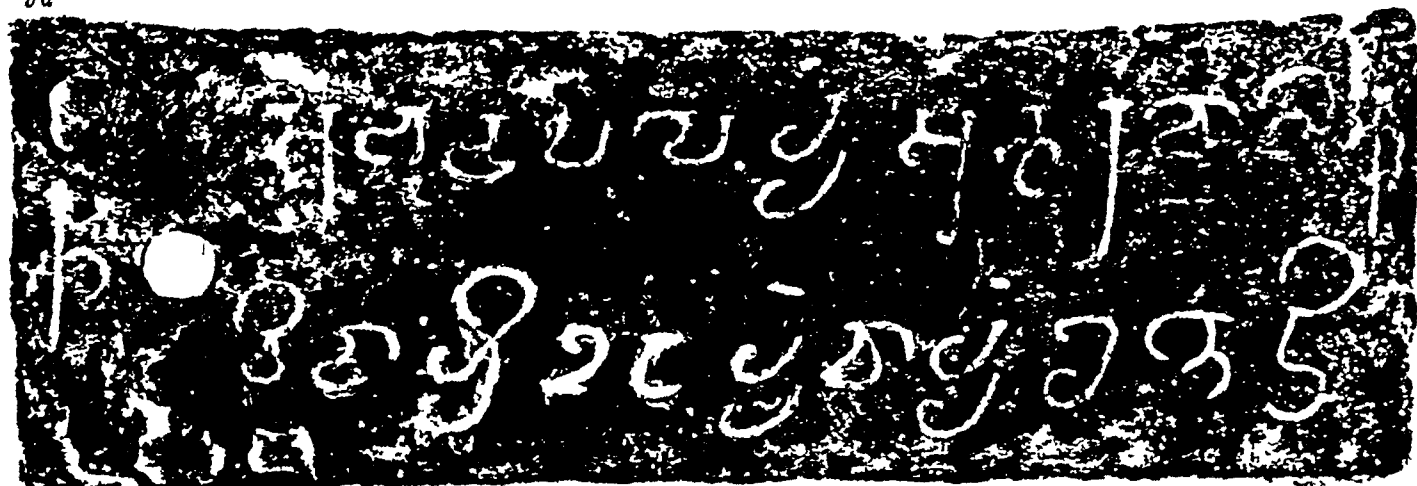
17a

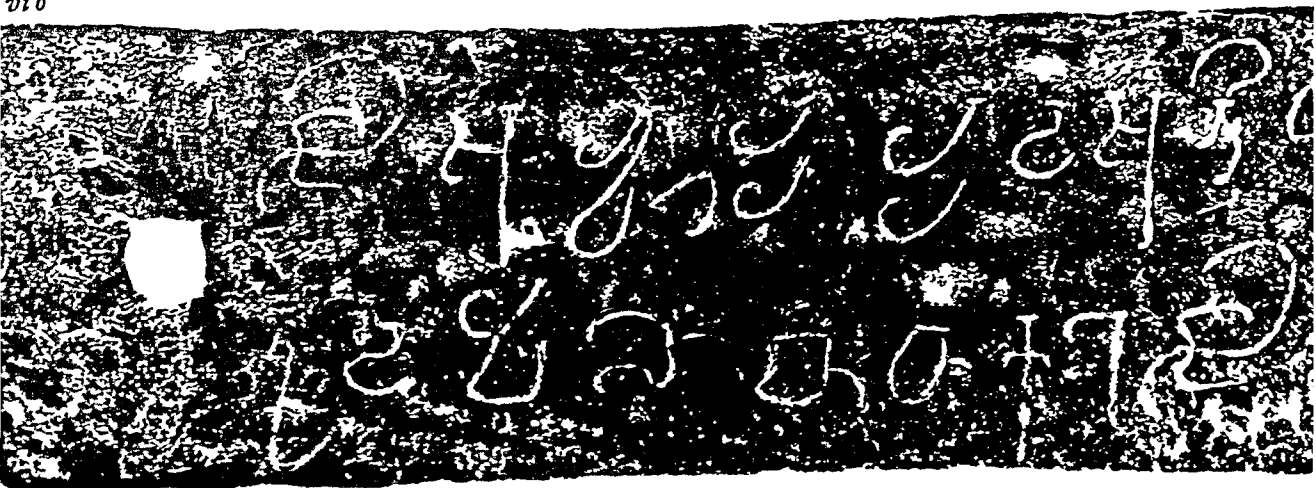
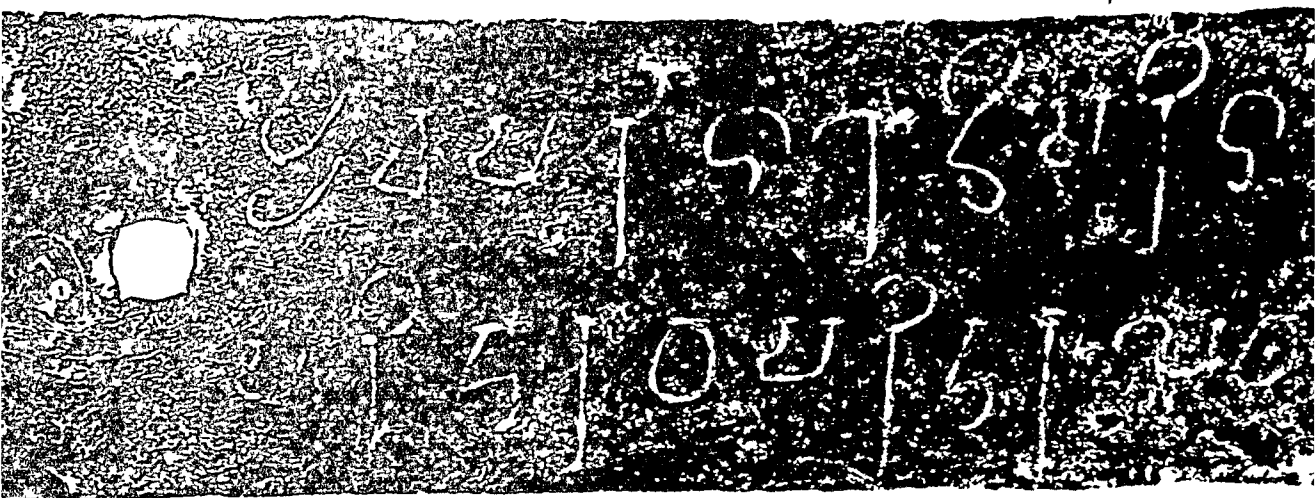
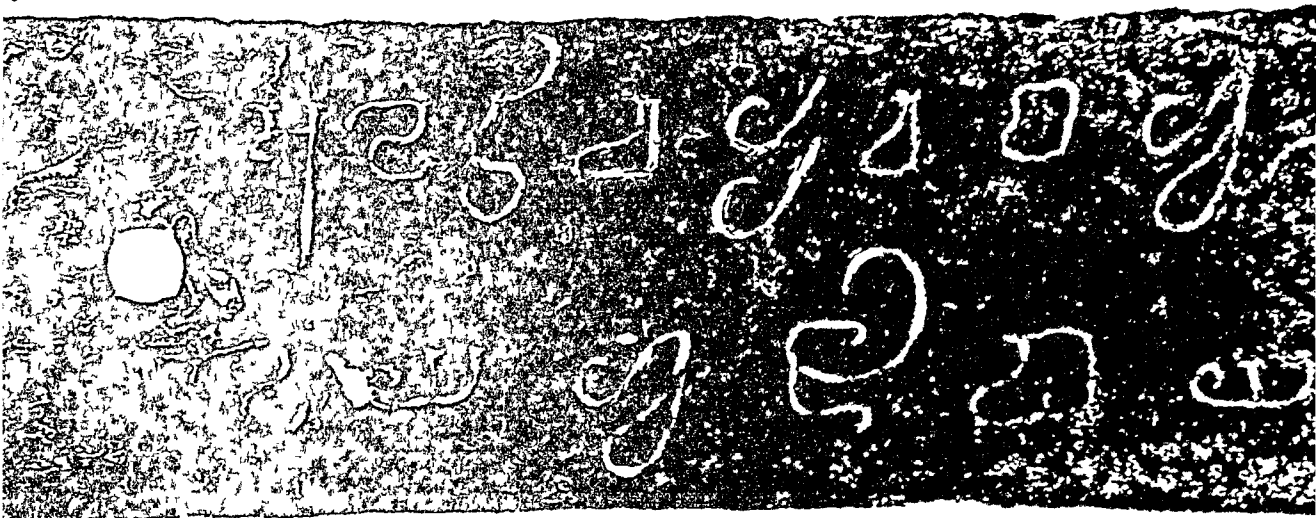


17b



17c





*Second Plate, Second Side.*

- 5 amhehi dāni amha-vejayike  
6 [dham]m-āyu-bala-vadhanike ya

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 7 bamhanānam Agivesa-sagottasa  
8 Puvakotujasa Agi(gi)vesa-sagottasa

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 9 Gonamdijsa Amdhāpati(thi)ya-gāmo  
10 [Viripa]ram<sup>1</sup> amhehi udak-adim

*Fourth Plate, First Side.*

- 11 sampadato [i\*] etasa gāmasa  
12 Viriparasa sava-bamhadēya-

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

- 13 pa[r]i[hā]o(ro) vitarāma [i\*] alona[kh]ādakam  
14 arathasam[vi]nāyikam aparamparābaliya[dam\*]

*Fifth Plate, First Side*

- 15 abhadapapesam akuracholaka-  
16 vināsikhat[ā\*]samvāsam [i\*] etehi

*Fifth Plate, Second Side.*

- 17 anehi cha sava bamha-  
18 deya-majudāya

*Sixth Plate, First Side*

- 19 sava-parihārehi parihārto [i\*]  
20 pariharatha pariharāpotha cha [i\*]

*Sixth Plate, Second Side*

- 21 jo amha-sāsanam atichhi-  
22 tūna pilā badh[ā] karejjā [vā]<sup>2</sup>

*Seventh Plate, First Side*

- 23 [ta]<sup>3</sup> kārāpejjā vā tasa amho  
24 sārira[m] sāsanaṃ karejāmo [i\*]

<sup>1</sup> Of the first three syllables only slight traces can be distinguished, but the same word is quite distinct in line 12

<sup>2</sup> This *akshara* and the first *akshara* of the next plate seem to have been scored out by the engraver, who had omitted *kārāpejjā* and had begun to write *vā tasa*, but found out his mistake when he had got as far as *ta*

<sup>3</sup> See the preceding note.

*Seventh Plate, Second Side.*

- 25 sa[m]vachhara[m] dasamam 10 gimhā<sup>1</sup>  
 26 pakho chhatho 6 divasam pamchamī 5 [!"]

*Eighth Plate*

- 27 ānatī sayattī dattā  
 28 pattikā [!"]

## TRANSLATION

(*This edict*) has been seen <sup>2</sup>

(Line 1) From Kāñchipura the Yuva-Mahārāja Śivaskandavarman (of the family) of the Pallavas,<sup>3</sup> who belongs to the gōtra of the Bhāradvājas, orders (*his*) official (*vyāpṛita*) at Dhaññakada<sup>4</sup> (as follows) —

(L. 5) For conferring on ourselves victory (*in war*)<sup>5</sup> and for increasing (*our*) merit, length of life, and power, we have now given, with libations of water, the village of Vīripāra in Andhrāpatha to the (*two*) Brāhmanas Puvakotaja of the Āgnivīśya gōtra and Gonandīja<sup>6</sup> of the Āgnivīśya gōtra

(L. 11) To this village of Vīripāra we grant all the immunities (enjoyed by) brahma-dēyas

(L. 13) (*Let it be*) free from diggings for salt,<sup>7</sup> arathasamvināyika, free from (*the supply of*) bullocks in succession,<sup>8</sup> free from the entrance of soldiers, free from (*the supply of*) boiled rice, water-pots, cots and dwellings<sup>9</sup>

(L. 16) With these and all the other immunities (*prescribed*) by the rules regarding all brahmadēyas (*we have*) caused it to be exempted

(L. 20) (*Accordingly*) you<sup>10</sup> have to exempt (*it*) and cause (*it*) to be exempted

(L. 21) Who, transgressing our edict, shall give or shall cause to be given trouble (*and*) annoyance<sup>11</sup> (*to the doones*), on him we shall inflict bodily punishment

<sup>1</sup> This is an abbreviation for *gimhānam*, compare Nāsik No 11, l 12, and No 14, l 1

<sup>2</sup> With the word *dīkham* or, in Sanskrit, *dṛṣṭam* we have to supply *adam śāsanam*. It is the equivalent of the modern 'true copy' or 'examined' at the foot of official letters and Government orders. For a different explanation of *dṛṣṭam* see above, Vol III p 259

<sup>3</sup> For other instances of this elliptical use of the genitive see above, Vol IV p 197, note 6, and Vol VI pp 15 and 19

<sup>4</sup> Compare *ānapayati Govadhane amacha* in the Nāsik inscriptions Nos 11, A and 15

<sup>5</sup> The corresponding word in the Hirahadagalli plates, *vijaya-vejayika* (l 9), is omitted in Professor Bühler's translation (*Ep Ind* Vol. I p 8)

<sup>6</sup> *I.e.* Gōnandīyārya. Compare *Nandīja* in line 21 of the Hirahadagalli plates

<sup>7</sup> This term and the next one occur in the Nāsik inscriptions Nos 11, A, 11, B and 15.

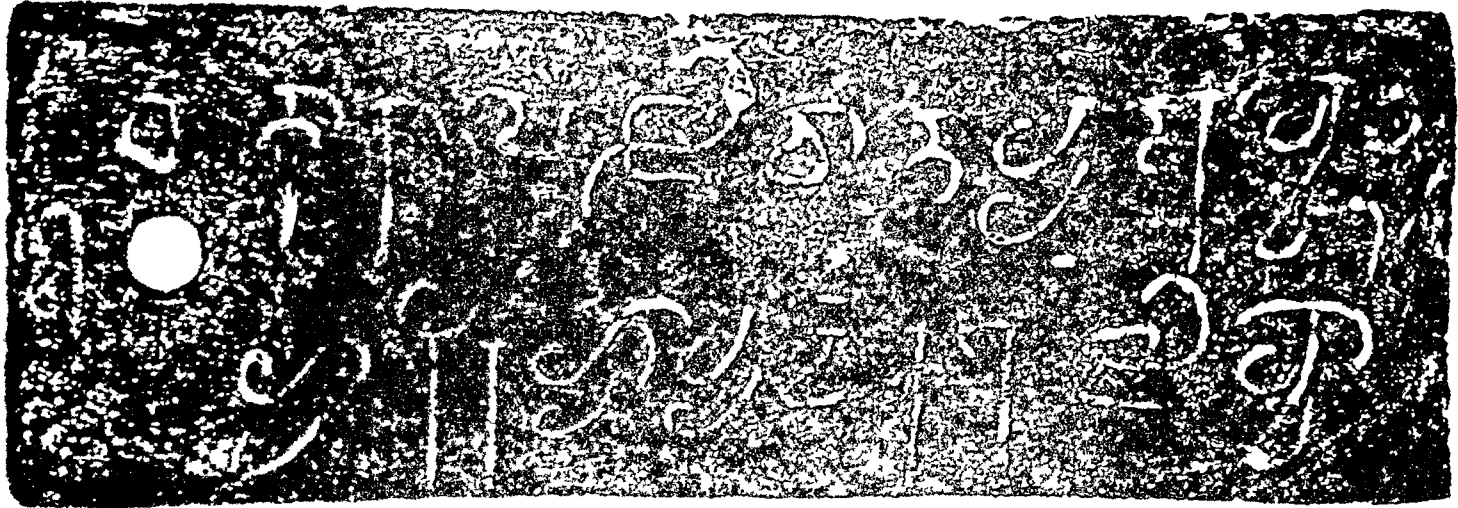
<sup>8</sup> Compare line 33 of the Hirahadagalli plates

<sup>9</sup> With the last term compare *a khatā vās audanam* (above, p 14, text line 8), and see line 31 of the Hirahadagalli plates, where the photo lithograph reads *akūra*, and not *akara* as the printed text. The word *cholaka* or *yollaka* is probably related to *chullakti*, 'a kind of water pot,' *vināsi* or *viness* remains obscure

<sup>10</sup> *I.e.* the inhabitants and officials of the district, etc. See line 35 of the Hirahadagalli plates, and *Ind Ant* Vol IX p 101, l 10 f, where Professor Bühler's improved reading (*Ep Ind* Vol I p 2, note 2) has to be further corrected by reading with the photo lithograph *pariharatha pariharāpetha*. The translation would then run — "Knowing this, you, the villagers (and) officials, exempt (*it*) and cause (*it*) to be exempted with all the immunities!" In line 7 of Dr Fleet's text join *Mahanarakadevakula*, and in line 6 f read *Atukassa kasita*. *chhettam* "the field ploughed by Atuka"

<sup>11</sup> Here and in the Hirahadagalli plates (l 40) one would expect the acc sing *pīlam bādham* instead of the acc. plur *pīlā bādha*

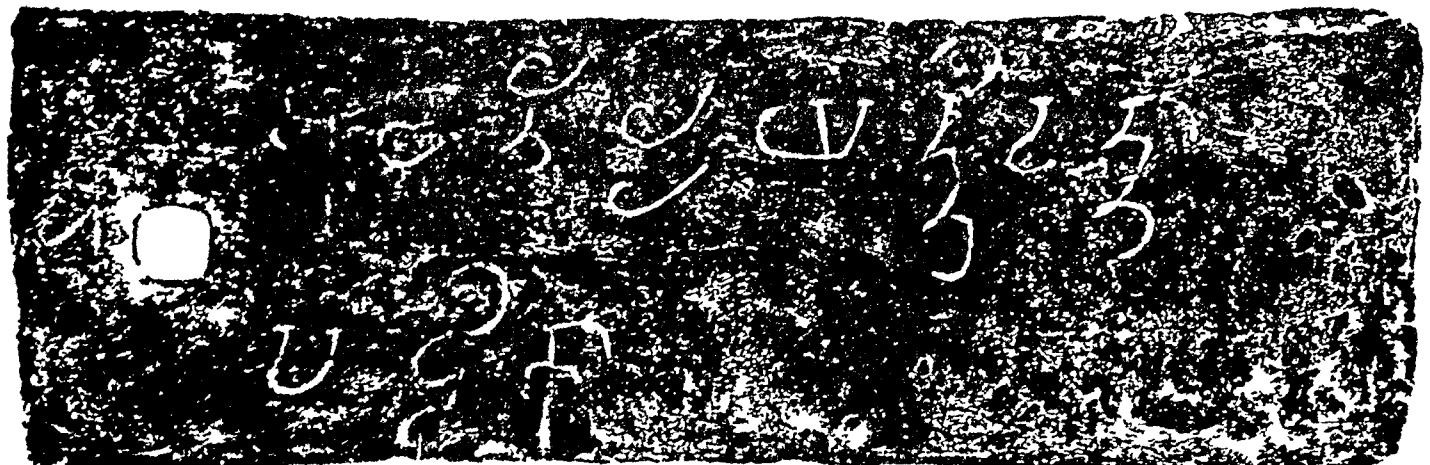
vii a



vii b



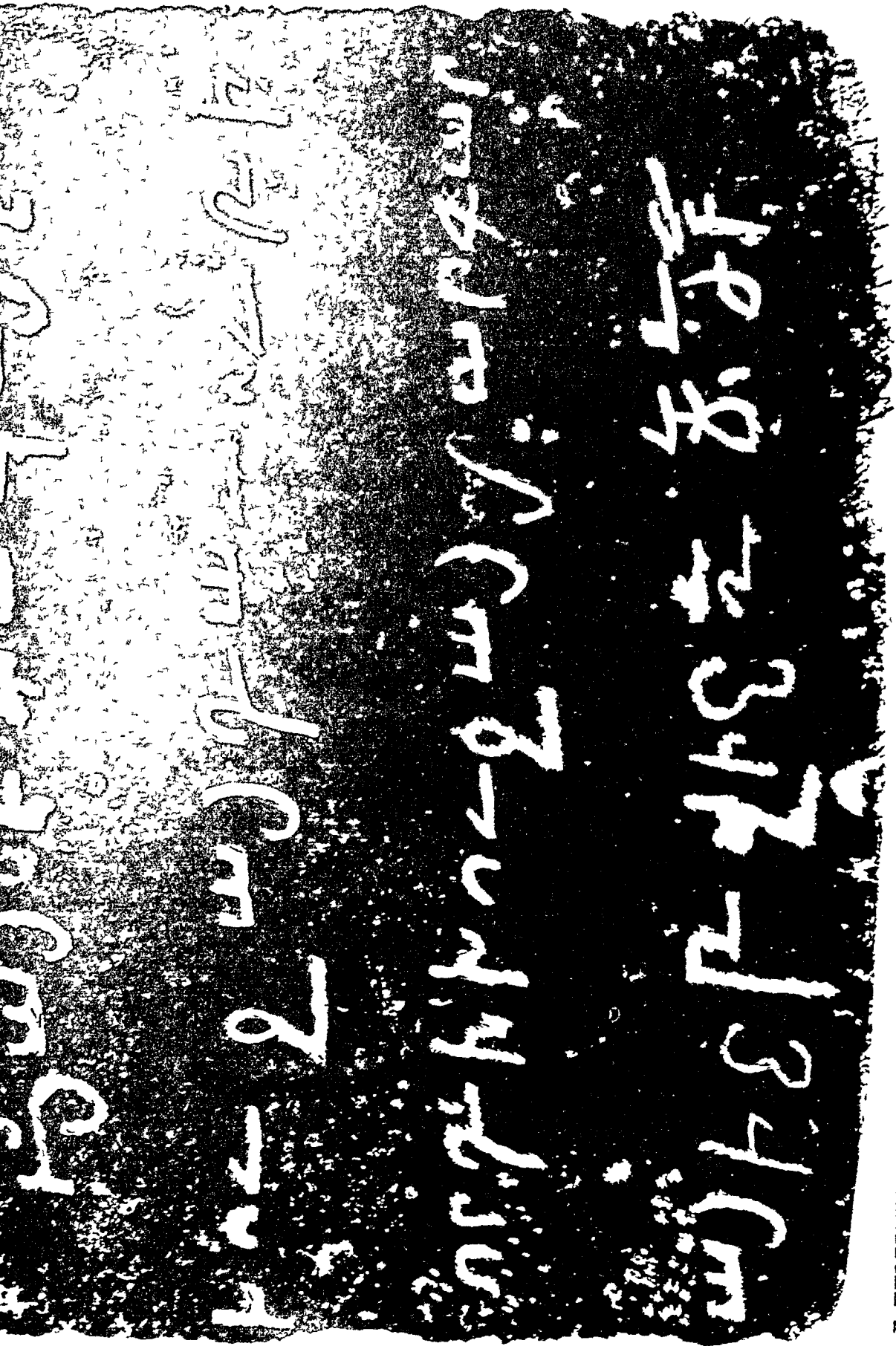
viii











E. HULTZSCH

Collotype by Rümmler & Jonas, Dresden

(L 25) The tenth—10th—year, the sixth—8th—fortnight of summer, the fifth—5th—lunar day.

(L 27.) The executor (*djñapti*) (was) myself Accordingly (*this*) set of plates (*paṭṭihā*) has been given (*to the donees*)

### NO 9 — THE ARMENIAN EPITAPH AT THE LITTLE MOUNT

By FATHER VAPTAN MELCHISEDECH, OF THE MECHITHARIST CONGREGATION, VIENNA

Mr Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities* (Vol I page 175 f) contain a short, but excellent description of the three sites on the south of the city of Madras which are connected with the legend of St. Thomas. These are—the village of St Thomáz, which claims to possess the apostle's grave, the Little Mount, where he is said to have suffered martyrdom, and St Thomas's Mount, the church on the top of which contains the famous inscribed cross<sup>1</sup> The church at the Little Mount is reached by a flight of stone steps, and at the foot of these is set up a stone which bears a cross and below it, the subjoined Armenian epitaph The stone lately attracted the attention of His Excellency Sir Arthur Havelock, the Governor of Madras At his instance Dr Hultzscher sent inked estampages of the inscription to Professor H Hubschmann, of Strassburg, who was the first to decipher it It is dated in the year 1112 (of the Armenian patriarch Moses), i.e. A.D. 1663, and is the epitaph of an Armenian merchant, named David, the son of Margaré

#### TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

1 Hais<sup>3</sup> é tapayn<sup>4</sup>  
2 Khujay Davuth<sup>5</sup>

3 ordi Khujay Margar-  
4 ayin<sup>6</sup> thvin<sup>7</sup> r ch zh b.

#### TRANSLATION.

This is the grave of Khoja<sup>8</sup> David, the son of Khoja Margaré<sup>9</sup> In the year 1112

### NO 10 — GADAG INSCRIPTION OF VIRABALLALA II, SAKA-SAMVAT 1114

By H. LUDERS, PH D, GOTTINGEN

This inscription is on a stone standing up against the back wall of the temple of Triakūṭṣvara at Gadag, the chief town of the Gadag tāluka in the Dhārwar district of the Bombay

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol IV p 174 ff

<sup>2</sup> As read by Professor Hubschmann from the inked estampages

<sup>3</sup> This is a cockneyism for Old-Armenian *as*, 'this,' which has become *as* in New Armenian —H H

<sup>4</sup> Read *tapan* — H H

<sup>5</sup> In Old Armenian this would be *Davthi*, the genitive of *Davith* The form *Davuth* seems to be due to the influence of *Dā'ūd*, the Arabic form of the name 'David' —H H

<sup>6</sup> Dr Karst considers *Margaray* to be the genitive of *Margaré*, and *n* is the definite article

<sup>7</sup> Instead of *thvin*, 'of the year,' we ought to have *thvin*, with the locative prefix *+*.

<sup>8</sup> This is the Persian *خواجه*, 'a lord, master,' a title generally applied to preceptors and merchants

<sup>9</sup> This name is identical with the Armenian word *margaré*, 'a prophet.

Presidency. An abstract of its contents was given by Dr. Bhau Daji in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* Vol IX p 321 f The text was first published, together with a translation, by Dr Fleet in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol II. p 298 ff, and a very small photograph of it is given in PSOCI No 98 I now re-cedit it from Dr Fleet's excellent impression, made over to me by Prof Kielhorn.

The inscription contains 56 lines of writing which covers a space of about 3' broad by 4' 6" high, and is throughout in an extremely good state of preservation At the top of the stone are some sculptures — In the centre a man worshipping a *linga* with a head lying on a *yōni*,<sup>1</sup> to the left a figure of Ganapati, beyond which is a figure of Śiva's bull Nandin, to the right a figure of a Śakti, beyond which are a cow with a calf and a crooked knife — The size of the letters is about  $\frac{5}{8}$ " — The alphabet is Old-Kanarese In the first and third lines some of the letters are drawn out into ornamental flourishes — The language is Sanskrit In lines 6 and 32 we have the Kanarese words *hoy* and *malaparolganḍa* The main portion of the text is in verse, only lines 31-33 and 41-46, speaking generally, are in prose, and besides a few words in lines 1, 36, 37 and 39, and the introductory remarks to the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 46, 47, 48, 49 and 53 — As regards orthography, the groups *ddh* and *bbh* are generally spelt *dhdh* and *bhbh*, the only exceptions being *Vishnuvarddhana* in l 8 and *pātayēd-dharttā* in l 51, and *b* is written instead of *v* before a consonant in *brati* in l 5 and *kūbya* in l 37

The inscription, which records a grant of land by the Hoysala king Virā-Ballāḷa II, contains a number of historical references which have been dealt with already by Dr Fleet in his account of 'the *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*' The following remarks are therefore chiefly based on Dr Fleet's discussions

Opening with two verses invoking the protection of Vishnu and praising the king, the inscription gives in verses 3-7 the well known legendary account of the origin of the Hoysalas They claimed to belong to the lineage of Yadu, in this race there was a king called Sala, 'who, changing the name of the family, caused Yadu, the first of it, to be forgotten' Once there lived at Śaśakapura an ascetic who, while engaged in performing his rites, was attacked by a tiger He called Sala for assistance with the words *Hoy Sala*, 'Slay, O Sala' Sala killed the tiger, and thus acquired for himself and his descendants the name of Hoysala and a tiger as emblem of their banner Śaśakapura or Śaśapura seems to have been the seat of the first rulers of the dynasty<sup>2</sup> In inscriptions incised in Śaka 1060 and 1106<sup>3</sup> Vinayāditya, the first historical king, is represented as ruling at Sosavūru, and there is no reason to doubt the correctness of this statement, as the passages containing it were evidently taken from older records Mr Rice<sup>4</sup> is undoubtedly right in identifying Sosavūru with Śaśapura, but his identification of Śaśapura with the modern Angadī in the Mūdgere taluka of the Kadūr district, Mysore,<sup>5</sup> does not seem to be well founded

The inscription then turns to the historical genealogy of the family After other kings, Vinayāditya became king (v 8) His son was Ereyanga (v 9), who again had three sons, Ballāḷa, Vishnuvardhana and Udayāditya (v 10) Nothing beyond the name is recorded

<sup>1</sup> Dr Fleet, *loc cit* p 298, speaks of 'three heads on an altar,' but the drawing accompanying the impression shows one only

<sup>2</sup> Probably already in the time of Ballāḷa I, and certainly in the time of Vishnuvardhana, the capital was Vēlāpura, the modern Bēlūr, whence during the reign of Vishnuvardhana the seat of government was shifted to Dōrasamudra, the modern Halēbid, compare Dr Fleet, *loc cit* p 491

<sup>3</sup> *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part II p 203, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p 329, where the name of the town is given as Sosulya *Ibid* p 260, Vinayāditya is said to have been born at Śaśapura

<sup>4</sup> *Inscr in the Mysore District*, Part II Introd, p 18

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid* Part I Introd, p 18, Part II Introd, p 18

of Udayāditya, the inscription speaking in the following verses only of the elder two brothers, of whom, after some general praise (v 11), it is said (v 12, 13) that, 'when the elder of them,<sup>1</sup> the mighty one, who attacked Jagaddēva, the lord of elephants, with his own horse in the van of battle and overturned him and took away his sevenfold (sovereignty), had ruled the kingdom, after him his younger brother also, Vishnuvardhana, reigned for a long time' In other records the defeat of Jagaddēva is attributed to Ballāla's successor Vishnuvardhana. In an inscription at Bēlūr<sup>2</sup> and in another at Hosakōte<sup>3</sup> Vishnuvardhana is called 'a Bhairava in destroying (or conquering) the armies of Jagaddēva,' and in an inscription at Śravana-Belgola<sup>4</sup> he is said to have drunk the rolling sea of the armies of the lord of Mālaya, Jagaddēva, and others, sent by the emperor (*chakrin*). The discrepancy between these statements is removed by an inscription at Lālanakere,<sup>5</sup> where it is said that at Dōrasamudra the three brothers, Ballāla, Vishnu and Udayāditya, destroyed the army of Jagaddēva and captured his treasury. The joint victory of the three brothers over Jagaddēva must therefore have occurred before A.D. 1118, the earliest reliable date, as far as I know, for Ballāla's successor Vishnuvardhana.<sup>6</sup> As to Jagaddēva, the term *saptāṅga* used of his kingdom in the present inscription would seem to indicate, at first sight, that he was an independent ruler, but it is apparently only a hyperbolic phrase, as the Śravana-Belgola inscription leaves no doubt that he was a feudatory of some emperor who can only be the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI.<sup>7</sup> I am therefore inclined to agree with Dr Fleet, who looks upon Jagaddēva as identical with the Śāntara prince Tribhuvanamalla-Jagaddēva of Pattā-Pombuchchapura<sup>8</sup> who, according to the Balagāmve inscription,<sup>9</sup> was ruling as *Mahāmandalīśvara* of Jagaddhamalla II at Sētuvina-bīdu in A.D. 1149, and who, according to an inscription at Anamkond,<sup>10</sup> after the defeat of Tala III, laid siege to the fortress of Anumakonda. The latter event must have taken place between A.D. 1150 and 1163. There would thus be an interval of at least 32 years, but probably a much longer time, between the Jagaddēva of the Hoysala records and that of the Chālukya and Kākatiya inscriptions, so that, if the identification should prove correct, Jagaddēva must have enjoyed a considerably long reign.

The next verses (14-17) speak of the conquests and pious gifts of Vishnuvardhana, 'who having given away in religious gifts the whole of his own territory, in order to have a kingdom of his own, invaded Uchchangī<sup>11</sup> and other territories belonging to his enemies, who, invading the whole country from his own abode to Bēlvola, bathed his horse in the Kṛṣṇavērnā; who is again and again reminded by his servants whenever they wait upon him 'Know the Hoysala alone among (all) princes to be unconquerable for king Paramardidēva.'<sup>12</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> I take *tatra* in the sense of *tyāgh*, and the two verses as forming one sentence.

<sup>2</sup> *Mysore Inscr* p 263

<sup>3</sup> *Inscr in the Mysore District*, Part I p 36

<sup>4</sup> *Inscriptions at Śravana Belgola*, No 138, p 107. This inscription gives only the direct line of descendants, omitting Ballāla I and Udayāditya altogether.

<sup>5</sup> *Inscr in the Mysore Distr* Part II p 200

<sup>6</sup> *Inscr at Śravana-Belgola*, No 59, p 57, compare *Inscr in the Mysore Distr* Part I p 120, and *Mysore Inscr* p 265. Mr Rice says (*Inscr in the Mysore Distr* Part II Intro, p 19) that Ballāla I died in A.D. 1104, but I do not know his authority for this statement.

<sup>7</sup> Vikramāditya, it is true, did not bear the title *chakravartin*, but his three successors, Sōmēśvara III, Jagaddhamalla II and Tala III, styled themselves, respectively, *Sarvajñachakravartin*, *Pratāpachakravartin* and *Chālukyachakravartin*, and it is therefore quite intelligible that in a record written in Śāha 1081 this title should have been conferred on Vikramāditya also.

<sup>8</sup> *Dyn Kan Distr* p 494

<sup>9</sup> *Mysore Inscr* p 97 ff

<sup>10</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 13

<sup>11</sup> Regarding this place see the note by Dr Fleet, *Dyn Kan Distr* p 285

<sup>12</sup> Different translations have been proposed for this verse by Dr Fleet, *Dyn Kan Distr* p 497, and Dr Bhandarkar, *History of the Dekkan*, p 87. The version given above differs from that of Dr Bhandarkar especially as regards the word *pratypachāram*.

warlike exploits of Vishnuvardhana need not be discussed here, as they have been treated at great length by Dr Fleet, who also was the first to identify king Paramardidēva with the Western Chālukya king Permādi-Vikramāditya VI, the feudal lord of Vishnuvardhana

Vishnuvardhana's son and successor was Narasimha, who married the noble Ēchaladēvi (vv 18, 19) Their son was Vira-Ballāla II. to whom the rest of the eulogy (vv 20-36) is devoted He is said (v 20) to have acquired the kingdom by worshipping Vajrēśvara This term seems to refer to Indra, but, as *vajra* is occasionally used also with reference to the *chakra* of Vishnu,<sup>1</sup> Vajrēśvara may possibly be meant here for Vishnu At any rate it is stated in another record<sup>2</sup> that he had gained the empire by being the favourite of Vijaya-Nārāyana, and in the present inscription also he is represented as an ardent worshipper of Vishnu (v 24) After a series of laudatory verses (20-33) and the general statement that the Angas, Kalingas, Vangas, Magadhas, Chōlas, Mālavas, Pāndyas, Kēralas and Gūjaras were in fear of him (v 34), the inscription gives in verses 35 and 36 a more detailed account of two of Ballāla's campaigns - 'And by force, he, the strong one,<sup>3</sup> defeated with cavalry only, and deprived of his sovereignty, the general Brahman whose army was strengthened by an array of elephants, and who had conquered sixty tusked elephants with a single tuskless<sup>4</sup> elephant, when, on account of an insult to his father, he was tearing the royal fortune from the family of the Kalachuris. And cutting off Jaitrasimha who was, as it were, the right arm of that Bhillama, he, the hero, acquired also the sovereignty over the country of Kuntala.'

The general Brahman mentioned in the former verse was the councillor and general of the last Chālukya king Sômēśvara IV His name occurs in several Chālukya records from A D. 1184-85 to 1186-87,<sup>5</sup> and in one of them he is called 'a fire of death to the Kalachuryas Like his father Kāma or Kāvana, he had originally been in the service of the Kalachuryas Kāvana is mentioned as the *dandanāyaka* of king Sankama in a Harihar inscription, and again as the commander-in-chief of all the forces of that king in a Balagāmve inscription of A D. 1179, and as the *dandanāyaka* of Āhavamalla in a Balagāmve inscription of A D 1181<sup>6</sup> And Brahman himself is called the *mahāpradhāna*, *sēnādhipati* and *dandanāyaka* of king Sōvidēva in a record of A D 1175 The reason for his rebellion is given in our inscription in the words '*nyakkārēna putuh*' Dr Fleet renders them 'in contempt of his father,' but I doubt that the words admit of such an interpretation I can only translate them as I have done above, and, considering that the records make it highly probable that Kāvana was still alive when Brahman revolted against his sovereign, I see no difficulty in assuming that the account of the motives of Brahman as given in our inscription is correct As to Jaitrasimha, by whose conquest Ballāla is said to have acquired Kuntala or the southern Marāthā country, there can be no doubt that he is identical with the Jaitasimha mentioned as the minister of the Yādava king Bhillama in the Gadag inscription of Śaka 1113<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, I see no cogent reason why this Jaitrasimha should be identified with Bhillama's son and successor Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla<sup>8</sup> The names, it is true, are similar, but if Jaitrasimha had been Bhillama's son, one should certainly expect that

<sup>1</sup> See e g *Mysore Inscr* p 152

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* p 266

<sup>3</sup> *Bhujabhṛt* seems to be an equivalent of *bhujabala*, and is apparently used here in allusion to Ballāla's *śiruda* Bhujabala, just as *śtra* is used in the next verse

<sup>4</sup> For *tūbara* the dictionaries give the meanings 'a bull without horns, a beardless man, a eunuch,' here it evidently denotes a tuskless elephant as opposed to *dantīn*, the tusked elephant A revised translation of the verse was given by Dr Fleet in his *Dyn Kan. Distr* p 464. I differ from him only with regard to the words *nyakkārēna putuh*

<sup>5</sup> For this and the following dates see Dr Fleet, *Dyn Kan. Distr* p. 464

<sup>6</sup> *Mysore Inscr* p 117

<sup>7</sup> *Above*, Vol. III p 217 ff

<sup>8</sup> See especially Dr Bhandarkar, *History of the Dekkan*, p 106

this relationship of the two had been hinted at either in the present or in the Gadag inscription referred to above.

Lines 31 ff then record that the *Pratāpachakravartin*, the glorious Vira-Ballāḍeḍa, who was adorned with such titles as 'the refuge of the whole world, the illustrious favourite of the earth, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramśvara*, *Paramabhāṣṭāraka*, the lord of the excellent city of Dvārāvātī, the sun in the sky of the Yādava family, who has perfection as his crest-jewel, the destroyer of the Malapas, who is fierce in war, a hero even without anybody to help him, who is brave even when alone, who has success even on a Saturday, the conqueror of hill-forts, a Rāma in war, having established his victorious camp at Lokkigundi,— at a lunar eclipse on Saturday, the day of the full-moon of the month Mārgasirsha of the Paridhāvin year, when 1114 years<sup>1</sup> had elapsed of the era of the Śaka king,— after having washed the feet of the holy *āchārya* Siddhāntichandrabhūshanapanditadēva, also called Satyavākya, who was the disciple of Vidyabharanadēva and the disciple's disciple of Sōmēśvaradēva of (the lineage of) the *āchārya* Kālamukha, granted out of devotion, with oblations of water, the village of Hombālalu in the Belvola three-hundred, with its boundaries as known before and together with the right to hidden treasures, underground stores, water, stone, gardens, etc, together with the *tribhōga*, together with the full proprietorship of the *aṣṭabhōga*, together with the right of appropriating all things such as tolls and fines, for the sake of the *aṅga*- and *ranga-bhōga* of the Holy one, the *guru* of all moving and immoveable things, the holy god Svayambhū-Trikūtēśvara, for the sake of repairing anything that might be broken, torn, or worn out through age, etc, for the sake of providing for instruction, and for the sake of feeding, etc, ascetics, Brāhmanas and others, making it a *sarvanamasya* grant not to be pointed at with the finger by the king or the king's officials

Inserted into this portion of the text are eleven verses (37-47) glorifying the god Śiva Svayambhū-Trikūtēśvara at Kratuka and the chief priest (*sthānāchārya*) of his shrine, the said Siddhāntichandrabhūshanapanditadēva, called also Satyavākya, of the lineage of the *āchārya* Kālamukha. Among the verses in praise of the latter, special interest is attached to verse 39, where the Pandit is called the living *linga* by whom the god who is the lord of the three peaks (*Trikūtēśvara*) by his three stationary *lingas*, in the opinion of people became at the same time a lord of four peaks (*chatushkūtēśvara*). This is an allusion to the legend that Śiva in the form of a *linga* descended upon the three mountains Kālēśvara, Śrīśaila and Bhīmēśvara, and that these three *lingas* marked the boundaries of the country which was in consequence called the Trilinga, Teluga or Telugu country.<sup>2</sup>

The members of the Śaiva school of Kālamukha seem to have enjoyed considerable local fame. They were originally established at Balagāmve, where a quarter of the town was called after them the Kālamukha Brahmachārīn quarter.<sup>3</sup> The numerous records at Balagāmve,<sup>4</sup> together with the present inscription, the Gadag inscription mentioned above, and another Gadag inscription of the time of Vira-Ballāla II,<sup>5</sup> furnish the following line of *āchāryas*,<sup>6</sup> all of whom

<sup>1</sup> The date is expressed both in words and in figures

<sup>2</sup> Arden, *Progressive Grammar of the Telugu Language*, p 1, [and *Ind. Ant.* Vol XXI p 198 note 13]

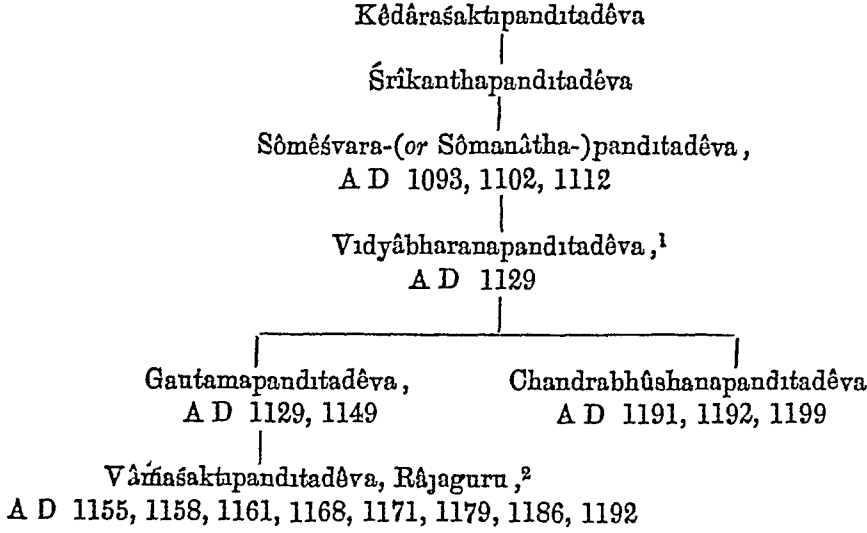
<sup>3</sup> *Mysore Inscr* p 147, [and above, Vol V pp 220 to 226]

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid* pp 74, 77 ff., 80 f., 85 f., 87, 91, 92, 95 f., 99, 101 f., 105 f., 111, 160, 174.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol XIX. p 155 f. The last two inscriptions record grants in favour of the same temple as the present one

<sup>6</sup> Another branch of the lineage of Kālamukha Chakravartimuni at Balagāmve is mentioned *loc. cit* p. 172,

from Sômésvara onwards, with exception, of course, of Chandrabhûshana, were in the service of the temple of Dakshina-Kêdârésvara at Balagâmve



Lines 46 ff contain the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses, and the inscription ends with the statement that, by order of king Ballâladêva, the *śâsana* was composed by Agnisarman, an emperor among the learned

The date of our inscription corresponds, as shown by Prof Kielhorn, to Saturday, the 21st November A.D 1192, when there was a lunar eclipse visible in India, commencing 0 h 18 m before mean sunrise

Of the localities mentioned, Kratuka is the modern Gadag itself, Lokkigundi, the modern Lakkundi, 5 miles east-south-east of Gadag, and the village of Hombâlalu, the modern Hombal, 7½ miles north-west of Gadag

### TEXT.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti ☉ Trailôkyam pâlyatê yêna sadayam sat[t\*]va-vrittânâ | sa dêvô Yâdu-sârdûlâh Śrī-patîh śrêyasê sstu vah || [1\*]
- 2 Dêvah samasta-sâmantha-mastaka-nyasta-śâsanah | â-chamdr-ârkkam nripah pâyâd-bhuvam=ambhôdhi-mêkhalâm || [2\*]
- 3 Âsît=kshatru kshatriya-pungavânâm<sup>4</sup> śirô-manîh śrī-Yâdu-nâmadhêyah | yad-anvavâyê sa Harir=dhâdha(ddha)ritrî-bhâr-âvatâr-ârttham=ajô=pi jâtah || [3\*] Tad-anvavâyê
- 4 bahavô babhûvur=bhbhu(bbhu)j-ôdbhavâ visruta-kîrtti-bhâjah | ady=âpi lôkê charit-âdbhutâm yêshâm purânêshu pathamti samtah || [4\*] Kâla-kramên=âtha babhûva kaschin=mahî-
- 5 patas=tatra Sal-âbhîdhânah | kulasya kṛtvâ vyapadêsam=anyam vismâritô yêna Yâdus=tad-âdyah || [5\*] Kên=âpi bra(vra)ti-patinâ sva-dêvakâryyê sârdûlâm grastum=upâgatam ni-
- 6 hamtum | âdishtah Śâsakapurê sa hoy=Sal=êti prâpat=tam kila vinihatya Hoysal-âkhyâm || [6\*] Tatah-prabhriti tad-vamê pravrittam Hoysal-âkhyayâ | sârdûlâs=cha dhvaja-

<sup>1</sup> Vidyâbharana is once called the younger brother of Sômésvara, *ibid* p 91

<sup>2</sup> A pupil of Vâmasâkti was probably Svâmidêva or Savidêva, of whom in an inscription at Balagâmve dated in A D 1181 it is said that 'his head was marked by the lotus hands of the excellent *muni* Vâmasâktîsa, the Siva seer,' compare *ibid* p 119

<sup>3</sup> From an impression supplied by Dr Fleet

<sup>4</sup> The second *anuvâra* of this word has been drawn out by the engraver into an ornamental figure

- 7 sy=āsīd=amkaḥ śatru-bhayamkaraḥ || [7\*] Aparēṣhu cha tad-rājyam bhuktavatsv=  
ntha rājasu | Vinayāditya ity=āsīt=kramaśah prithivīpatih || [8\*] Eṇeyamg-  
ābhūdhanō śbhūn=nripatī-
- 8 s=tasya ch=ātmajaḥ | gunair=ananya-sāmānyaiḥ prakhyātaḥ prithivī-talē || [9\*]  
Atha tasy=āpi Ballāla-Vishnuvarddhana-nāmakau | abhūtām=ātmajanmānāv=  
Udayāditya-
- 9 paśchimau || [10\*] Tējasvinau bhūta-hita-pravṛttau lōka-pūjītau | yāv=abhāsayatām  
viśvam sūryyā-chandramasāv=iva || [11\*] Rana-śirasi yēna balnā gajapatim=  
ākramya nija-turamgēna [1\*]
- 10 vinipātīya Jagaddēvam sapta-ā[m\*]gam tasya ch=āpahṛitam || [12\*] Tat=āgrajā  
nijam rājyam=upabhuktavati kramāt | anujō=pi chiram rājyam bubhujē  
Vishnuvardhdha(rddha)nah || [13\*] Yō dēśam=agrahā-
- 11 rīkṛtya samastam nijam sva-rājy-ārttham | āchakrām=Ōchchamgi-prabhṛitīn=anyān=  
dvīśad-dēśān || [14\*] Ārabhya nija-nivāsād=Belvola-paryyamtam=ākḥilam=api  
viśayam | ākramya
- 12 yēna dhautam turaga-vapuh Krishnavērnāyām || [15\*] Yah smāryyatē niyuktaiḥ  
pratyupachāram nripēśhv=asādhyatayā | Paramarddīdēva-nripatēr=Hoysalam=ava-
- 13 dhāray=ēti mahuh || [16\*] Yēn=āgrahārāḥ kratavō mahā<sup>1</sup>dānāni śhōdaśa |  
anyāny=api cha punyāni paunahpunyēna chakrurē || [17\*] Narasimha itī  
khyātō jāta-
- 14 s=tasy=ātma-jō nripah | yasya varnāyitum n=aiḥ śakyaṇtē mādrīśair=ggunāḥ  
|| [18\*] Tasya Śrīr=iva Dauty-ārēḥ Śamkarasy=ēva Pārsvati | āsīd=Ēchaladēv=  
iti mahā-dēvi kul-ōdgatā || [19\*]
- 15 ☉ Tēn=āpi tasyām=atula-prabhāvō Vajrēśvar-ārādhana-labdha-rājyaḥ | jātah sūtō  
dōr-vva(bba)la-chakravartī śrī-Vira-Ballāla itī prasīddha(ddha)h || [20\*]  
Mādhyasthyēn=ōnnatyā kāmchana-
- 16 vibhavēna vibudha-sēvyatayā | yō jamgama iva Mīrur=mmahībhṛitām=agranīr=  
jjagatā || [21\*] Śim-ātākrama-bhīrōr=atigambhīrasya vipula-sat[t\*]vasya |  
ratnā-
- 17 karasya yasya cha na kō=pi lakshmīvatōr=bhbbhē(bbhē)daḥ || [22\*] Charitam  
Bharat-ādīnām=api bhuvanō tāvad=ēva bōdya(dhya)m=iha | lōk-ōttarā na  
yāvad=drīśyāntē yasya sādhu-gu-
- 18 nāḥ || [23\*] Vishnau nisargga-siddhdhā(ddhā)m bhaktum<sup>1</sup> yasy=ādya paśyatām  
pumsām | Prahrād-ādī-kathā api na vismayāya prakalpantē || [24\*] Tan=na  
tapas=tan=n=ēśhtam tan=na hutam tan=na dānam=ast=iha | a-
- 19 sakrīn=na yēna vihitam dēśē kālē cha [pā]trē cha || [25\*] Strīśhv=arbbbha-  
(rbbha)kēśhu sūdrēśhv=anyēśhv=api yēśhu kēśhuchīj=jagatī | sō sstī na  
janō vidhattē yah pāpam yatra śāsitarī || [26\*] Shat-tarkka-
- 20 kāvya-nātaka-Vātsyāyana-Bharata-rājanītīshu cha | anyēśhu tēśhu tēśhu cha  
śāstrēśhv=akḥilēśhu yah kuśalah || [27\*] Sarvvēśhu darśanēśhu cha bhuvī  
tārkkika-chakravartīnō
- 21 yasya | n=aiḥ=āstī pratīvādī vādi-mada-dvirada-kēsarīnaḥ || [28\*] Sarvv-āyudh-  
ājīva-puraḥsarēna samasta-vidvaj-jana-vallabhēna | śāstrāni śāstrāni cha yēna  
lōkē sa-
- 22 nāthātām=adya chrād-gatāni || [29\*] Yan-nāmadhēyam=api viśva-[vī]lāsīnām  
lōkē vasīkarana-karmmani siddhdha(ddha)mamtrah | tasya pragalbha-vanītā-  
kusumāyudhasya

<sup>1</sup> Originally *bhaktī* had been engraved, but the lower dot of the *visarga* seems to have been effaced



- 23 saubhāgya-varanana-vidhau katamah samartthah || [30\*] Vishvag-vāṇ-khura-prahāra-  
dalita-kshōnī-tala-prōchchaladh-dhūlī-dhvāmta-mimilit-ākhila-diśī<sup>1</sup> dvamdva-  
pradōsh-āgamē | dūt-i-
- 24 v=ātipatiyāsī muhur=īha svas-sumdarībhiḥ samam virānām=ābhīsāranam vitanutē  
yat-khadga-yashtir=dvishām || [31\*] Śaśvad=yat-sama\* āvatāra-pisunēshv=  
ābanyamā-
- 25 nēshv=itas=tūryyēshu sva-pati-prauśā-chakitāḥ kshubhyanty=arāti-striyah | apy=  
ētāḥ subhata-svayamvara-kritē mamdāra-mālām=itō hastābhyām pangrihya nāka-
- 26 vanitāḥ sapibhavanty=ambarē || [32\*] Yasmin=Hoysala-bhūmipāla-dharanī-sāmrājya-  
simhāsanaḍ=ārūdhē satī matta-vāranapatēr=yyudhdhā(ddhā)ya pūrvv-āsanam |  
sadya[h\*] sva-
- 27 sva-kula-kram-āgata-mahī-sāmrājya-simhāsanaḍ=pratyartthi-kshatipālakaur=apī ranē  
valmīkam=āruhyatē<sup>2</sup> || [33\*] Yasmin=dig-vijay-ārttham=udyatavati prasthāna-  
bhērī-ravē
- 28 gambhīrē sphutam=uchcharaty=avanibhrītsv=anyēshu vārtt=aiva kā [\*] dūrād=  
Amga-Kalunga-Vamga-Magadhās=Chōlās=tathā Mālavāḥ Pāṇḍyāḥ Kērala-Gūrjara-  
prabhrītayō=py=ujjhanti sadyō dhri-
- 29 tam || [34\*] Nyakkārēna pituh śriyam Kalachuri-kshatr-ānvayāt=karshatā yēn=  
aikēna hi tūbarēna karinā shashtir=jjitā dantinām | tam cha Brahma-  
chamūpatim gaja-ghat-ā-
- 30 vashṭabdhā-sanyam hathād=yēn=āsvair=apī kēvalaur=bhbhu(bbhu)ja-bri(bhṛi)tā  
nirjitya rājyam hrītam || [35\*] Uchchhīdyā Jaitrasimham dakṣiṇam=iva  
tasya Bhūllamasya bhujam | virēna yēna labdham Kuntala-dēs-ādhi-
- 31 patyam=apī || [36\*] ☉ Sa cha samastabhuvanāśraya-śrīprithvīvallabha-  
mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhattachāraka-Dvārāvati p u r a v a r ā d h ī ś v a r a -  
Yādavakulāmbaradyu-
- 32 manī-samyaktvachūdāmanī-malaparolgamda-kadanaprachamda-asahāyāsūra-ēkāmga v i r a -  
śanivārasidhdhi(ddhi)-guridurggamalla-chaladamkaRāma-ity-ādi-samasta-prasasta-n ā m -  
āvali-vi-
- 33 rājamāna[h\*] śrīmat-pratāpachakravartī-śrī-Vira-Ballāḷa-dēvō Lokkigumdi-nivēsita-  
vijayaskamdhāvārah || ☉ Asti Svayambhūh Kratuk-ābhīdhānē grāmē  
Trikūtēsvara-
- 34 nāmadhēyah [\*] Śivah samasta-kshatipāla mauli-mani-prabhā-rampita-ramya-pīthah  
|| [37\*] Tasya sthān-āchāryyah Kālamukh-āchāryya-samtatī-prabhavaḥ |  
Siddhdhām(ddhām)tichamdrabhūshanapam-
- 35 dīadēv-ābhīdhō ssti munih || [38\*] Tam Trikūtēsvaram dēvam limgais=taiḥ  
sthāvarais=tribhiḥ | jamgamēna samam yēna chatuḥkūtēsvaram<sup>3</sup> viduh || [39\*]  
Satata-śarīr-ārddha(rddha)-sthita-Gaurī-bhrīśa-samgamā-
- 36 d=vadhūshv=adya | Śiva iva virajyamānō yō bhāti brahmacharyyasthah || [40\*]  
Yas=cha || Kula-śailēshu chalatsv=apī maryyādām=atipatatsu simdhushu cha |  
satyam na Satyavakya-dvītiya-
- 37 nāmā parityajati || [41\*] Anyatra kāhya(vya)-nātaka-Vātsyāyana-Bharata-rājanīty-  
ādau | [n=ai]va kathā-siddhdhā(ddhā)ntēshv=akhlēshv=apī yasya n=āsti samah  
|| [42\*] Yēna cha || Ādīśyēta kada-

<sup>1</sup> Read *prōchchhalad-dhūlī*, compare *Kathāsaritāgāra*, 101, 291 *gūḷpha daghn-ochchhalad dhūlav* (*lādrāgrīhē*)

<sup>2</sup> Compare Mr Pice's *Inscr in the Mysore District*, Part II p 206, line 7, and, as pointed out to me by Prof. Kielhorn, *Ind Ant Vol. XIV* p 69, l. 18

<sup>3</sup> Read *chatuḥkūṭ*

- 38 chid=visrāmō vārdhau taramgāpām | na tv=ēva kṛipā-bhājā pradiyamānē śnatām  
sat[t\*]rē || [43\*] Annēn=aiva na kēvalam=api tu suvarn-aushadh-āmbu-  
vastr-ādyah | antō n=āsti ja-
- 39 nānām nīrantaram tarpyamānām || [44\*] Yēna ch=ātra sthānē || Udhdhri-  
(ddhri)tya jīrnam=akhlam nirmāya cha nūta[m] puram ramyam |  
dēv-āntikam=āntā vēśyā-vithi sthitā paratah || [45\*]
- 40 Amrit-ōpama-pānīya-pūrnā pushkaranī<sup>1</sup> kṛitā | vanam cha Nandana-[sām]yam nānā-  
pushpa-latā-vṛitam || [46\*] Kim jalpitēna bahunā grāva-prākāra-valaya-bāhyam=i-  
41 ha | yad=yat=samasti tat=tat=samastam=api tasya nirmānam || [47\*] © Tasya  
bhagavataś=charāchāra-gurōh śrī-Svayambhū-Trikūtēśvara-dēvasy=ānga-ramga-bhōga-  
khamda-sphutita-jīrnn-ōdhdhā(ddhā)-
- 42 r-ādy-arttham vidyā-dān-ārtham[m] tapōdhana-brāhman-ādi-bhōjan-ādy-arttham[m] cha  
Belvola-trisat-āntarggata-Hombālu-nāmadhēya-grāmam pūrvva-prasidhdha(ddha)-  
sīmā-samanvītam mḍhi-nikshēpa-
- 43 jala-pāshān-ārām-ādi-sahitam trībhōg-ābhya[m]taram=ashtabhōga-tējah-svāmīya-yuktam  
śulka-dāmd-ādi-sakala-dravy-ōpārjan-ōpētam Śakanripakāl-ātita-samvatsara-śa-
- 44 tēshu chaturddas-ādhiśv=ēkādāśasu amkatō=pi 1114 varttamāna-  
Paridhāvi-samvatsar-āntarggata-Mārggaśirsha-paurāṇamāsyām Śanaśchāra-  
vārō sōma-grahanē tasya Kālamukh-ā-
- 45 chāryya-Somēśvaradēva-praśishyasya Vidyābharanadēva-śishyasya Satyavākya-āpara-  
nāmadhēyasya śrīmad-āchāryya-Siddhā(ddhā)ntichamdrabhūshanapamditadēvasya  
pāda-prakshā-
- 46 lana[m] kṛitvā rājā rājakiyair=apy=anamguliprēkshanīyam sarvvanamasyam kṛitvā  
dhārā-pūrvvakam bhaktyā dattavān || © Asya cha dharmasya samrakshanē  
phalam=ida-
- 47 m=udaharanti sma tapō-mahīma-sākshātkṛita-dharmma-sthitayō Manv-ādayō mah-  
arshayah || Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājābhīh Sagar-ādibhīh | yasya
- 48 yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam || Ganyantē pāmsavō bhūmīr=  
gganyantē vṛishti-bumdevah | na ganyatē Vidhāt=āpi dharmma-samrakshanē  
phalam || Apaha-
- 49 ratah samarthasy=āpy=udasīnasya tair=ēva viparitam=api phalam=udāhṛitam || Sva-  
dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasumdhārām | shashtim varsha-sahasrāni  
vissthā-
- 50 yām jāyatē kṛimih || Paia-dattām tu yō bhūmim=upahimsēt=kadāchana | sa  
badhdhō(ddhō) vārunah pāsah kshipyatē pūya-sōnitē || Kulāni tārayēt=karttā
- 51 sapta sapta cha sapta cha | adhō śdhah pātayēt=dharttā sapta sapta cha  
sapta cha || Api Gang-ādi-tīrtthēshu hamtur=ggām=atha vā dvijam | nishkrītih  
syān=na dēvasva-brahmasva-hara-
- 52 nē nrinām || Vindhy-ātavishv=atōyāsu śushka-kōtara-śāyinah [1\*] krishna-sarppā  
hi jāyamtē dēva-dravy-āpahārakāh || Karmmanā manasā vāchā yah
- 53 samarthhō=py=upēkshatē | sa syāt=tad=aiva chamdāla[h\*] sarvva-karmma-  
bahishkrītah || Ata ēv=āha Rāmachandrah || Sāmānyō=yam dharmma-sētūr=  
nripānām kālē kālē
- 54 pālanīyō bhavadbhīh | sarvān=ētān=bhāvinah pārti(rtthi)v-ēmdrān=bhūyō bhūyō  
yāchatē Rāmachandrah || Mad-vamśajāh para-mahīpa-
- 55 ti-vamśajā vā pāpād=apēta-manasō bhuyā bhāvi-bhūpāh | yē pālayanti mama  
dharmmam=imam samagram tēshām mayā virachitō smjalir=ēsha
- 56 mūrdhni || © Ballāladēva-nripatēr=ādēśād=Agnīśarmmanā rachitā | śāsana-  
padhdha(ddha)tir=ēshā śārasvata-sārsvabhāumēna(na) ||

<sup>1</sup> Read *pushkarinī*, but compare Pāli *poṭṭharanī*.

No 11 — NILGUND INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF AMOGHAVARSHA I ;  
A D 866

By J F FLEET, ICS (RETD), PH D, C I E

This inscription is now brought to notice for the first time And I edit it from an ink-impression obtained by me in 1887 I edit it, partly because it is interesting in itself, and partly because it is closely connected with the Sirûr inscription, of the same date, of which a version has been given by me in the *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 215 ff A revised version of the latter record will be given shortly, in the course of some papers which will illustrate the development of the alphabet of the Kanarese country during the ninth century A D<sup>1</sup> And it is convenient to publish the Nilgund record first, because, as far as the words *Anniqereyol=ire* in line 22, it was based on the same draft on which was based the same part of the Sirûr record, and, though on the one hand parts of it could hardly have been deciphered without the help of the Sirûr record, on the other hand it supplies a few *aksharas* which are illegible in the Sirûr record and could not be supplied from any other source

Nilgund is a village about twelve miles S W  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. from Gadag, the head-quarters of the Gadag tâluka of the Dhârwar district It is shewn in the Indian Atlas sheet No 41 (1852) as 'Neelgoond' The modern form of the name is carried back to A D 1379 by the Dambal grant of that year, which mentions the place, in Nâgarî characters and in a Sanskrit verse, as Nilagunda<sup>2</sup> The present record gives its name in the older form of Nîrgunda,<sup>3</sup> the purport of it places Nîrgunda in a circle of villages known as the Mulgunda twelve, which, again, it places in the Belvola three-hundred district, and Mulgunda, from which the circle took its name, is, of course, the modern Mulgund, about two miles on the south-east of Nilgund The inscription is on a stone tablet which was found standing in front of the house of Angadi-Râchappa, in the village of Nilgund

At the top of the stone there are sculptures, of which the principal ones are the goddess Lakshmî, squatting and facing full-front, with an elephant, on each side, standing towards her the tips of the trunks of the elephants, which are uplifted, meet above her head, and each of them holds something which may be either a flower or a water-pot or some sacred symbol, and above them, and perhaps supported by them, there is a smaller image representing probably Vishnu, squatting and facing full-front Below the figure of Lakshmî, there is a *svastika* On the proper right of the latter, there are a cow and a calf, and on the proper left, two objects which, in the sketch submitted to me, look like a thick-set bush and a flowering plant, each in a tub or stand — The writing covers an area about 3' 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by 5' 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high Lines 1 to 15 are in a state of fairly good preservation Lines 16 to 25 have suffered a great deal of damage, and there are many syllables here, in addition to those which I have placed in square brackets, which could hardly have been deciphered with any certainty, if at all, without the help of the Sirûr inscription Lines 26 to 35, also, are considerably damaged, but not to the same extent — The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed They are of a good antique square and upright style, presenting an appearance much older than that of the characters of the Sirûr inscription, of the same date, of which a collotype will be published hereafter And the size of them ranges from about  $\frac{3}{4}$ " in the *ya* of *traya*, line 12, to about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ "

<sup>1</sup> See a remark made on page 74 above

<sup>2</sup> *Jour Bo Br R As Soc* Vol XII p 357, text line 129

<sup>3</sup> The dental *nd* can be recognised clearly in the impression, both in *Nîrgundada*, line 26, and in *Mulgunda*, line 2, and it is, of course, exactly what we should expect The Nilgund inscription of A D 982, however, for some reason or other gives the name as Nîrgunda, with the lingual *nd* (above, Vol IV p 206, text line 20)

in the *la* of *Kulappayyam*, line 22 Only the first part of the ink-impression, containing lines 1 to 13, is suitable for reproduction, and here the largest *akshara* seems to be the *kā* of *kānt-īndu*, line 3, which is about 2½" high The record uses final forms of *t* in line 16, of *n* in lines 28 and 33, of *r* in line 27, and of *l* in lines 25 and 27 (twice) And it marks, in the usual way, the difference between the lingual *d* and the dental *d*, this can be recognised in the *dā* of *Gaudān*, line 6, though the *akshara* is somewhat damaged As regards palaeography, the record, which belongs to the transitional period, favours the older rather than the later types, not only in general style, but also in details The *lh* occurs twice in *lkhitam*, line 35, it is somewhat damaged, and it is difficult to decide whether we have there an old square *lh* rather loosely formed, or a later cursive *lh*, but in the *lha* of *saṃkha*, line 12, No 14, we have clearly the later cursive character The *j* is damaged and undeterminable in *vijaya*, line 19, and *rājyābhivridhī*, line 20, but in every other instance it is unmistakably the old square *j*, of the closed form, and there is no reason to infer anything else from such marks as are discernible in lines 19 and 20 in the lithograph, the intended form of the character is recognisable best in the *ja* of *dhirāja*, line 9, No 22. The *n* occurs three times, in *ōtunga*, line 13 (the last *akshara* but one), and *Nripātunga*, line 17, and *samtatsaranga*, line 19-20 in each instance, it is damaged and not determinable with certainty, but such marks as are recognisable, indicate that in each case it follows the usual rule which connects it with the *j*, and is of the old square type, with the closed form The *b* is damaged and undeterminable in *baram*, line 17, and *bbrāhmanarumam*, line 29, but in every other instance it is unmistakably the old square *b*, of the closed form, and there is no reason to infer anything else from such marks as are discernible in lines 17 and 29 the intended form of the character is recognisable best in the *bā* of *labdha*, line 3, No. 24 The *l* is damaged and undeterminable in *Lattalūra*, line 16, *Lakṣmīvallabhendra*, line 17, *salutt-ire* and *kālātīta*, line 18, *salutt-ire*, line 20, *Kulappayyam*, line 24, *kālam*, line 26, and *lālē kālē pālānīyō*, line 34 in the *li* of *mandalīlarkhālā*, line 10, No 23, and in the *lā* of *lāñchanam*, line 16, we have the later cursive *l*, and so also in the upper *l* in *vallabhō*, line 5, *ella*, line 12, and *lallam*, line 35, but in every other instance we have unmistakably the old square *l*, and the intended form of it is illustrated very well by the *la* of *alamkritam*, line 3, No 20, the formation of it here exhibits, though not to a very marked extent, the prolongation, with a sweep to the right, of the downstroke that makes the end of the letter, which (as will be shewn more clearly hereafter) had been the first step in the development of the later cursive type — As regards the language, we have Sanskrit ordinary verses in lines 1 to 8, and Sanskrit benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 30 to 35, with, among them, a verse in praise of the god Vishnu which seems rather out of place there, the remainder of the record is in Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose The record uses two words which are not included in dictionaries, namely, in line 10, *prātirāja*, employed in the sense of *prātirāja*, 'a hostile king',<sup>1</sup> and in line 24, *rājākravita*, for which the best translation seems to be 'a royal decree'<sup>2</sup> In *Vāranāsiyul*, line 27, we have the locative ending *ul*, which, in genuine records, is of sufficiently rare occurrence, as compared with the endings *ol* and *al*, to be

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol III p 104 I owe this reference to Prof Kielhorn

<sup>2</sup> The word *rāja kravita*,— or *rājā kravita*, as sometimes written, and perhaps in the present record, but wrongly,— means, literally, 'caused to be heard by the king, spoken by the king' It has been met with before, in an inscription of the period A D 680 to 696 at Balagāmi, where we have *rāja kravitam=āge*, "on a royal decree being (issued)," i.e. "under or in accordance with a royal decree" (*Ind Ant Vol XIX p 145, text line 11-12*), and in an inscription of the period A D 733 to 747 at Aihole, where we have *rajā(ja) kravitam mahājanamum naka(ga)ra kravitarā*, "a decree by the king, a decree by the *Mahājanas* and (the people of) the city" (*id Vol. VIII p 286, text line 4 5*), it may be noted here that, at the end of line 5 of this record, the correct reading is *Vārandasiol*, for *Vārandasiyol* — The *Ādūr* inscription helps to illustrate the term, by giving us [vi]kravita, "having caused to be heard everywhere, having made proclamation" (*Ind Ant Vol XI p 63, text line 7 8*) — We have the same erroneous lengthening of the *a* of *rāja* in *rājā(ja) rakṣitam dharma*, "a religious grant protected by the king," in the *Bēlūr* inscription of A D 1021 or 1022 (*id Vol XVIII p 274, text line 37*)

worth noting<sup>1</sup>—As regards orthography, the only points that present themselves are (1) the use of *r* for *ṛ* in the word *śrīṣṭi*, lines 12 and 33, though everywhere else the vowel seems to be used correctly, and (2) the occasional omission to double a consonant after *r*, in the second *jayat*: line 1, in *Gūjarāś*, line 6, in *ārtham*, line 25, in *brahma-svām*, line 31, and in *nṛpānām*, line 34

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Rāshtrakūta king Amôghavarsha I., who was on the throne from A D 814 or 815 to A D 877 or 878 It mentions him by also the *birudas* of Atiśayadhavala, Lakshmivallabhendra,<sup>2</sup> and Nripatunga His proper name is not yet known But, from the way in which his sovereignty is likened to the sovereignty of the god Vishnu, and from the attribution to him, in that passage of the *biruda* Lakshmivallabhendra or “chief among the husbands or favourites of Lakshmi or Fortune,” and of the epithet *surāsuramardana* or “subduer of gods and demons,” which would hardly be appropriate in any ordinary description of a king, it seems likely that his name either was Narāyana or Vishnu or else was a name beginning with the word Vishnu It mentions an officer of his named Dēvannayya, who,—residing at Annigere,<sup>3</sup> which is the modern Annigere

<sup>1</sup> The following other instances, the dates of which are known or can be fixed approximately, may usefully be put together here, from genuine records, and from others for questioning which there are no *prima facie* grounds *Varanāśvadul*, *Ind Ant* Vol XIX p 145, line 13, at Balagāmi, of the period A D 680 to 696 and, in line 15 of the same record, *elpattarūlam*, in which we have the copulative or emphatic ending *am* after the *ul* *Tir-galul*, *pīrnnamāsādul*, *viśvupādul*, *gānadul*, and *Vārandāsiyul*, *Ind Ant* Vol VIII p 285, lines 2 to 5, at Aihole, A D 708 *Ūrul* and *okkalul*, *Ep Carn* Vol III, My 55, at Varuṣa, A D 765 to 805 *Okkalul* again, *Ep Carn* Vol IV, Hg 93; at Matakere, about A D 783 *Ma(ṛmā)cindilarul* and *nāyakarul*, *Ind Ant* Vol X p 39, No 2, lines 6, 8, at Gulgaṇpode, A D 850 to 900, or somewhere thereabouts *Paṭṭādul*, *besādul*, and *kōṭeyul*, *Ep Carn* Vol. III, Nj 75, at Husukūru, A D 870 71 *Nādīnūl*, *Ep Carn* Vol IV, Hg. 103, at Kattēmanuganahalli, A D 870 71 to about A D 903 *Nādul*, *Ep Carn* Vol III, Nj 134; at Nandigunda, A D 1021, and further on in this record we seem to have a very exceptional locative, *baḍagalaḷu* or *budagalaḷ*—We can now recognise *alle*, as a development of the *ul*-ending, in *Maṅgalūlle*, “at (the village of) Maṅgal,” in *Ind Ant* Vol X p 103, line 8, at Mahākūta, A D 695 to 733 34 And we have the same ending presented in *sanghadūlle* and *Kālcappinulle*, in *Inscrs at Śrav-Bel* Nos 31, 34, date not yet fixed

<sup>2</sup> See page 106 below, note 2

<sup>3</sup> This name occurs in line 22 of the text In other ancient records, as far as they have come under my notice, it is always written with the lingual *nn*,—Annigere, and the vowel is sometimes marked long,—Annigere A half-Sanskritised form, in which *taḍḍa* is substituted for *Lere*, occurs in a verse in a record of not long after A D 1176 (*Inscrs at Śrav-Bel* No 42) the transcription gives there, also, the lingual *nn*, and the metre marks the vowel as short,—Annitaṣṭa Whatever may be the explanation of the use of the dental *nn* in the present record and in the Śirūr inscription, we may take it as tolerably certain that the more correct form of the name was always that with the lingual *nn* The vowel, no doubt, was liable to be used either short or long—As regards the etymology, the first component of the name may be a proper name, or it may be a variant of *anne* (1), ‘excellence, purity,’ or of *anne* (3), = *an* (3), which occurs in *ānīkallu*, ‘a hailstone,’ and (see, particularly under *ān*, 1) may perhaps mean ‘water, cloud, or rain,’ or it may quite possibly stand for *ḥannu*, ‘the sunflower,’ which we have in the name Hānnikeri (see further on in this note), on the analogy of *ōgu* for *hogu* (above, Vol. V p 262) With the dental *nr*, there does not seem to be any word *an*, and the words *anne* (1), (2), and (3), do not give any suitable meaning—As regards the modern form, the compilation *Bornby Places and Common Official Words*, issued in 1878, certifies it as ‘Annigēri,’ with the lingual *nn* and the long *i* but I feel tolerably certain that, in giving *gēri*, = *lēri*, ‘a street,’ instead of *gere*, = *kere*, ‘a tank,’ it does not even represent any correct modern custom outside official circles, for, to the best of my remembrance, the inhabitants of the town always pronounce the name as Annigere The Indian Atlas sheet No 41 (1852) has ‘Anigereee,’ which rather suggests that the writer was thinking of *giri*, ‘a hill’ The Map of the Dharwār Collectorate (1874) has ‘Annebgeree,’ which suggests that the person who then took down the name, heard, correctly, *gere* The Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879) has ‘Annigēri’ And the Dhārwar volume (1884) of the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency* uses that same form, e.g pp 389, 440, 650, 651—In connection with the official certification of the modern name as ‘Annigēri,’ I may add the following remarks, which will be of use in respect of some other names also In the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency, there is a constant tendency to substitute *i* for the final *e* of nominal bases and verbal roots,—for instance, *mane*, ‘a house,’ will just as often, if not more frequently, be written *manī*, and *kare*, ‘to call,’ often becomes *karī*, for conjugational purposes, also, the old character *r* has passed out of use altogether, and the mark which distinguishes the long *i*, *ē*, and *ō*, is rarely, if ever, used in writing The result is that a nondescript word *lēri* is

or Annigere, about twelve miles west of Gadag,— was governing the Belvola three-hundred district. And it mentions also a relative of Dēvannayya, probably named Kulappayya, who was governing the circle of villages known as the Mulgunda twelve. The object of it is to record an assignment of the tax on clarified butter or ghee. The assignment was made under

used to represent, indifferently, either *kere* (*kere*), 'a tank,' or *kēri*, 'a street,' and it is impossible to decide which it represents, as the final of a place name, unless one can hear the name pronounced by a resident of the village itself, or can find it in an ancient record. In cases in which I have been unable to ascertain whether the real termination is *kere* or *kēri*, I have used that nondescript word *kēri*, as a reminder to myself that the name has not been determined, and it is for that reason that I have written, for instance, Kaṭṭageri, Bendigeri, and Haṇṇikeri (*Dyn Kan Distrs* pp 448, note 1, 526, 556). There is, perhaps, more trouble with the words *kere* and *kēri* than in any other detail. But no one, who has not tried it in person, can realise how difficult it is to get at the really correct and undeniable spelling of many a place name, unless some indication is derivable from an ancient record. My experience is that, among modern publications, the older sheets of the Indian Atlas, though by no means infallible, are in many respects the best guide, in spite of the want of any definite system in them, or rather, because no attempt was made in them to aim, in vain, at any uniformity of system on lines which, at that time, had hardly become definitely fixed even among scholars. The revised sheets are not so useful a guide, because in them (as also in the Bombay Survey sheets) the spelling is adapted to the modern official system. The chief features of this system are, the use of *a*, *ā*, *i*, and *u*, instead of *u*, *a*, *ee*, and *oo*, and the use of *d*, instead of *r*, for the lingual *d*. It would be good enough, if it were in safe hands, that is to say, under the control of someone who could determine the exact correct spelling everywhere, and could enforce the uniform use of it. But it is not in such hands. It frequently gives the long *ā* where it ought to give the short *a*, and *vice versa*. It has a particularly weak point, in failing to make any distinction between the dental *d* and the lingual *d*, which latter usually appears as *r* in the older sheets of the Indian Atlas. It has produced such monstrosities as 'Kānara' and 'Kānarese,'—(supposed to be critical forms),—instead of the purely conventional but thoroughly well established words Kanara and Kanarese. And, as specific instances of the failure of this system in official hands, we may quote, from the Bombay Survey sheet No 272 (1893), Kanvad and Kutvad, which are given there instead of Kanvād and Kutvād, and Shirṭi instead of Shirhatti, and, from sheet No. 239 (1887), Bagni, instead of Bāgni (regarding these names, see *Ind Ant* Vol XXIX p 278 and note 23, p 276, and p 277, note 17). The best way to determine the real name of a place, is, naturally, to make local inquiries in person. And it is, of course, the cultivators and the hereditary village officials,—not the district officials and their clerks,—who can best furnish information as to the true names of their villages. But what they pronounce, has frequently to be written down by an ordinary clerk who takes no real interest in the matter. And that is where all the mistakes come in now, and, apparently, came in in earlier times also.—In illustration of the way in which the cultivators can help towards the identification of ancient places, we may refer to the case of Bāgalkōt in the Bijāpur district. The cultivators call it Bāgadikōte. This name is accounted for, though the exact form of it is not absolutely justified, by the fact that the ancient name of the place was Bāgadagevalōte, Bāgadageyalōte (see *Ep Ind* Vol II p 170). This name, adduced by the cultivators, first put me in the way of identifying Bāgadage with Bāgalkōt. And, in addition to the epigraphic passage which I then quoted, I may now refer to a record of A D 1049 at Sirūr, eight miles on the south east of Bāgalkōt, which mentions *Bāgadagā-rājapatha*, "the highway to Bāgadagā"—In illustration of the way in which the cultivators preserve the real names of places, we may take the case of a village close on the east of Gadag and incorporated with that town for municipal purposes. The name of it is certified in *Bombay Places* as 'Beṭṭigeri,' and, I may add, in the Dhārwar volume of the *Gazetteer* it appears as 'Bettigeri' (pp 712, 713), which illustrates very well the vagaries of official practice. But the cultivators call it Baṭṭgere. And the ancient name occurs as Baṭṭakeṛe in a record of A D 888. In this instance, it happens, the official mistake, of substituting *kēri* for *kere*, is carried back to A D 1379 by the Dambal grant, which mentions the place as Baṭṭageri (*loc cit* in note 2 on page 98 above, text line 125), evidently as the result of an ancient official failing to catch the name correctly, and it may be remarked that the same record also mentions as Kaujageri, in line 126, a neighbouring village, the name of which is found in a record of A D 933 34 as Kovujageri, or possibly Kovujamgere.—I would make, here, a correction in the name of a village in the Karagi tāluka, at which some early Kadamba copper plate grants were obtained (see *Ind Ant* Vol VII p 33 ff). The name of it figures in the Indian Atlas sheet No 42 (1827) as 'Dewgeeree,' and in the Map of the Dhārwar Collectorate (1874) as 'Deogeree,' and in the Postal Directory (1879) as 'Deogiri,' and in the Dhārwar volume (1884) of the *Gazetteer* as 'Devḡiri' (p 665). I was told that the cultivators call the place Dēvageri and Dēgere. But I was assured that that is a mistake, and that the real name is Dēvāgiri. And I, therefore, gave the name as Dēvāgiri in editing the grants in question, and elsewhere (*eg* above, Vol V p 178). Subsequently, I was led to believe that the real name is Dēvageri, and I have used that form in, for instance, *Dyn Kan Distrs* p 287. But I have since then found, from records of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries at the place itself, that the ancient name was Dēvamḡeri,—sometimes perhaps written Dēvāḡeri, without the *anuvāra* in the second syllable. I also notice that the Native gentleman, to whom I was indebted in the first instance for impressions of them, wrote the name, on the first of the impressions, as Dēvāgiri in English characters (according to official custom),

the authority of a *rājaśrāvita* or royal decree<sup>1</sup> of Amôghavarsha I And it was made to the hundred-and-twenty *Mahājanas* of Nirgunda,— doubtless in order to make the proceeds of the tax available for expenditure by them on communal purposes, instead of being credited to the royal revenues<sup>2</sup>

The passages containing the details of the date are partly illegible But enough can be deciphered to shew that the date of this record is the same as the date of the Sirûr record. The full details, then, are an eclipse of the sun on the new-moon day of the month Jyaishta of the Vyaya *samvatsara*, Śaka-Samvat 788, in the fifty-second year of the reign of Amôghavarsha I And the corresponding English date is Sunday, 16th June, A D. 866, when there was a total eclipse of the sun, visible in India, at 9 h 4 min after mean sunrise<sup>3</sup>

#### TEXT.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Om<sup>5</sup> [||\*] Jaya[t]i<sup>6</sup> bhuvana-kāranam Svayambhur=jayati Purandara-nandanô Murârih jayati Giri-
- 2 [s]utâ-niruddha-dêhô durita-bhay-âpaharô Haraś=cha dêvah [||\*] Sa<sup>7</sup> vō=vyâd=Vêdhasâ dhâma yan-nâ-
- 3 [bhi]-kamala[m] kritam Haraś=cha yasya kânt-êndu-kalayâ kam=alamkritam [||\*] Labdha<sup>8</sup>-pratishtam=achirâya
- 4 [Ka]h[m] su-dûrâ(ra)m=utsâryya śuddha-charitô(tai)r=ddharanî-talasya kritvâ punah Kritayuga-śrî(śrî)yam=a-
- 5 [p]y=as[ê]shâm chitram katham Nirupamah Kalivallabhô=bhût [||\*] Prabhûtavarshô<sup>9</sup> Gôvinda-râjâ(jah)<sup>10</sup> śauryyêshu
- 6 vikramah<sup>11</sup> jivâ jagat=samastam yat=Jagattunga iti<sup>12</sup> śrutah [||\*] Kêrala-<sup>13</sup> Mâlava-Gaudân<sup>14</sup>=sa-<sup>15</sup>Gûrjarâ[m]ś=Chī-

but as Dêvagêri in the Mêdi or current Marâthi characters. And I entertain no doubt that what the cultivators really call it, is, not Dêvagere (as reported to me), but Dêvagêri, and that this is the form that ought to be used for the future.

<sup>1</sup> See page 99 above, and note 2

<sup>2</sup> See note 4 on page 107 below

<sup>3</sup> See Prof Kielhorn's result in *Ind Ant* Vol XXIII p 123, No 59, and Von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse*, p 198, No 4939, and Plate 99 — The week day is specified in the Sirûr record, but not here — The Śaka year 788 has to be taken as the expired year for, as pointed out by Prof Kielhorn, by the mean sign system the Vyaya *samvatsara* lasted from the 23rd September, A D 865 (in Ś-S 788 current) to the 19th September, A D 866 (in Ś-S 788 expired), and by the southern lunar-solar system Vyaya was Ś-S 789 current (788 expired), = A.D 866-67, — (as also by the northern system of the same kind).

<sup>4</sup> From the ink impression

Represented by a plain symbol, and so also in lines 9 and 30

<sup>5</sup> Metre, Pushpitâgrâ.

<sup>7</sup> Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh)

<sup>8</sup> Metre, Vasantatilaka

<sup>9</sup> Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh)

<sup>10</sup> The Sirûr inscription, line 3, has precisely the same reading, *Prabhûtavarshô Gôvinda-râjâ* The run of the metre would have been better suited by *Prabhûtavarsha-Gôvindô râjâ*.

<sup>11</sup> Sirûr, line 3, has the same, *śauryyêshu vikramah*, but the *ê* of the *ryyê* was omitted at first and then was added by way of correction It would be difficult to make any sense of *śauryy-êshu-vikramah* 'having heroism-arrow prowess,' and it can hardly be thought that *śauryyêshu Vikramah*, 'a very Vikrama in deeds of heroism,' was intended. I can only suggest that the words are a mistake for *śauryyêna vikramah*, or else that the text is altogether corrupt here

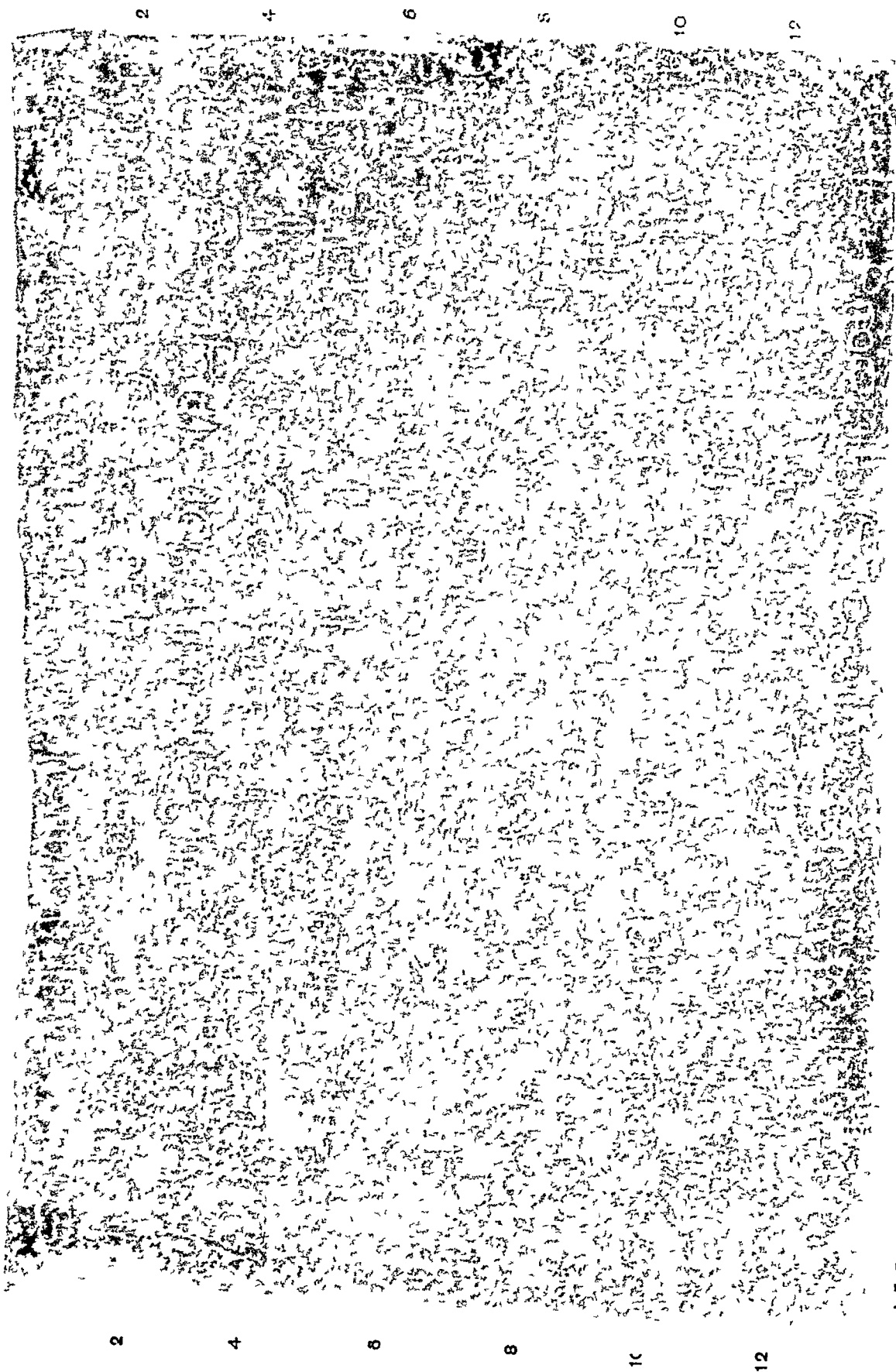
<sup>12</sup> Read *yaj=Jagattunga*, which, however, in view of the past participle *jivâ*, must probably be treated as a mistake for *yô Jagattunga* In Sirûr, line 4, the pronoun was omitted altogether and the reading is [*sama*]*st[am]* *Jagat[ê\*]junga*

<sup>13</sup> Metre, the first two *pâdas* are Âryâgiti, and the last two are Âryâ or, we may say, the verse is an Âryâ-giti, in the last *pâda* of which the metre of an Âryâ has been followed There is a mixture of metres again in the next verse.

<sup>14</sup> Sirûr, line 4, has *Śautân*. In each record, the reading is quite distinct

<sup>15</sup> Sirûr, line 4, has *Gurjarâ* it gives the short *u*, according to the undoubtedly more correct spelling of the name in the second syllable, it omits the *r*, and, — as the writer seems to have intended *Gurjarân* without *samdhî* with the following word, — it omits a final *n*

Nilgund Inscription of Amoghavarsha 1--A D 850



W GRIGGS COLLOTYPE

SCALE 20

J F FLEET





- 7 trakûta-guridu[r]gga-sthân=ba[d\*]dhvâ Kāñch-îsân=atha sa Kirttinârâyanô  
jatah<sup>1</sup> [||\*] Ari<sup>2</sup>-nripati-makuta-ghatti-
- 8 ta-charanas=sakala-bhuvana-vandita-sauryyah Vamg-Ânga-Magadha-Mâlava-Vemg-  
îsé(śai)r=archchitô=Tiśayadhava[lah] [||\*]
- 9 Ôm Svasti Śrî<sup>3</sup> Samadhigatapañchamahâśabda-mahârâjâdhurâja-paramêśvara-bhattâraka  
chatur-udadhi-
- 10 valaya-valayu(yi)ta<sup>4</sup>-sakala-dharâtala-prâtîrâjy<sup>5</sup>-ânêka-mandalikar<sup>6</sup>kalâ kataka-kati-  
sûtra-ku-
- 11 ndala-kêyûra-hârâ[bha]ran-âlamkrita-ganika-sâhasra<sup>6</sup>-châmar-ândhakâr- â d h ô - d i r y y a -  
vuryyamâna<sup>7</sup>-śvi(śvô)-
- 12 t-âtapatra-traya-kalaha-kâhala<sup>8</sup>-śamkha-pâldhvaj-ôru<sup>9</sup>kêtu-patâk-âchchhâdita-d i g a n t a r -  
ella sri(sri)shti-
- 13 sênâpati puravara-talavargga-dandanâyaka-sâmant-âdy-ânêka<sup>10</sup>-vishaya - v i n â m [n]-<sup>11</sup>  
ôttu[n]ga-[k]-
- 14 rîta-makuta-ghrishta-pâdâravinda-yugma nirjita-v[ai]ri ripu-nivaha-Kâla-danda dushta-  
mada-bha[m]janan<sup>12</sup>=a-
- 15 mōgha-Râmam para-chakra-pañchânanam sur-âsura-marddanam vairi-bhaya-[ka]ram  
badd[e]-ma[nô]haram a[bh]umâna-
- 16 man[d]iram Ratta-vamś-ôdbhava[m] Garuda-lâncha(ñchha)nam<sup>13</sup> tiv[ī]li-  
pareghôshana[m] Lattalûra-p[u]ra-paramêśvara[m] śrîmat

<sup>1</sup> Sirûr, line 5, has *jagati*, which was then corrected into *jagati*

<sup>2</sup> Metre, the first two *pâdas* are Âryâ, and the last two are Udgitî, or we may say, the verse is an Âryâ, in the last *pâda* of which the metre of an Udgitî has been followed

<sup>3</sup> Sirûr, line 6, omits the Ôm and the Śrî

<sup>4</sup> Sirûr, line 7, also has *yuta* — Prof Kielhorn has given me, from the *Dakṣaśmāraśaṅkṛita*, the quotation *ratnâkara vâlâ mēkhâlâ-valayita dharaṇi*, which suggests that the original source of the draft used in this record had *chatur udadhi vâlâ valayita*, etc Compare, in some respects, lines 1, 2 of the Bîtûr record (page 48 above)

<sup>5</sup> Sirûr, line 8, also has *prâtîrâjy*

<sup>6</sup> Read *ganikâ sahasra*

<sup>7</sup> Sirûr, line 9, has *ândhakâra vâdyaya tîyya mana* The words *tîrya*, 'bravery, or heroism,' and *mâna*, 'pride,' seem altogether inappropriate in this passage And I can only suggest that the intended reading was *ândhakâra-dêdîpyamâna*, or else that there may have been meant *dôdhâpyamâna*, "being waved to and fro like fans," which we have in line 47 of the Kadaba grant (above, Vol IV p 342), applied, however, to *chauris*, not to white umbrellas

<sup>8</sup> Sirûr, line 9, omits this word, *îdhala*.

<sup>9</sup> The reading is quite distinct here And it can be recognised, now, that in Sirûr, line 7, the writer or engraver first formed, instead of *ru*, the *k* of *kêtu*, and then, before attaching the *ê*, corrected the *k* into *r*, and then added the *u* This disposes of the *ôkakêtu*, the "banner of a bird, or bird ensign," which I thought was indicated by the Sirûr inscription

<sup>10</sup> Sirûr, line 10, has the same reading, *âdy ânêka* In each record, the reading is quite distinct *Âdy ânêka* would be more in accordance with custom But the use of *âdya* instead of *adî* in such a combination, though somewhat unusual, is hardly to be treated as a mistake

<sup>11</sup> In Sirûr, line 10 11, the reading is very clear,—*vishaya vinâmn oltunga*, except that the *vi* of *vinâmn* is rather intermediate between *vi* and *dhî* And the reading is equally certain here, though the subscript *n* of *vinâmn* is a good deal damaged We might accept *vinâmnâ* as a mistake for the usual Sanskrit word *vinamra*, 'bent down,' etc, or for a word *vinamna* which might be justified by the use of *namna* by Kanarese authors as an equivalent of *namra*, 'bowing, bent,' etc (see Kittel's Kannada English Dictionary, under *namna* and *namnî-kṛita*, and I think that I have met with either *namna*, *nâmnâ*, or *vinâmnâ* in Kanarese records, though I cannot at present find the passages). But, as has been pointed out to me by Prof Kielhorn, no such word would give any suitable meaning here, and what is needed after *âdy ânêka* is some expression meaning 'chief or ruler of a district' I am inclined to think, therefore, that what was really intended was *vishay âdhimâth oltunga*.

<sup>12</sup> From this point, the present record,— and the Sirûr inscription also,— pays more attention to the case endings of the nominatives in *a*, which are disregarded altogether in the preceding part of this passage Sirûr, line 11-12, has here a reading which indicates that there was intended there *bhañyanan amôgha*, without *sañdhî*

<sup>13</sup> Sirûr, line 13, has the same mistake, *ñcha* for *ñchha*

- 17 Amôghavarsha<sup>1</sup>-Nripatu[n]ga-nâm-â[m]kita-[La]kshmîva[lla]bhêndra<sup>2</sup> chandr-  
âditya-kalam-[baram]<sup>3</sup> [ma]hâ-Vishn[u]va rājyam-bol=uttar ôttaram<sup>4</sup>
- 18 rājy-âbhi[vri]ddhi sa[l]utt-ire Śaka-nripa-kâ[l-â]tita-samvatsara-sata[m]gal=êl-n[ûr-  
enbhatt-enta]<sup>5</sup>neya Vyaya-[samva]tsara[m] pra-
- 19 [va]rtise [śri]ma[d-A]môghava[rsha]-Nri[pa]tu[m]ga-[nâm-âmkitanâ vijaya-  
râ]jya-pravarddhamâna-samvatsa[ra]-
- 20 [n]gal=ayva[tt-eradum=uttar-ô]<sup>6</sup>ttaram [rājy-âbhi v r i d d h i<sup>7</sup> s a l ] u [ t t - i ] r e  
A[ti]śa[yadha]vala-narê[n]d[ra]-dê[va]<sup>8</sup>-prasâda[dind=A]-
- 21 môgha[varsha]-dêva-p[â]dapa[m]kaja-[bhra]mara[m] viśishta-ja[n-âśra y a n = a ] p p a  
śrîmad-Dêvannayyam Belvo[la]-
- 22 mûnûruman=âluttum Anni<sup>9</sup>geroyol=ire â[ta]na ma[y]du[nam] Kulappayya[m]<sup>10</sup>  
Mulgunda-pa-
- 23 nneraduman=âlutt-ire ta[d-a]ntargata<sup>11</sup>-Jyêshta<sup>12</sup>-mâsada krish[n]a-pakshad=  
amâseyu[m]<sup>13</sup> sûryya-graha-
- 24 namum=âgri<sup>14</sup> Ku[lappa]yya[m]-binnapa[m]-g[e]yye Dêvannayya[m] Amôgha-  
varshadêvarol rāja(Ṗjâ)-śrâ-
- 25 vitam-mâdî tad-anuma[ta]dind=irvvorum mâtâ[pi]tri . . . . .<sup>15</sup>m-â[r]tham  
[p]unyam=âg[ly=â] grahanado[l]
- 26 Nîrggundada nûr-irpadimbarum mahâjanada kâ[la]m kalchi tuppa-dereya[m]  
sa-bhôga-sâda(dha)-
- 27 kam-âgî bitto[r] [||\*] î dharmmama[m] k[â]dom Vâranâsiyul sûryya-grahanadol  
sâsira kavile-
- 28 yam vêda-vidarkkal=appa brâhmanarkkalge kotta punya-phalaman=a(Ṗe)yduvon idan=  
alid-unt-[â]vañ
- 29 sâsira kavileyum<sup>16</sup> sâsi[r]vvar=[bbr]âhmanarumam Vâranâ[s]iyuman=alida pañcha-  
mahâpâka-

<sup>1</sup> Read *śrîmad Amôghavarsha* Sirûr, line 13, omits the *Amôghavarsha* here, and has *śrî Nripatunga*

<sup>2</sup> Sirûr, line 14, has the same reading, *vallabhêndra* But the construction requires the genitive, *valla-  
bhêndrana* or *vallabhêndranâ*

<sup>3</sup> Sirûr, line 14, has *chandr âditya kâlam varegam* In the present record, there are only two *aksharas*  
after *kâlam*, both much damaged The first of them seems to be *ba*, rather than *va* The second of them may be  
*ram*, in which case *ḍaram* was written, quite correctly, or it may be *gañ* in which case *ḍagam* was written by  
mistake for *baregam*

<sup>4</sup> Sirûr, line 14, divides the words, and has *rājyam-bol uttar ôttaram*

<sup>5</sup> The *aksharas* given here in square brackets are supplied entirely from Sirûr, line 15 But there is no doubt  
about the correctness of them, as the name of the *samvatsara* is quite recognisable, and so also are the other  
details in line 23

<sup>6</sup> The preceding note applies here also

<sup>7</sup> Sirûr, line 17, gives *rājy abhivṛddhi*, and the same seems to have been the reading here also But we  
require in this place the instrumental *rājy abhivṛddhiyām* The nominative seems to have been carelessly repeated  
from line 18 above, where it is quite correct

<sup>8</sup> Sirûr, line 17, omits the *dêva*

<sup>9</sup> Sirûr, line 19, makes *samdhî*, and has *âluttum=Anni* As regards the *nni*, which is quite distinct here as  
well as in the Sirûr inscription, but is probably a mistake for *nni*, see page 100 above, note 3

<sup>10</sup> Both here, and in line 24, there seems to be the vowel *u* attached to the *k* But the name may perhaps be  
*Kalappayya*, or even *Kâlappayya*

<sup>11</sup> Read *tad varsh ântargata*

<sup>12</sup> Read *Jyêshta*, or, more correctly, *Jyaishta*

<sup>13</sup> Sirûr, line 19, has *amaseyūm*, with the short *a* in the second syllable Either form is admissible The  
week day, which is specified in the Sirûr inscription, is omitted here

<sup>14</sup> Sirûr, line 19, has the infinitive form *âge*, instead of the past participle which we have here

<sup>15</sup> Three *aksharas* are quite illegible in the ink impression here We should expect something like *śrîyô-  
dharm artham*, *punya pyâyan artham*, *punya-abhivṛddhy artham*, etc., but none of these expressions adapts itself  
to such traces as are discernible

<sup>16</sup> Read *kavileyumam*, since we have *brâhmanarumam* instead of *brâhmanarum*.

- 30 takan<sup>1</sup>=akkum Ōm [||\*] Vyāsa-vākyam [||\*] Sva<sup>2</sup>-da[ttām] para-dattā[m] vā  
yō harēti<sup>3</sup> vasundharām shashtim varsha-sahasrā-  
31 m visvthâyām j[ā]yatē krmih [||\*] [Dê]va-s[v]am visham=ity=[ā]hur=brahma-  
svam visham=[u]chyatē visham=ēk[ā]knam hanti bra-  
32 hma-sva[m] putra-pautrika[m] [||\*] Brahma-svam pranayād=bhuktivā dahaty=  
ā-saptamam kulam v[1]kramēna [yê] bhôjyantē<sup>4</sup> daśa pû-  
33 rrvân=daś=āvarân [||\*] Jayati [s]thiti-sa[m]hāra-sri(sri)shtikāra[na]-kārana[m]  
Harir=dditiya-kānt-āśya-kuśē[śaya]-himāgama[h] [||\*]  
34 Sāmānyō<sup>5</sup>=yam dharmma-s[ēt]ur=nripā[nām] kâlê]-kâ[lê] pālani[yô] bhavadbhîh  
sarvvân=ētân=bhāvīnah pârthivêndrân=[bhûyô]-  
35 bhûyô yāchatē Rāmabha[drah] [||\*] . . . . .<sup>6</sup> bhattara  
likhitam i kallam Nāgamudda(?)na(?) . . . .<sup>7</sup> [||\*]

## TRANSLATION.

Ōm <sup>1</sup>—(Verse 1, line 1) Victorious is Svayambhu (Brahman), the cause of the world, victorious is Murāri (Vishnu), the son of Puramdara (Indra),<sup>8</sup> and victorious is the god Hara (Śiva), whose body is imprisoned by (*the embraces of*) (Pârvatî) the daughter of the mountain (Himālaya), and who removes sin and fear <sup>1</sup>—(V 2, 1 2) May he (Vishnu) protect you, the water-lily (*growing*) in whose navel is made a habitation by Vêdhas (Brahman), and Hara, whose head is adorned by a lovely digit of the moon <sup>1</sup>

(V 3, 1 3) Since, with his pure actions, he in no long time drove far away from the surface of the earth Kali who had secured a footing there, and made again complete even the splendour of the Krita age, it is wonderful how Nirupama-(Dhruva) became (*also known as*) Kalivallabha <sup>9</sup>

(V 4, 1 5) (*There was his son*)<sup>10</sup> Prabhûtavarsha-Gôvindarāja (III), who, having conquered the whole world by his heroism and deeds of prowess (?),<sup>11</sup> was known as Jagattunga —(V 5, 1 6) Having fettered the people of Kêrala and Mâlava and Gauda, and, together

<sup>1</sup> Read *pâtakan* The *ta* stands in the margin, before the *ka* There are some indications that an attempt was first made to supply the *ta* below the *pā* of the preceding line

<sup>2</sup> Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh), and in the next three verses

<sup>3</sup> Read *harēti-tu*, or *harati*

<sup>4</sup> Read *bhōkshyantē*, or *bhūjantē*

<sup>5</sup> Metre, Śālīnī

<sup>6</sup> Eight or nine *aksharas* are illegible here

<sup>7</sup> Four or five *aksharas* are illegible here

<sup>8</sup> The reading *Purandara nandanō* is quite clear and unmistakable in the present record, and in line 1 of an inscription of A.D. 897-98 at Chichli in the Gadag taluka, and evidently in also the impress of an inscription at Kâlāñjar, referred to "about the eighth century," from which the verse has already been brought to notice by Prof. Kielhorn (above, Vol V p 210, note 3). And it seems impossible to translate the word otherwise than by "son of Puramdara" But, Vishnu was one of the *svayambhu* or self existing gods, the later mythology represents him as the younger brother of Indra, and, as yet, we know of no other statement that would make him a son of Indra, and we know the expression "son of Indra" only as an epithet of the monkey king Vālin, of Arjuna, and of Jayanta

<sup>9</sup> This verse is met with, earlier, in lines 13, 14 of the Wani grant of A.D. 807 (*Ind Ant.* Vol XI p 157), in the description of Dhōra, *ie* Dhruva, and we know from that record that Nirupama and Kalivallabha were *śrūdas* of Dhruva. The *primā facie* meaning of the *śrūda* Kalivallabha would be "favourite of Kali,"—Kali being the personification of the present age But the verse points out that it would be curious that an enemy of Kali should be called the favourite of Kali And, either the *śrūda* means "the favourite of brave men," or else, as has been suggested to me by Dr. Hultsch, we must explain it by taking *Kali* in its meaning of 'dissension, war, battle,' in which case we may render the appellation by "fond of war"

<sup>10</sup> In this and the following two verses, there are no verbs except past participles I supply, in such terms as seem appropriate, that which appears necessary to complete the construction It seems likely that these three verses are detached excerpts from some longer composition, which has not yet come to notice in the records of the dynasty, just as the preceding verse about Nirupama Kalivallabha is an excerpt from the full description of Dhruva given in the Wani grant (see the preceding note)

<sup>11</sup> See page 102 above, note 11.

with the Gûrjaras, those who dwell in the hill-fort of Chitrakûta, and then the lords of Kânchi, he became (*known as*) Kirtinârâyana <sup>1</sup>

(V 6, 1 7) (*And then there came his son*) Atisayadhavala-(Amôghavarsha I), whose feet are rubbed by the diadems of hostile kings (*bowing down before him*), and whose heroism is praised throughout the whole world, and who is worshipped by the lords of Vanga, Anga, Magadha, Mâlava, and Vengi.

(Line 9)—Ôm! Hail! Fortune! While, to an extent ever greater and greater, the increase of the sovereignty of him, Lakshmivallabhêndra,<sup>2</sup> who is distinguished by the name of the glorious Amôghavarsha-Nripatunga,—the *Mahârâjâdhirâja* and *Paramêśvara* and *Bhaîtâraka* who has attained the *pañchamahâśabda*,<sup>3</sup> he who has covered all the territories of the numerous chieftains<sup>4</sup> of the hostile kings, over the whole surface of the earth which is girdled by the belt of the four oceans, with his thousands of courtesans decorated with waistbands and belts round their hips and ear-rings and armlets and necklaces, and with the darkness (*caused by the multitude*) of his *chauris*, and with his very brightly shining (?) three white umbrellas, and with his battle-horns and conches, and with his broad standard of the *pâhîdhvaja*-banner and his (*other*) flags, he who is a born leader of armies, he whose feet, resembling water-lilies, are rubbed by the lofty tiaras and diadems (*bowed down before him*) of *Dandanâyakas* (*in charge*) of capitals and groups of places,<sup>5</sup> and of chieftains and other lords of districts (?), he who has conquered his foes, he who is a very staff of Death to the host of his enemies, he who breaks down the pride of wicked people, he who is a very unfailing Râma, he who is a very lion to the army of his enemies, he who subdues gods and demons, he who causes fear to his foes, he who captivates the minds of truthful women,<sup>6</sup> he who is the habitation of haughtiness, he who has been born in the race of the Rattas, he who has the Garuda-crest, he who is heralded in public with the sounds of the musical instrument called *ṭivili*, (*he who has the hereditary title of*) supreme lord of the town of Lattalûra,—was continuing, like the sovereignty of the great Vishnu, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun might last —

(L 18)—While the Vyaya samvatsara, the seven [hundred and eighty-eighth] of the centuries of years elapsed of the era of the Śaka kings, was current, and while the

<sup>1</sup> *Ie* "a very Nârâyana (Vishnu) in fame" A verse in the description of Gôvinda III in the Baroda grant of A D 811 or 812 presents this *śrûda* in the form of Kirtiparusha (*Ind Ant* Vol XII p 169, text line 24) I then translated it by "the personification of fame" But there is no real authority for that And, on the other hand, Parusha was Vishnu, who, again, was Nârâyana, and the composer of that verse evidently used Kirtiparusha instead of Kirtinârâyana, simply to suit his convenience in framing his lines — The Sirûr version of the verse has, instead of *jatah, jigati*, which was then corrected into *jagati*,—"he (*became known as*) Kirtinârâyana on the earth" The Chûichli inscription of A D 897 98 (mentioned in note 8 on page 105 above), however, presents clearly *jatah*, again And *jâta*, which means ordinarily 'born,' seems to be used here in the meaning of 'happened, become, present, apparent, manifest'

<sup>2</sup> We might take this as simply an epithet, and translate it by "the chief among the husbands or favourites of Lakshmi or Fortune." But various analogies justify us in finding in this word a formal *vallabha* appellation of Amôghavarsha I, which in its simplest form would be Lakshmivallabha

<sup>3</sup> The present passage is one of a limited number in which this epithet is applied to paramount sovereigns Two other instances have been given by me in *Gupta Inscriptions*, p 296, note 9, and a few others will be adduced on some more convenient occasion

<sup>4</sup> The genitive *mandalikarkajâ* seems to be governed by *digantar ella*, the last member of the following compound, rather than by any of the preceding members of it

<sup>5</sup> From *talavarga*, which we have here and in Sirûr, line 10, we have *Talavargin*, which occurs as an official title in Vol IV above, p 253, text line 14

<sup>6</sup> Kittel's Dictionary gives *badde*, 'a truthful woman,' and indicates that it is a feminine form of *badda*, 'firm, true,' which is a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *baddha* The whole word *badde mandhara*,—half Kanarese, half Sanskrit,—is a *viruddha samâsa* (more popularly known as an *arisamâsa*), "an incongruous or improper compound, a compound of heterogeneous words or words dissimilar in kind," which, according to the *Śabdamanidarpana*, sūtra 174, is allowed only when sanctioned by poets of old, as, for instance, especially in *śrûdas*

fifty-[second] of the augmenting years of the victorious reign of him who is distinguished by the name of the glorious Amôghavarsha-Nripatunga was continuing (with) an increase of sovereignty to an extent ever greater and greater —

(L 20)— While, by the favour of his majesty the king Atiśayadhavala, the illustrious Dēvannayya, a very bee on the water-lilies that are the feet of Amôghavarshadēva and a very asylum for excellent people, was dwelling at Annigere,<sup>1</sup> governing the Belvola three-hundred, and while his [brother-in-law]<sup>2</sup> Kulappayya was governing the Mulgunda twelve —

(L 23)— When it was the new-moon day of the dark fortnight of the month Jyēsthā in that [year\*], and when there was an eclipse of the sun,— on Kulappayya making a request, Dēvannayya obtained a royal decree from Amôghavarshadēva,<sup>3</sup> and, with his (Amôghavarsha's) approval, the two of them, for the . . . . . of their parents, in a meritorious manner, at the time of that eclipse, laved the feet of the hundred-and-twenty *Mahājanas* of Nīrgunda, and relinquished<sup>4</sup> (to them) the tax on clarified butter, with a conveyance of the usufruct of it

(L 27)— He who protects this act of religion shall attain the reward of the merit of giving at Vāranāsi, at the time of an eclipse of the sun, a thousand tawny-coloured cows to Brāhmins who know the Vēdas, whosoever destroys this, shall incur the guilt of the five great sins of destroying a thousand tawny-coloured cows and a thousand Brāhmins and Vāranāsi.<sup>16</sup> Ōm! And there is the saying of Vyāsa — (V 7, 1 30) He who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the second syllable of this name, as written here, see page 100 above, note 3

<sup>2</sup> The meanings given to *mayduna* in Kittel's Dictionary, which seem to mark clearly the relationship that is ordinarily intended, are 'a sister's husband, a husband's brother, a wife's brother,' and other meanings are 'a connection, friend, or husband,' and 'a brother's son in his relation to a sister's son' Reeve and Sanderson's Dictionary gives (under *maiduna*, which is the same word) 'the son of a mother's brother, or of a father's sister, or a man's brother in law, if younger than one's self,' and on this authority I have, I think, sometimes translated it by 'cousin'

<sup>3</sup> *Lit.*, "Dēvannayya having made a *rājāśrāvita* on Amôghavarshadēva." For *rājāśrāvita*, 'a royal decree,' see page 99 above, note 2

<sup>4</sup> *Bidu* means 'to let loose, to quit hold, to let go, to leave, to abandon, to give up,' etc, etc We might perhaps understand it to mean here that the tax in question was abolished But the verb is often used, in the ancient records, in the place of *lodu*, 'to give,' that is to say, in the sense of 'to relinquish, to assign,' see, for instance, Vol IV above, p 65, text line 23, and p 353, lines 21, 34, and Vol V p 25, lines 25, 26, 28, and *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 127, line 12, and Vol XII p 225, line 19, p 256, line 18, and p 271, line 17-18 and the causal *bīḍu* occurs in the sense of 'causing to relinquish, assign, or allot,' in *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 225, line 10 The expression *sa bhoga sādhakam āgi*, "in a manner accomplishing or effecting the enjoyment, with a conveyance of the usufruct," seems to shew clearly that it must be taken in that sense here And there are three other references to the same matter, of the same period, one of which distinctly specifies a grant of the tax in question The Sirūr inscription, of precisely the same date (see page 98 above), records that Devannayya, while governing the Belvola three hundred, laved the feet of the two hundred *Mahājanas* of Śrīvudra and relinquished (to them) (bottom) the *tuppadere* An inscription at Soratūr, dated, without full details, in the same year, the Vyāsa *saṃvatsara*, Śaka Samvat 783 (expired), = A D. 866 67, records that, while he was governing the Purigere *nāda*, the *Mahāśamanta* Kuppeyarasa "graciously abandoned (*ulīdon*) the *tuppadere* to the fifty (*Mahājanas*) of Saratavura" And an inscription at Gāwarawad, dated in S S 781 (expired), in A D 869, records that, while he was still governing the Belvola three hundred, Dēvannayya, under a royal decree (*rājāśrāvita*), "laved the feet of the *Mahājanas* and . . . . . of Gavadvāda, and gave (to them) (*dānam gatta*) the *tuppada tere*, to continue as long as the moon and sun should last" — It seems probable, now, that *bīḍu* should be taken in the same sense of 'assigning' in line 6 of the Balagāmi inscription of the time of Vinayaditya and the Sāndraka prince Pogilū (*Ind Ant* Vol XIX p 144) And the purport of that record, accordingly, will be that Kāndarba, under a royal decree, conferred a favour on the specified establishments, etc, by assigning to them the specified fees and duties

<sup>16</sup> One might, perhaps, rather expect "at Vāranāsi" But plenty of other cases might be quoted, in which the accusative is used just as it is here We may quote, in particular, lines 13, 14 of the Doddabundi inscription (page 44 above), where the destruction of only Vāranāsi is mentioned

thousand years<sup>1</sup>—(V 8, 1 31). They say that the property of a god is poison,<sup>1</sup> and the property of a Brāhman is said to be poison but poison kills only one person, whereas the property of a Brāhman kills one's sons and grandsons<sup>1</sup>—(V. 9, 1 32). If a man enjoys the property of a Brāhman through (*breach of*) trust, he burns his family to the seventh generation, and those who enjoy it by force (*burn*) ten ancestors and ten descendants<sup>1</sup>—(V 10, 1 33) Victorious is the god Hari (Vishnu),<sup>2</sup> the cause of continuance and destruction and creation, who is a very winter to the water-lilies that are the faces of the wives of the demons<sup>1,3</sup>—(V 11, 1 34) "This general bridge of religion of kings should at all times be preserved by you," thus does Rāmabhadra make his earnest request to all future princes<sup>1</sup>

(L 35)—Written by . . . . bhatta Nāgamudda (?) [set up] this stone

## NO 12.—TWO PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF KRISHNARAYA OF VIJAYANAGARA.

By H. LÜDEES, PH D, GÖTTINGEN

Inked estampages of these two inscriptions were sent to me by Dr Hultzsch through Prof Kielhorn The first<sup>4</sup> is engraved on the four faces of a pillar lying on the ground near the steps leading to the temple on the hill at Mangalagin, 12 miles north-east of Guntūr in the Kistna district

It contains 257 lines of writing — The average size of the letters is  $\frac{1}{4}$ " At the top of the fourth face is a representation of the sun and the moon — The alphabet is Telugu The chief points in which it differs from the modern script are the following The *talakaffu* is a flattened semi-circle The *dirghamu* goes right down to the bottom of the line, except in *ṣā*, *nā* and *hā*, where it is represented by the curve above the line which in the modern alphabet appears in *hā* only The *guḍi* is like the upper half of a circle, and to denote *i*, the tip is sometimes slightly curved inwards, see *eg* *sī* in l 241 But in most cases it is absolutely impossible to distinguish between the long and the short vowel, except in *mī*, which appears in the modern form (l 25) Medial *ē* has the form of a sickle or a semi-circle open to the left In *mau* (ll 54, 107), *yau* (l 63), and *ryau* (l 224) the diphthong is expressed by attaching the ordinary sign for *au* to the right of the letter and the sign for *ē* to the middle bar or to the *r*. Initial *a*, *ē*, *ga*, *gha*, *chha*, *ṭa*, *na*, *da*, *pa*, *pha*, *ma*, *va*, *ṣa*, *sha* and *ha* show still the ancient forms In the case of *sha* this is all the more remarkable as already in the Vānapalli plates of Anna-Vēma, dated in Śaka-Samvat 1300,<sup>5</sup> occasionally a form of *sha* appears which on account of the division of the middle horizontal line comes nearer to the modern form (see *eg* ll 2, 18, 30) *Ka*, on the other hand, shows, except in *ka* in ll 22, 177 and *lē* in l 23, an advanced form which in its characteristic lines already resembles the modern form *La* has a peculiar form, differing from the sign used *eg.* in the Bitragunta grant of Sangama II (Śaka-Samvat 1278)<sup>6</sup> and the Vānapalli plates as well as from the modern sign The *ottu*, the small vertical stroke underneath the letter, which in the modern alphabet is the sign of aspiration, is never found in *kha*, *chha* and *tha*, but, as a rule, it is used in *gha*, *dha*, *ḍha*, *pha* and *bha*, when no other sign stands below

<sup>1</sup> With the first, second, and fourth clauses, supply "if confiscated, or misappropriated."

<sup>2</sup> This verse seems rather out of place in the middle of the benedictive and imprecatory verses

<sup>3</sup> Compare the expression in the Tufam inscription, which describes Vishnu as "a very frost to (*cause the withering of*) the beauty of the water lilies which are the faces of the women of the demons" (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p 270)

<sup>4</sup> No 257 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1892

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol III, p 59 ff, Plates

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol III p 21 ff, Plates

the letter, as in *ghna*, *dhva*, *bhri*, *bhya*, etc.<sup>1</sup> Occasionally, however, the *ottu* is missing without any reason, examples for *gha* are found in l 18, for *dha* in l 48, for *dha* in ll 153, 228, 214 (*dhdā*), 39, 130, 178 (*dhu*), 180, 218 (*rdhi*), 93, 116, 198 (*dhu*), 27, 82, 163 (*dhdha*), for *bha* in ll 33, 39, 231, 170, 187, 230 (*bhu*), 15, 85 (*bhū*), 233 (*bhā*), 141, 233, 244 (*bhō*). As in the latter cases the *talakaṣṭu* disappears, it is, of course, impossible to distinguish *bhā* and *bhō* from *bā* and *bō*. In the groups *chchha* and *rchchha* the *chha* is written above the *cha* (see ll 15, 102, 160), the subscript *chha* apparently being found impracticable on account of the loop in the middle of the letter. As first letter of a group, *r* is represented by the full sign in *rchū* (ll 220, 224, 236), and before *y* and *v* with the exception of *rva* in l 177, *rvā* in l 24, and *rvi* in ll 21, 33. Here, as in all other cases, the secondary sign has been used.—The language is Sanskrit, and the whole text is in verse, with the exception of the introductory phrase *śubham=astu* in l 1, the concluding Telugu words *śrī śrī śrīm jēyuni* in l 257, and a few explanatory remarks in Telugu in ll 46 f, 49 f and 121.—As regards orthography, it will suffice to state that the doubling of consonants after *r* occurs only in *Rompicharilla* (l 149) and *vargga* (l 240). After *anusvāra* a consonant is doubled in *védāntta* (l. 10), *Krishnamāmbbayā* (l 61), *samtāna* (l 90), *ākrāmṭta* (l. 140), *anamṭta* (ll 149, 225), *samdhāntam* (l. 163), *Romppicharla* (l 226), *-āmṭṭam* (l 243), and probably in *Komḍāhātūri* (l 255). A superfluous *anusvāra* has been inserted in *Timma* (l 40, 252). In *nigriṃhya* (l. 5) and *Samhya* (l 246) the *anusvāra* is due to faulty pronunciation. The group *ddh* is written *dhdh* in *ānadhā* (l 8), *pātālādh=dharanī* [m\*] (l 27), *śudhdha* (l 48), *yadh-dhāṭi* (l 82), *yudhdha* (l 86), *samdhāntam* (l 163), and perhaps *-ōdhdhāta* (l 83). The words *mandapa* and *pradhāna* are written *manṭapa* (ll 155, 168, 173, 184, 204) and *prathāna* (l 29, *pratāna* in l 113).

The proper object of the inscription is to record a grant by Sālva-Timma, the prime-minister of king Krishnarāya of Vijayanagara. It opens with invocations of Vishnu in his boar incarnation (vv 1, 2), as lord of Kakula (v 3), and as Rāma (vv 4, 5). The title of *Kākulēta* seems to refer to Vishnu as worshipped at Śrīkākulam, 19 miles west of Masulipatam in the Kistna district. Mr Sewell in his *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, Vol I p 55, states that there is a temple at that place dedicated to Śrīkākulēśvara-svāmin and considered to be very sacred.<sup>2</sup>

The following verses (6-8) are a eulogy of king Krishnarāya. They contain no historical information besides the statement that 'king Krishna's pillar of victory is shining in the court of Kalinga,' an allusion to his conquest of the eastern coast.

The next verses (9-15) give an account of Krishnarāya's prime-minister Sālva- (or Sālva-) Timma. He belonged to the *gōtra*<sup>3</sup> of Kaundinya, and was the son of the minister Rācha and the grandson of the minister Vēma,<sup>4</sup> and it may be added here that vv 43, 44 and 47 incidentally mention the name of his wife, Lakshmi.<sup>5</sup> Two verses (13 and 14) are devoted to his conquest of Kondaviti, i.e. Kondavīdu, the well-known hill-fort in the Narasaravupēta taluka of the

<sup>1</sup> But if the subscript sign stands far enough to the right, the *ottu* appears occasionally, see *rghya* in l 159.

<sup>2</sup> That this temple existed long before the time of our inscription is proved by the fact that it contains a number of inscriptions ranging from the latter half of the eleventh to the beginning of the sixteenth century A D.

<sup>3</sup> Or, as it is called here, *kula*.

<sup>4</sup> I have used throughout the Sanskrit forms of these names, *Rācha*, *Vēma*, *Timma*, *Appa*, etc., though in the text we find also the longer forms *Timmaya*, *Appaya* (ll 56, 143, 150, 153, 189, 227). Except in *Timmakhyē* in l 42, the longer forms are invariably used in compounds before a word beginning with a vowel, as in *Appayāmātya*, *Gōpayāmātya*, *Timmayāmātya*, *Vēmayāmātya*, *Rāchayāmātya*, *Gōpayārya*, *Appayārya*.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the praise bestowed on Sālva Timma in vv 11 and 12 for his literary attainments was not quite unfounded. In his *Index to the Sanskrit Mss at Tanjore*, p 159, Burnell mentions an 'exceedingly diffuse' commentary (*vyākhyāna*) on Agastya's *Bālābhārata* by Timmaya, dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century. The work apparently is the same as the *Bālābhārata-tyākhyāna* described by Taylor in his *Catalogue of Oriental Mss*, Vol I p 168, where the name of the author is given as Sālva-Timmanna dandandītha. The date, the title and the surname of the author make it highly probable that he is identical with the minister of Krishnarāya.



Kistna district From verse 13, where it is said that he captured 'the swan-like kings appointed by Gajapati in Kondaviti,' it appears that Kondavīdu was governed at that time by some chieftains subordinate to the Gajapatis of Orissa This agrees very well with what we can gather from other records Until the beginning of the 15th century A D Kondavīdu was ruled by the Reddis,—the Tottaramūdi plates of Kāta-Vêma, the latest record of the dynasty hitherto published, being dated in Śaka 1333 <sup>1</sup> Not long afterwards the country must have been occupied by the Gajapatis In Śaka 1377, the cyclic year Yuvan,<sup>2</sup> we find as ruler of Kondavīdu a certain Gānadēva Rautarāya, whose family was connected with that of the Gajapatis, and who apparently was a tributary of the Gajapati king Kapila

The capture of Kondavīdu formed part of Krishnarāya's victorious campaign against the Gajapatis of Orissa A detailed account of it is given in the *Chronicle of the Kings of Vijayanagara* written about 1525 and 1535 by two Portuguese horse-dealers, Domingos Paes and Fernão Nunes <sup>3</sup> There<sup>4</sup> we are told that after the conquest of Odigair or Digary (Udayagiri)<sup>5</sup> king Crisnarao (Krishnarāya) laid siege to Comdovy (Kondavīdu) which was one of the principal towns of the kingdom of Orya (Orissa) The king of Orissa approached with a large army in defence of his country When Krishnarāya had heard of this, he left a portion of his troops at Kondavīdu as a guard against any attack from behind, and advanced himself four miles (*legoas*) On the banks of 'a great river with salt-water,' which apparently is the Krishnā, a battle took place which ended in the defeat and flight of the king of Orissa <sup>6</sup> After this victory the king told his '*regedor*' Salvatinea (Sālva-Timma) that he intended to continue the siege of Kondavīdu After two months the fortress surrendered, and Sālva-Timma was appointed governor of Kondavīdu But as he wished to accompany the king on his further expedition against the king of Orissa, he conferred, on his part, the governorship on one of his brothers After taking the fortress of Comdepallyr (Kondapalle) and occupying the country as far north as Symamdary,<sup>7</sup> Krishnarāya made peace with the king of Orissa and married one of his daughters The 'river,' apparently the Krishnā, marked henceforth the boundary between the two kingdoms After another expedition against Catur<sup>8</sup> on the coast of Charamāodel (Coromandel) the whole country was pacified, and Sālva-Timma was sent by the king to Kondavīdu to organize the administration of the newly acquired territory On his way to Kondavīdu, Sālva-Timma defeated a general of the king of Daquem (Dekkhan), called Madamelnquo A few months Sālva-Timma stayed at Kondavīdu, organizing the civil and judicial administration of the province Then he returned to Bisnaga (Vijayanagara), where he was received by the king as the principal person of the kingdom The narrative of the chronicle has the appearance of being, on the whole, perfectly reliable <sup>9</sup> If the inscription differs from it in ascribing the capture of Kondavīdu to Sālva-Timma alone, it is apparently only because he was the general in command of the Vijayanagara forces

As a counterpart it may be quoted here what local tradition has to tell about the capture of the fort According to Mr Boswell,<sup>10</sup> the story goes that about the beginning of the 16th century the last king of the Reddi dynasty of Kondavīdu died childless, and his seventy-two

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol IV p 318 ff      <sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XX p 390 ff The date is irregular

<sup>3</sup> *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga* *Manuscripto inest do seculo XVI publicado por David Lopes* Lisbon, 1897, p lxxxvi f

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid* pp 19 24

<sup>5</sup> The conquest of Udayagiri and its dependencies took place in 1513, compare Sewall, *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol I p 107, and *Sketch of the Southern Dynasties*, p 109

<sup>6</sup> This seems to be the battle referred to in an inscription at Mēdūru, see Sewall, *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol I p 51.

<sup>7</sup> Symamdary is described as 'a very large town' I therefore consider it to be Rājamahēndri (Rajahmundry), Symamdary being probably an error for Rasmamdary or a similar form

<sup>8</sup> I cannot identify this place

<sup>9</sup> One very slight mistake will be noticed hereafter

<sup>10</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol I p 183

chiefs could not agree upon the selection of a successor Krishnarāya resolved to make use of this state of things, and to acquire for himself the kingdom To accomplish his designs, he sent a wily and unscrupulous Brāhman to Kondavidu This Brāhman was directed to set up and consecrate a new image in the temple of Gōpināthasvāmin at the foot of the fort, and to invite the seventy-two chiefs to the celebration of these rites They descended from their hill-fortress and were all seated in the great hall From thence one by one the priest led them to the inner shrine to view the new image As they stepped into the inner hall, and bowed at the threshold, two ruffians, who were concealed in the chamber, stepped forward, and before the victim had time to raise a cry, precipitated him into a deep well whose mouth it was impossible to discover amid the surrounding gloom When all had thus found their death, Krishnarāya had no difficulty in seizing the fort In a Telugu chronicle extracted by Mr Sewell<sup>1</sup> the name of the wicked Brāhman is given as Rāmayya Bhūskarudu It is hardly necessary to point out that the story, as it stands, is incompatible with the historical facts Whether it is purely fictitious or based on events which occurred at a different time, cannot be decided at present At any rate it shows once more that local traditions and local chronicles, by themselves, have no historical value, even when they refer to events of comparatively modern times<sup>2</sup>

The date of the capture of Kondavidu is given several times, expressed in words, letters and figures<sup>3</sup> It took place on Saturday, the Harivāsara of the bright half of the month Āshādha in the Śaka year 1437. For Śaka-Samvat 1437 expired, this corresponds to Saturday, the 23rd June, A D 1515, when the twelfth *tithi* of the bright half of Āshādha ended 3 h 24 m after mean sunrise<sup>4</sup>

Vv 16-19 give a short genealogy of the two ministers Appa and Gōpa They were the sons of the minister Timma, who belonged to a family from Nādinḍla<sup>5</sup> and to the *gōtra*<sup>6</sup> of Kauśika, and his wife Krishnāmbā or Krishnamāmbā who was the sister of Sālva-Timma, as appears from vv 19 and 28, where Appa and Gōpa are called Sālva-Timma's sister's sons (*bhāginīya*) Later on, however, in v 30 Gōpa is incidentally spoken of as his son-in-law (*jāmātri*), and in v 27 as his younger son-in-law (*jāmātary-avarā*), which term, if used in its strict sense, would imply that both brothers were married to daughters of Sālva-Timma, their cousins Of the following verses, vv 20-23 are in praise of Nādinḍla-Appa, vv 24-28 are glorifying Nādinḍla-Gōpa, and vv 29-34 give a description of the latter's pious gifts With v 35 the text returns to Nādinḍla-Appa, the list of whose donations fills vv. 36-59 Of

<sup>1</sup> *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, p 48

<sup>2</sup> Of course, this does not exclude that some of their statements may be correct The account of the Telugu chronicle, for instance, is partly confirmed by the inscriptions and the Portuguese chronicle

<sup>3</sup> For details I refer to the translation

<sup>4</sup> My thanks for the calculation of this and the following dates are due to Prof Kielhorn who has also favoured me with the following additional remarks regarding the term *Harivāsara* According to Molesworth's *Marāṭhi Dictionary*, *Harivāsara* is a term for the first quarter of the 12th lunar day, and a common term for the 12th lunar days of the light fortnight of the months Āshādha, Bhādrapada, and Kārttika, upon which, respectively, occur the *nakṣatras* Anurādhā, Śravaṇa, and Revatī In accordance with the latter meaning we find *eg* in two Bombay *Pañchāngas* for Śaka 1789 and 1814 *Harivāsara* written opposite to *Āshādha śukla pakṣa 12*, with, in either case, the Anurādhā *nakṣatra*, but not in a Bombay *Pañchānga* for Śaka 1812, where the *nakṣatra* on *Āshādha śukla pakṣa 12* was Viśakḥā That in the inscription also *Harivāsara* is used with the same meaning, is proved by the fact that on the day in question the moon was in the *nakṣatra* Anurādhā by the equal space system and according to Garga for 1 h 58 m. after mean sunrise. With regard to the origin of the name, it may be pointed out here that the 12th *tithi* of the bright half of Āshādha was considered to be pre eminently auspicious for the worship of Vishnu The *Dharmasindhu* says '*Āshādha-śukla dvādaśyām Vāmana-pūjanēna naramēdha-phalam*' It is therefore also called *Vaiṣṇava tithi* (*Ind Ant* Vol XXVI p 333, No 17) and described as *mahātithi* (*ibid* Vol XIII p 131, Plate IV A, 1 16) *Harivāsara* must not be confounded with *Harivāsa* which, according to Molesworth, is simply a term for the *ekādāśī* or 11th day of the waxing or waning moon, and in this sense occurs *eg* in *Inscriptions in the Mysore District*, Part I p 63 (*Harivāsin*)

<sup>5</sup> On Nādinḍla, the modern Nāḍendla, see below, p 115 and note 4

<sup>6</sup> Here called *anvaya*

historical value are verses 21, 27, 28 and 35. V. 21 states that Nāḍiṇḍla-Appa obtained from king Krishna and the minister Sālva-Timma the right to use a palanquin, two *chauris*, and a parasol, and the posts of commander-in-chief of an army, of superintendent of Vinikonda, Gutti and Amarāvati, and of sole governor (*ekadhuramdharma*) of that kingdom Vinikonda is apparently the modern Vinukonda, a hill-fort and town in the Kistna district, about 37 miles west-south-west of Kondavīdu<sup>1</sup> Gutti (Gooty) is the well-known hill-fort in the Anantapur district, and Amarāvati is the equally well-known Buddhist site in the Kistna district Vv 27 and 28 state in very similar words that Sālva-Timma gave to Nāḍiṇḍla-Gōpa the right to use a palanquin and two *chauris*, and the posts of general of an army and sole governor (*ekadhuramdharma, dhaurīya*) of the town and country of Kondavīti. But in v 35 we are told that in the year Yuvan, marked as Sālvāhana-Śaka (*Sālvāhana-Sal. ān'a*), Nāḍiṇḍla-Appa obtained the regentship of Kondavīti from Sālva-Timma

The apparent discrepancy between these statements may be solved, I think, with the help of the data furnished by the Portuguese chronicle We have only to assume that Nāḍiṇḍla-Appa was temporarily appointed after the capture of Kondavīdu, when Sālva-Timma left the country in order to accompany the king on his expedition against Orissa, and that afterwards, when Sālva-Timma had settled the administration of the country and intended to return to Vijayanagara, he installed Appa's younger brother Gōpa as governor of Kondavīdu, while Appa himself received the governorship of Vinikonda, Gutti and Amarāvati. That Appa was appointed immediately after the capture of the fort, is shown by the date There can be no doubt that it was Śaka-Samvat 1437 expired, which corresponds to Yuvan, although the chronogram does not work out quite correctly The first three letters present no difficulty, *a*(ā) being 7, *l*(e) 3, and *v*(ā) 4, but, according to Burnell, *h*(a) has the value of 8, whereas here it would have to be taken as 1<sup>2</sup> Secondly, the above assumption agrees with the fact that five years afterwards, in Śaka-Samvat 1442, Gōpa was ruling as governor of Kondavīdu<sup>3</sup> And from v 45, where Appa, 'the lord of Vinikonda etc,' is said to have made a grant in Śaka-Samvat 1439, we may perhaps even conclude that the new arrangement was made in or before that year The chronicle, it is true, does not mention the second appointment of a substitute, and the first substitute is called there the brother of Sālva-Timma, which certainly is a mistake On the other hand, the statement that the real governor of Kondavīdu was Sālva-Timma, and that he, on his hand, appointed a regent, is fully borne out by the terms used in v. 35, and the fact that he granted a village situated in the territory of Kondavīdu

The list of Nāḍiṇḍla-Gōpa's gifts comprises only three items

1 (V 29) In the Śaka year counted by Rāghavāya (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1442) he erected some new buildings (*harmya*) adorned with a wall (*tapra*) and a gate-tower (*gōpura*) in honour of the god Rāghava in Achalapuri This is the Sanskrit equivalent of Kondavīdu, as we learn from the following verses that the temple of Rāghava or Raghunāyaka was situated in that town

2 (Vv 30-32) In the Śaka year to be counted by the towns (3), the Vēdas (4), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), in the year Vṛisha, on an auspicious day, on Monday, the day of full-moon in the month Phālguna, he set up an image of Raghunāyaka in the town of Kondavīti This image was surrounded by statues of Rāma's followers<sup>4</sup> For Śaka-Samvat 1443 expired, the date corresponds to Monday, the 10th February A D 1522, when the full-moon *tithi* of Phālguna ended 18 h 20 m. after mean sunrise

<sup>1</sup> The older form of the name seems to have been *Vishnukunda*, see above, Vol. IV p 195, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> The chronogram is altogether a very poor one, it has three letters, or, if *anka* is to be considered part of it as in *Sālvāṇka* in v 14, even four letters too many

<sup>3</sup> See the Kondavīdu inscription which will be published at an early date in this volume.

<sup>4</sup> For details I refer to the translation

3 (V 34) In order to do the performance of *nyôga*, exceeding seventy-two,<sup>1</sup> he presented to the temple of the holy Sâluva-Râghava the fertile village of Unnuva, defined by its four boundaries and completely furnished with all necessary things, together with the eight powers and enjoyments. The temple of Sâluva-Râghava seems to be identical with the temple of Râma at Kondavidu referred to in the preceding verses. The village of Unnuva is the Vunnava of the map, 5 miles south-south-east of Kondavidu.

Of the nineteen grants of Nâdindla-Appa enumerated in vv. 36-59 one is undated, six were made in Śaka 1438, ten in Śaka 1439, one in Śaka 1440, whereas one (v 38) lies as far back as Śaka 1414. This last date seems to me open to grave doubts,<sup>2</sup> at any rate, it is difficult to see how Appa could have granted a village in the principality of Kondavidu 23 years before the occupation of the country. The localities mentioned are situated in the modern tâlukas of Vinukonda, Narasaraupêta, Guntûr, Bâpatla, Bezvâda, Ongôlu, and Palnâd (?). As we do not know the exact date of Appa's installation as governor of Vinukonda etc., we cannot say with certainty whether he made these grants in the latter capacity or at the time when he was still governor of Kondavidu. And even from those cases where the granted villages are expressly stated to have been in the *sîman* of Vinukonda, no conclusions can be drawn in this respect, as there is no reason to believe that Vinukonda formed a separate province before the country was divided between Appa and Gôpa.

1 (V 36) In the Śaka year to be counted by 9, the fires (3), the oceans (4), and the earth (1), in the year Îśvara (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1439 expired), having founded an excellent village<sup>3</sup> bearing the name of Appâpura, which was supplied with a tank and with some<sup>4</sup> good arable land between Vinukonda and the river Kuntî, he gave it to the temple of Angadi-Gôpinâtha-Hari. From v 47 we learn that this temple was in the town of Vinukonda. The river Kuntî may be the Gundlakamma, or, more probably, one of its tributaries<sup>5</sup> 4 miles south-west of Vinukonda, on the left bank of the Gundlakamma, the map shows Sabinivinu Appavupuram, which probably is the same as the Appâpura of the inscription.

2 (V 37) To the temple of Ananta-Gôpinâtha, situated at Rompicharla, he gave the village of Gôpavara. Rompicharla is 10 miles west of Narasaraupêta<sup>6</sup>. Gôpavara may be the Gopapuram of the map, 8 miles south of Rompicharla.

3 (V 38.) In the Śaka year contained in the Indras (14), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1414), he presented a wall (*vapra*) and the whole village of Pamimarrî to the temple of Mâdhavidêvi in the town of Maddêrêla, to be enjoyed as long as the earth will last. Maddêrêla or, as it is called in v 48, Maddêrâla seems to be the Madheralah of the map, 21 miles south-west of Bâpatla, 6 miles west of Môtupalle<sup>7</sup>. Pamimarrî may be the hamlet of Pamidimarru, the Payidimarrî of the map, 8 miles south of Narasaraupêta, though the distance between Pamidimarru and Madheralah amounts to 30 miles.

<sup>1</sup> *Dvâsapaty-adhikâm nyôga kalandam kartum*. I do not know what is meant by this phrase. It occurs again in the Kondavidu inscription (compare p 112, note 3), l 98 *dvâsapaty adhikâm nyôga-rachandam* . . . *krted*.

<sup>2</sup> There seems to be some confusion in the verse. The *vapra* which Appa is said to have erected in Śaka-Samvat 1414 is apparently the same which according to v. 48 he built in Śaka Samvat 1438.

<sup>3</sup> With *krted grâma-varam* compare *avayuti-kalandam nîrmit-Appâpuram dîkhyam* . *grâmam* in v 52, *Appapuram* . *virachayya* in v 54, and *grâmam vidhâya* in v 55.

<sup>4</sup> With *hayanmâtṛatah* compare *hayanm=avayutya bhûmim* in v 54, and *avayutya bhûmim=uchistam* in v 55.

<sup>5</sup> The Gundlakamma seems to be identical with the Ômkâra mentioned in v 40.

<sup>6</sup> In the village is a temple dedicated to Gôpâlasvâmin, which probably is identical with the temple mentioned in the inscription, see Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol I Appendix, p xii.

<sup>7</sup> There is also a Muddêralapandoo (Maddêrâlapâdu) 6½ miles north by east of Ongôlu in the Nellore district on the right bank of the Gundlakamma.

4 (V 39) In the Śaka year to be counted by the Brahmans (0),<sup>1</sup> the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the moon (1), in the year Īśvara (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1439 expired), he erected a temple (*ālaya*), adorned with a solid hall (*mantapa*), a wall (*vapra*) and a plastered mansion (*saudha*), to Rāmēśvara in the fort of Vinikonda

5 (V 40) In the Śaka year contained in the elephants (8), the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the moon (1), in the year Dhātri (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1438 expired), he built a splendid temple of Śiva at the village of Nandipāṭi near the river called Ōmkāra. Nandipāṭi seems to be the Nundeepaṇḍoo (Nandipāḍu) of the map, 8 miles north of Ongōlu. It is situated on the right bank of the Gundlakamma which in that case would have to be identified with the Ōmkāra river.<sup>2</sup>

6 (V 43) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (0), the Rāmas (3), the Vēdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Īśvara (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1439 expired), on the day of full-moon in the month Śrāvana, he presented a plastered hall (*manṭapa*) of stone to the temple of the great Virēśvara in the village called Nūntulapāṭi in the *śīman* of Vinikonda, for the benefit of Sālva-Timma, the husband of Lakshmi.<sup>3</sup> 29 miles south-south-west of Guntūr, 34 miles east-south-east of Vinukonda, the map shows Nutalupaḍu, which possibly is identical with the Nūntulapāṭi of the inscription. The date is the same as that of the grant recorded in v 46

7 (V 44) In the Śaka year to be counted by the air (0), the oceans (4), the Vēdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Bahudhānya (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1440 expired), he built a fine large hall (*mantapa*) and presented it to the temple of Agastya-Mahēśvara at Krāñjā for the benefit of Sālva-Timma, the husband of Lakshmi.<sup>4</sup> Kīāñjā is the modern Kāzā, 9 miles north-east of Guntūr.

8 (V 45) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (0), the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Īśvara (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1439 expired), he founded *sarva-mānyas*,<sup>5</sup> (which supplied) the taxes and fees (*mēra*)<sup>6</sup> (due) to village accountants (*karanika*), for the eternal prosperity of his father and mother in the Vaikuntha heaven

9 (V 46) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (0), the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Īśvara, on an auspicious day, on Monday, the day of full-moon in the month Śrāvana, he gave the *agrahāra* Mallavara, filled with all kinds of riches, to be enjoyed for ever<sup>7</sup> to the temple of Channa-Kēśava-Ramānātha, the lord of that village, whose nature is knowledge.<sup>8</sup> The date is irregular. It corresponds, for Śaka-Samvat 1489 expired=Īśvara, to the 1st August A.D. 1517, when the full-moon *tithi* of Śrāvana ended

<sup>1</sup> *Brahman*, with the value of 9, occurs again in vv 52 and 54 [and the synonym *Aja* above, Vol IV p 193]. I have found it only in the list given by Mr. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xx f. The use of *Brahman* in this sense is rather strange, especially as its synonym *pitāmaṣa* is mentioned by Bēṛuṇi among the numerical words for 1.

<sup>2</sup> There is another Nandipāḍu six miles south by east of Udayagiri in the Nellore district. But this would seem to be too far to the south as to be the village referred to in the inscription.

<sup>3</sup> The phrase *Lakshmi nāyaka-Sālva-Timma vibhava* occurs again in v 47, and with the addition of *punyaya* in v 44 and v 28 of the Kondavīdu inscription (compare p. 112, note 3). The meaning is that the gift was made for the benefit of Sālva Timma and his wife Lakshmi, as clearly stated in the Telugu portion of the Kondavīdu inscription, l. 163 ff. The words *Lakshmi nāyaka* are apparently used on account of their ambiguity.

<sup>4</sup> See the preceding note.

<sup>5</sup> *Sarvamānya*, 'exempted from all taxes,' is always applied to villages or portions of land allotted to Brahmans or some temple.

<sup>6</sup> [For *mēra* and *karanika* see Brown's *Telugu Dictionary* — E. H.]

<sup>7</sup> *Achalām*, literally 'immovable,' seems to have here this meaning.

<sup>8</sup> See below, p. 129, note 5.

19 h 7 m after mean sunrise But this day was a Saturday, not a Monday<sup>1</sup> Mallavarâgiahâra may be the Mullawaram Agra of the map, 4 miles north of Tummarakôta in the Palnâd tâlaka, on the right bank of the Krishnâ, or Mallavaram, 10½ miles north-east of Kondavîdu or Mullavaram, 11 miles north-north-west of Ongôlu There is also a Chinna Mullavaram, 23½ miles north-north east of Ongolu

10 (V 47) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (8), the fires (3), the Vêdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Îśvara (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1439 expired), on the day of full-moon in the month Vaisâkha, he presented a beautiful large hall (*manṭapa*) and a very high wall (*prâhâra*) to the temple of Angadî-Gôpinâtha-Hari in the town of Vinikonda for the benefit of Sâlva-Timma, the husband of Lakshmi<sup>2</sup> The same temple we have met with already in v 36

11 (V 48) In the Śaka year contained in the elephants (8), the fires (3), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1438), he presented to the temple of Mâdhavî-dêvi in the town of Madderrâla the wall (*vapra*) which he had caused to be heightened This temple was mentioned already in v 38

12 (V 49, 50) In the Śaka year contained in the Vasus (8), the fires (3), the Vêdas (4), and the moon (1), in the year Dhâtri (i.e. Śaka Samvat 1438 expired), having presented the whole village of Âtukûru, surnamed Nâdindla, to the Brâhmans, he gave them a large tank, causing the growth of rice-fields and sugar-cane, for the performance of the daily ceremonies of bathing and praying at the *sandhyâs*, etc This statement is repeated in different words in the second verse<sup>3</sup> Âtukuru is the Antcoor of the map, 11 miles north of Bezvada

13 (V. 51) In the Śaka year contained in the elephants (8), the Râmas (3), the oceans (4), and the earth (1), in the year Dhâtri (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1438 expired), he presented a solid temple (*prâsâda*), adorned with nine golden pinnacles (*kumbha*), and a beautiful large hall (*mantapa*) to the temple of Hari, the lord of Mangalâsâila, and gave also the village of Mangalâsâila to the temple of Nrisimha. Mangalâsâila is, of course, identical with Mangalagiri, where the inscription was found

14 (V 52) In the Śaka year counted by the Brahmins (9), the fires (3), the Vedas (4), and the moon (1), in the year Îśvara (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1439 expired), having presented to the Brâhmans the village of Appâpura, which he had formed by taking off a portion of the land in the *śîman* of the village of Rêtûri, he gave, in aid of them, a large tank for the cultivation of paddy fields, etc This tank is described in the next verse Rêtûri is the Return of the map, 7 miles north by west of Bâpatla One mile to the north-west of it the map shows Appapuram

15 (V 54) In the Śaka year marked by the Brahmins (9), the fires (3), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), in the year Îśvara (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1439 expired), having taken off some land in the *śîman* of Nâdindla and having founded Appâpura, which was supplied with a tank, he gave it to the Brâhmans Nâdindla, which apparently is connected with the name of the donor's family, is the modern Nâdendla,<sup>4</sup> 9½ miles east-south-east of Narasarâvupêta 3½ miles south-west of Nâdendla, 8 miles south-east of Narasarâvupêta, the map shows Appapuram

16 (V 55) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the Râmas (3), the Vêdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Îśvara (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1439 expired), having taken off a suitable portion of land in the territory of Yêrchûri and having founded a village

<sup>1</sup> Prof Kielhorn adds that in Śaka Samvat 1439 current=Dhatri the full moon *tithi* of the second (*nigā*) Śrâvana commenced 6 h 44 m after mean sunrise on Monday, 11th August 1616, but he thinks it not at all probable that this day is intended

<sup>2</sup> See above, p 114, note 3

<sup>3</sup> See the translation

<sup>4</sup> For inscriptions at this village see above, Vol IV p 37 f

4 (V 39) In the Śaka year to be counted by the Brahmins (9),<sup>1</sup> the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the moon (1), in the year Īśvara (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1439 expired), he erected a temple (*ālaya*), adorned with a solid hall (*mantapa*), a wall (*vapra*) and a plastered mansion (*saudha*), to Rāmēśvara in the fort of Vinikonda.

5 (V 40) In the Śaka year contained in the elephants (8), the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the moon (1), in the year Dhātri (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1438 expired), he built a splendid temple of Śiva at the village of Nandipāṭi near the river called Ōmkāra. Nandipāṭi seems to be the Nundeeppandoo (Nandipāṭu) of the map, 8 miles north of Ongōlu. It is situated on the right bank of the Gundlakamma which in that case would have to be identified with the Ōmkāra river.<sup>2</sup>

6 (V 43) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the Rāmas (3), the Vēdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Īśvara (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1439 expired), on the day of full-moon in the month Śrāvana, he presented a plastered hall (*mantapa*) of stone to the temple of the great Virēśvara in the village called Nūntulapāṭi in the *śiman* of Vinikonda, for the benefit of Sālva-Timma, the husband of Lakshmi.<sup>3</sup> 29 miles south-south-west of Guntūr, 34 miles east-south-east of Vinukonda, the map shows Nutalupadu, which possibly is identical with the Nūntulapāṭi of the inscription. The date is the same as that of the grant recorded in v 46.

7 (V 44) In the Śaka year to be counted by the air (0), the oceans (4), the Vēdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Bahudhānya (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1440 expired), he built a fine large hall (*mantapa*) and presented it to the temple of Agastya-Mahēśvara at Krāñjā for the benefit of Sālva-Timma, the husband of Lakshmi.<sup>4</sup> Krāñjā is the modern Kāzā, 9 miles north-east of Guntūr.

8 (V 45) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Īśvara (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1439 expired), he founded *sarva-mānyas*,<sup>5</sup> (which supplied) the taxes and fees (*mēra*)<sup>6</sup> (due) to village accountants (*karanika*), for the eternal prosperity of his father and mother in the Vāikuntha heaven.

9 (V 46) In the Śaka year to be counted by the treasures (9), the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the earth (1), in the year Īśvara, on an auspicious day, on Monday, the day of full-moon in the month Śrāvana, he gave the *agrahāra* Mallavara, filled with all kinds of riches, to be enjoyed for ever,<sup>7</sup> to the temple of Channa-Kēśava-Ramānātha, the lord of that village, whose nature is knowledge.<sup>8</sup> The date is irregular. It corresponds, for Śaka-Samvat 1489 expired=Īśvara, to the 1st August A.D. 1517, when the full-moon *tithi* of Śrāvana ended.

<sup>1</sup> *Brahman*, with the value of 9, occurs again in vv 52 and 54 [and the synonym *Aja* above, Vol IV p 193]. I have found it only in the list given by Mr. Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xx f. The use of *Brahman* in this sense is rather strange, especially as its synonym *pitāmaḥa* is mentioned by Berrāni among the numerical words for 1.

<sup>2</sup> There is another Nandipāṭu six miles south by east of Udayagiri in the Nellore district. But this would seem to be too far to the south as to be the village referred to in the inscription.

<sup>3</sup> The phrase *Lakshmi nayaka-Sālva Timma vidhata* occurs again in v 47, and with the addition of *punyāya* in v 44 and v 28 of the Kondavidu inscription (compare p. 112, note 3). The meaning is that the gift was made for the benefit of Sālva Timma and his wife Lakshmi, as clearly stated in the Telugu portion of the Kondavidu inscription, l. 163 ff. The words *Lakshmi nayaka* are apparently used on account of their ambiguity.

<sup>4</sup> See the preceding note.

<sup>5</sup> *Sarvamānya*, 'exempted from all taxes,' is always applied to villages or portions of land allotted to Brahmins or some temple.

<sup>6</sup> [For *mēra* and *karanika* see Brown's *Telugu Dictionary* — E. H.]

<sup>7</sup> *Achalam*, literally 'immovable,' seems to have here this meaning.

<sup>8</sup> See below, p. 129, note 5.

54, K 55=M 44, K 56=M 57, K 57=M 59, K 58=M 58, K 59=M 60. M 56, which is only a repetition of v 37, occurs in K once only. In neither case any principle seems to have been followed in arranging the verses. Under these circumstances I have thought it unnecessary to publish in full the text of this inscription, but I have given all the various readings which it presents in the notes on the text of the Mangalagiri inscription.

The last verse records that in the Śaka year to be counted by the Vasus (8), the fires (3), the Vēdas (4), and the moon (1), (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1438), the minister Appa built a plastered hall (*mantapa*) at the temple of Agastyēśa at Nallapāṭu. Nallapāṭu, the Nelapadu of the map, is 15 miles north of Guntūr. According to Mr. Sowell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol I p 75, there are several temples in that village. The map shows another Nallapadu 4 miles west of Guntūr, but no remains of temples seem to exist at this place.

#### A.—Mangalagiri Pillar Inscription.

##### TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

##### First Face

- 1 शुभमस्तु ।[\*] अव्यादादिवराही वस्त्ररसासु-
- 2 हृन्मही । निजागसगसजातसाद्रस्वेदो-
- 3 दयामिव ।[ १\*] कल्याणमाकलयतादयमादि-<sup>2</sup>
- 4 योत्री धात्रीमुदरह्य<sup>3</sup> सरसा स रसातिरेकात् ।
- 5 सङ्क्षेपसम्भ्रमवशात्सहसा<sup>4</sup> निगृह्य<sup>5</sup> दत्तेन
- 6 किचिददुनोदधर धरायाः<sup>6</sup> ।[ २\*] उरसि निहितल-
- 7 क्ष्मीवाहुवस्त्रोयुगेन स्वकरयुगळेकीकृत्य केली-
- 8 विनोदे । कुवलयदळदामानध्वमदारमा-<sup>7</sup>
- 9 लां दधदिव वितनोतु श्रीकळा काकुळेश<sup>8</sup> ।[ ३\*] श्रीरा-
- 10 मः[\*] श्रियमातनोतु जगतां वेदांतवेद्यो ह-
- 11 रि<sup>9</sup> । ज्ञानानतसदात्मकोपि मधवत्कार्याय मा-
- 12 यातनुः । य दृष्ट्वा रिपवोपि रावणमुखाः का-
- 13 लावसाने दिव याताः[\*] श्रीहनुमद्विभीषणमु-
- 14 खा जाताः कृतार्था<sup>10</sup> भुवि ।[ ४\*] प्रह्वेद्रादिशिरोम-
- 15 णिच्छविरविप्रातर्मयूखारुणं भूषाह्व-
- 16 <sup>11</sup>मिदश्मिरश्मिलहरीभृगाळिशृगारित । मंजीर-
- 17 क्वाणितैर्मराळवनितामंजुस्वनैरचितं वदे
- 18 रामपदारविंदमनघ वदारुकल्पद्रुमं ।[ ५\*]

<sup>1</sup> From inked estampages supplied by Dr. Holtzsch

<sup>2</sup> K °माधि°

<sup>3</sup> In K the *anusvāra* of °सधम° is written twice

<sup>4</sup> K दराया, but perhaps corrected

<sup>5</sup> K वेदात्°

<sup>10</sup> Read कृतार्था, as correctly in K

<sup>8</sup> Read °सुदृह्य, as correctly in K

<sup>5</sup> Read निगृह्य

<sup>7</sup> Read °नद°.

<sup>9</sup> Read रिज्ञा°, as correctly in K

<sup>11</sup> Read मिदश्मरश्मि°



- 19 अस्ति श्रीकृष्णरायाख्यो नरनाथशिरोमणिः । राज-  
 20 न्यचूळिकारत्ननोराजितपदांबुजः ।[। ६\*] श्रीकृष्णचित्ति-  
 21 पालदत्तमणिभिर्विद्वत्कीना गृहा नानारत्न-  
 22 विचित्रकुट्टिमभुवो रत्नाकरत्न गताः । अब्दि.<sup>1</sup>  
 23 केवलनोरपूरनिलयस्सभाव्यते सज्जनै । र-<sup>2</sup>  
 24 भोधिर्जलधिः पयोधिरुदधिर्वां निधिर्वारिधिः ।[। ७\*]  
 25 आलानं रिपुदतिनामरिपशीर्यूपस्समीका-  
 26 ध्वरे वैरिस्त्रांतनिष्ठातशकुरुदितो दीप्रः प्रता-  
 27 पांकुरः । पाताळाध्वरणी<sup>3</sup> वराहवपुषो दं-  
 28 द्रा विभिद्योद्गता श्रीकृष्णचित्तिपस्य भाति विजय-  
 29 स्तभः कळिगांगणे ।[। ८\*] महाप्रधान<sup>4</sup> श्रीसाळ्वति-<sup>5</sup>  
 30 म्मस्सचिवशेखरः । श्रीकृष्णरायनृपतेस्साम्राज्य-  
 31 मधितिष्ठति ।[। ९\*] श्रीसाळ्वतिम्मसचिवः<sup>6</sup> कौडिन्यकुल-  
 32 शेखरः । वेमयामात्यतनयराचयामात्य-  
 33 नंदनः<sup>7</sup> ।[। १०\*] विद्मो<sup>8</sup> नैक<sup>9</sup> विशेषं वितरणविभवैर्विदग्ने-  
 34 सराणा पद्मावाणीविलासैः प्रगुणमणिगणैः  
 35 पद्मलाक्षीसहस्रैः । रम्यप्रासादहर्म्यैरतुल-  
 36 परिकरैरश्वहस्त्यादियानैस्सम्यक्तेभ्यो विशेषं  
 37 समरविजयतस्साळ्वतिम्मस्य<sup>10</sup> नून ।[। ११\*] पक्कप्रवे-  
 38 शपरिमार्जनलज्जया कि पंकेरुहालयम-  
 39 पास्य भवन्मुखाज । पद्माधितिष्ठति सह सुप्रया  
 40 च वाण्या चौहत्तमस्य चतुरानन साळ्वति-<sup>11</sup>  
 41 म्म ।[। १२\*] सप्तांगोपेतशक्तित्रितयचतुरपायै-  
 42 कमन्त्रीशसाळ्वे तिम्राख्ये कौडवीट्या गजप-  
 43 तिनिहितान् राजहसान् गृहीत्वा । धाटी-  
 44 माटीकमाने परनृपतिखगा. क्षुत्पिपासाति-  
 45 खिन्नाः शाकाब्दान् मार्गयन्ते गिरिपुरजलधि-  
 46 क्ष्मासु गूढ प्रलीनाः ।[। १३\*] १४३७ शकाब्दालु [।\*] सुगू-

<sup>1</sup> Read अस्ति<sup>2</sup> Read सज्जनै-<sup>3</sup> Read पातालाध्वरणी, in K a small *anusvara* has been added afterwards<sup>4</sup> K मसहा°, read महाप्रधान<sup>5</sup> K श्रीसाळ्वतिम्म°<sup>6</sup> K श्रीसाळ्वतिम्म°<sup>7</sup> K °यामा । त्यनदन.<sup>8</sup> In K between the *d* and *m* of विद्मो the subscript sign for *t* has been inserted<sup>9</sup> The *anusvara* is very small, and has been inserted afterwards<sup>10</sup> K °तिम्मस्य<sup>11</sup> K °तिम्म

- 47 टप्रलीना अच[र\*]सन्न<sup>1</sup> ।[1\*] साळ्वाकशकवत्सरग-  
 48 खापाढशुभहरिवासरसौरौ<sup>2</sup> । साळ्वतिम्मसचि-  
 49 वेन गृहीत कौडवीटिनगर नगराजं ।[1 १४\*] सा-  
 50 ळ्वाक अचरमंज । १४३७ शकवर्षालु ।[1\*] पु-  
 51 चारामतटाकदेवसदनब्रह्मप्रतिष्ठानिधि का-  
 52 व्य चेह पपरत्र<sup>3</sup> सौख्यजनकास्संतानकास्स-  
 53 म तान् । आहत्तान् गणनातिवर्ति कृतवानासेतु-  
 54 शीताचल श्रीकृष्णचित्तिपालमौळिसचिव[:\*] श्रीसा-  
 55 ळ्वतिम्मप्रभुः ।[1 १५\*] कौशिकान्वयसभूतो ना-  
 56 दिङ्कुलशेखर<sup>4</sup> । अस्ति 'तिम्मयमन्त्रीशयन्म<sup>5</sup>-  
 57 यात्मविवेकधीः ।[1 १६\*] कृष्णावारुधती ग्याता  
 58 भर्तृवाक्यमरुधती । अनस्यैव सर्व-  
 59 च मानस्येति गण्यते ॥ [१७\*]

*Second Piece*

- 60 नादिङ्कुतिम्मयामाल्यः कळची  
 61 कृष्णमाञ्जया । तत्पुत्रावप्प-  
 62 'यामाल्यगोपयामाल्यशेखरौ ।[1 १८\*]  
 63 श्रीमाळ्वतिम्मसचिवभागिनेयौ कु-  
 64 लोद्धन्तौ । नादिङ्कुयप्पयामा-  
 65 ल्यगोपयामाल्यशेखरौ ।[1 १९\*] अप्पो  
 66 नादिङ्कुयप्पस्तावाप्पमूर्ति-  
 67 प्रचेतसौ । पच्चिसीदन्वदीशनद-  
 68 च्छिणोदन्वदीश्वरौ ।[1 २०\*] श्रीकृष्णचित्तिपा-  
 69 च तिम्मसचिवात्पल्लविका<sup>7</sup> चाम-  
 70 रे ।<sup>8</sup> चत्र<sup>9</sup> यो विनिकौडगुत्तिकनक-  
 71 क्ष्माभृत्पुंराद्यक्षता<sup>10</sup> । मत्तेभाश्च-  
 72 पदातिसंकुलमहासेनाधिपत्य  
 73 महत्तद्राज्यैकधुरधरत्वमग-  
 74 मन्नादिङ्कुयप्पप्रभु ।[1 २१\*] जभ-

<sup>1</sup> K अचरसन

<sup>2</sup> K तिम्मय<sup>2</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Read 'किर्वा

<sup>4</sup> K कृष्ण, read कृष्ण

<sup>5</sup> Read 'गुर्द', K 'सौरा

<sup>6</sup> Read 'शिम', as correctly in K

<sup>7</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous

<sup>8</sup> Read 'राध्यचना', as correctly in K

<sup>9</sup> Read परच, as corrected in K

<sup>10</sup> K यामाल्यगो

- 75 द्विक्कुभिकुभद्वयसचिवशची-  
 76 चारुवचम्येजकुभव्यक्तव्याप्तानु-<sup>1</sup>  
 77 लिप्तप्रसृमरमसृणक्षोदकर्पू-  
 78 रपूरः । यत्कीर्ति<sup>2</sup> कार्तिर्केदु<sup>3</sup> प-  
 79 रिहसति निजैः श्वेतमाह्वेतवादै-  
 80 स्तोय नादिङ्गुयप्पप्रभुम-  
 81 गिरखिलस्तुत्यकीर्तिप्रतापः ।[ २२\* ] य-  
 82 श्वाटीघोटकोटीखरखुरदक्कित-  
 83 क्ष्मातलोडूतधूळीपाळीपाता-<sup>4</sup>  
 84 ळकेळीकृतधरणितले खड्गयुग्यस्य  
 85 बाहुः । जिह्वालाभोलभूम्भ-  
 86 झुजगपतिरिव प्रेक्ष्यते युध्वरं-<sup>5</sup>  
 87 गे सोय नादिङ्गुयप्पप्रभु-  
 88 रवनिभराक्रांतबाहुप्रतिष्ठः ।[ २३\* ]  
 89 गोपो नादिङ्गुगोपश्च तुल्यावि-  
 90 ति कथं स्तुमः । एकसंतानवा-<sup>6</sup>  
 91 न्पूर्वस्मत्संतानवान् परः ।[ २४\* ] ए-  
 92 के चाद्याविता<sup>7</sup> ये वितरणनिगमा-  
 93 न् वेधसा सिंधुचद्रप्राया जा-  
 94 ङां प्रपन्नाः कति च पशुदृषद्धारु-  
 95 जात्यातिमूढाः । धत्ते चाद्याप-<sup>8</sup>  
 96 यस्तान्वितरणनिगमान् गोप-  
 97 यार्यं<sup>9</sup> करेब्धिं कल्पद्रुं कामधे-  
 98 नुं हृदि वदनदृशोश्चद्रचिता-  
 99 मणी च ।[ २५\* ] <sup>12</sup>यद्दैरिच्छोणिपालप्रकर-  
 100 पुरमहाचंद्रशालागृह्णांतः[\*]-<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read 'वचीज', as correctly in K

<sup>2</sup> K यत्कीर्ति

<sup>3</sup> Read कार्तिर्केदु

<sup>4</sup> Read श्वेतिमा

<sup>5</sup> Read झाटी

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps the actual reading is 'लोष्ठूत', as in K

<sup>7</sup> Read युद्ध, the *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line

<sup>8</sup> K 'सतान'

<sup>9</sup> Read चाद्यापिता, as correctly in K

<sup>10</sup> Read चाद्याप, as correctly in K

<sup>11</sup> Originally त्य had been engraved instead of र्य, but it seems to have been corrected

<sup>12</sup> The रि has possibly been corrected out of ठि

<sup>13</sup> K 'गृह्णात्त-

- 101 श्रीखडस्तभकुभङ्गजगपतिह<sup>1</sup>  
 102 ढालोढदेहार्कवाहाः । मूर्च्छ-  
 103 न्मोहा[:\*] स्वतलतः<sup>2</sup> सपदि गतविषा  
 104 वैनतेयेन सद्यो द्योमार्गं यां-<sup>3</sup>  
 105 ति सोय दिनमणिवितुतो भा-  
 106 ति नादिङ्गोपः ॥ [२६\*] श्रीकृष्णचित्तिपा-  
 107 लमौळिसचिव[:\*] श्रीसाळ्वतिम्प्रभु-  
 108 र्जासातर्यवरे धुरधरवहे<sup>4</sup> श्री-  
 109 गोपमन्त्रीश्वरे । <sup>5</sup>प्राधत्ताखिलको-<sup>6</sup>  
 110 डवोटिनगरीसाम्राज्यरोरेय-<sup>7</sup>  
 111 का<sup>8</sup> मत्तेभाङ्गपदातिसैन्यकलितां<sup>9</sup>  
 112 पल्लंकिता चामरे ।[। २७\*] श्रीकृष्णरा-  
 113 यनरनाथशिरःप्रतानश्रीसाळ्व-<sup>10</sup>  
 114 तिम्प्रसचिवेश्वरभागिनियः । ना-  
 115 दिङ्गोपमचिवो नयतत्ववे-<sup>11</sup>  
 116 दी श्रीकोडवोटिनगरैकधुरधरो-  
 117 [भू]त् ।[। २८\*] राघवायगणिते शकव-  
 118 [र्वे] राघवाय रचिताचलपुर्या ।<sup>12</sup>  
 119 वप्रगोपुरमयेनव[ह\*]म्यैर्गो-<sup>13</sup>  
 120 पमचित्तिलकेन सपर्या<sup>14</sup> ॥ [२९\*]

*Third Face*

- 121 राघवाय १४४२ अक्षरमज्ञ ।[।\*] शाकाब्दे पु-  
 122 रवेद्वार्धिशिशिभिर्गण्ये<sup>5</sup> हृषे वत्सरे फाल्गुन्यां  
 123 विधुवासरे शुभदिने श्रीकोडवोटिपुरे । नादि-  
 124 ड्वात्तयगोपमन्त्रितिलक[:\*] श्रीसाळ्वतिम्प्रभोर्जा-

<sup>1</sup> Read °भङ्गमङ्गजगपरिह, as correctly in K

<sup>2</sup> The subscript sign which I have read ॥ is rather indistinct, and may be meant for something else, in K, however, the reading एवं is quite certain

<sup>3</sup> The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line

<sup>4</sup> Read धुरधरवरे

<sup>5</sup> Read प्रादत्ता°

<sup>6</sup> The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>7</sup> Read °व्यधौरिय, as correctly in K

<sup>8</sup> Read ता, as in K, where ता seems to have been corrected out of का

<sup>9</sup> The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line

<sup>10</sup> K °प्रयान°, read °प्रयान°

<sup>11</sup> Read °तत्त्ववे-

<sup>12</sup> The *anusvara* and the sign of punctuation stand at the beginning of the next line, K °वाचपुर्या

<sup>13</sup> K °वद्भ्यै°.

<sup>14</sup> Read सपर्या, as correctly in K

<sup>15</sup> K °वार्दिश°

- 125 माता रघुनायकस्य कृतवान् सम्यक्प्रतिष्ठावि-  
 126 धिं ।[। ३०\*] सुग्रीवलक्ष्मणविभीषणजाववद्विश्वनुव-  
 127 युक्तभरतेन हनूमता च । सीतापतिं सप-  
 128 रिवारकमगदेन राम च गोपसचिवीकृत सु-  
 129 प्रतिष्ठ ।[। ३१\*] सीतारामसमन्विता सभरता चैषा  
 130 ह्ययोध्या तता<sup>१</sup> शत्रुघ्नाधिकलक्ष्मणा विजय-  
 131 ते श्रीकौण्डवीटोपुरी । सुग्रीवो हनुमान्विभीष-<sup>२</sup>  
 132 ण इह श्रीजाववत्संगदो<sup>३</sup> रामं सावरण प्र-  
 133 तिष्ठितमतान्नादिङ्गुगोपप्रभुः<sup>४</sup> ।[। ३२\*] श्रीकौण्डवीटि-  
 134 पुरिनायक रामचन्द्रः<sup>५</sup> किं चन्द्रकां<sup>६</sup> समधि-  
 135 गत्य शश कर्ककः । आयाति यावदिति साकुव-  
 136 केतनत्वं धत्ते न चेत्कुत इदं गरुडध्वजस्य ।[। ३३\*] द्वा-  
 137 सप्तत्यधिका नियोगकलनां कर्तुं बुधया-  
 138 मिणी<sup>७</sup> । श्रीमत्साकुवराधवाय महितो ना-  
 139 दिङ्गुगोपप्रभु । प्रादादुनुवनामकं सु-  
 140 फलित सीमाचतुष्कान्वितं ।<sup>८</sup> सर्वाक्राततया<sup>९</sup>  
 141 समस्तमासमाष्टेश्वर्यभोगान्वित<sup>१०</sup> ।[। ३४\*] सालिवा-  
 142 हनशकांकयुवादे सालिवाहनसमोप-  
 143 यमंचो । साकुवतिभ्रसचिवादुदवापत्कीं-  
 144 डवीटिनगराधिपलक्ष्मी ।[। ३५\*] शाकादे नववद्विवा-  
 145 धिंवसुधागणेश्वरे वत्सरे सुक्षेत्रं विनिकौण्ड-  
 146 कुतिसरितोर्मध्ये<sup>११</sup> कियन्मात्रत. । कृत्वा ग्राम-  
 147 वरं तटाककलितं चाप्यापुराख्यानित ।<sup>१२</sup> प्रा-  
 148 दादगडिगोपिनाथहरये नादिङ्गुयप्य-  
 149 प्रभुः ।[। ३६\*] अनन्तगोपिनाथाय<sup>१३</sup> रौपिचर्लनिवा-  
 150 सिने । प्रादाद्वीपवर ग्राम नादिङ्गुयप्य-

<sup>१</sup> Read तथा, as correctly in K

<sup>२</sup> K हनुमादि<sup>०</sup>

<sup>३</sup> Read श्रीजाववस्वगदी or श्रीजाववस्वगदी or श्रीजाववयांगदी

<sup>४</sup> Read °मघात्ता°, as probably corrected in K

<sup>५</sup> K पुरना°, read °चद्र

<sup>६</sup> Read चद्रता, as correctly in K

<sup>७</sup> Read मणी, as correctly in K, the following sign of punctuation is superfluous and wanting in K

<sup>८</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous and wanting in K

<sup>९</sup> K °क्राततया

<sup>१०</sup> Read °समसमा°, as correctly in K

<sup>११</sup> Read °र्मध्ये, as correctly in K

<sup>१२</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous

<sup>१३</sup> K अनत<sup>०</sup>

- 151 मविराट् ।[। ३७\*] महेरेलपुरमाधविदेव्यै वप्रमि-<sup>1</sup>  
 152 द्रजलदींदुगशक्ते<sup>2</sup> । पैणिमळ्ळिमदिशत्पंपू-<sup>3</sup>  
 153 र्णै ग्राममावसुधमप्पयमत्रो ।[। ३८\*] ब्रह्मा-  
 154 ग्निवेदशशिगण्यशकेश्वरेव्दे नादिडुयप्पसचिवो वि-  
 155 निकोडदुर्गे । रामेश्वराय वनमंटपवप्र-  
 156 सौधारम्यालय<sup>4</sup> समतनोत्तमतारसज्जः ।[। ३९\*]  
 157 'शकेशवळ्ळिनिगमेंदुगदातृवर्णे' नादिडुति-<sup>5</sup>  
 158 म्मसचित्रात्मभवाप्पयार्यः । श्रींकारनामस-  
 159 रिदतिकनदिपाटिग्रामे शिवालयमनर्घ-  
 160 मसावकार्पीत् ॥ [४०\*] स्वच्छस्वच्छनखावळ्ळिच्छविशिखाके-  
 161 ळोमराळोवृतं भूपोद्गासिभुजगपुगवल-  
 162 लन्नाळान्मणाशान्वितं<sup>6</sup> । वैरिन्नातशिरोमिळ्ळिद-  
 163 वनितासदीहसध्वानित ।<sup>7</sup> वदे दक्षमखा-  
 164 रिपादकमलं वृदारवृंदार्चित ।[। ४१\*] दक्षप्र-  
 165 जापतेर्मूर्धा मेपमूर्धायते चणात्<sup>8</sup> । यक्षीरकरुणा-  
 166 वेशात्स वो वीरेश्वरोवत्<sup>9</sup> ।[। ४२\*] शाकाव्दे निधिरामवेदध-  
 167 रणोगण्येश्वरे वत्सरे आवण्यां विनिकोडशीमनि<sup>10</sup> सु-  
 168 दालिप्त<sup>11</sup> शिलामटप । ग्रामे नूतुलपाटि-  
 169 नामनि महावीरेश्वरायादिशत् लक्ष्मोनायकसा-<sup>12</sup>  
 170 ळ्वतिम्मविभवे<sup>13</sup> नादिडुयप्पप्रभुः ।[। ४३\*] शाकाव्दे गग-  
 171 नाद्विवेदधरणीगण्ये<sup>14</sup> च सवत्सरे विख्याते बहु-  
 172 दान्यनामनि<sup>15</sup> महान्नादिडुयप्पप्रभुः । क्रा-  
 173 जागस्यमहेश्वराय विपुल रम्य महाम-  
 174 टप लक्ष्मोनायकसाळ्वतिम्मविभवे पुण्याय क्त-

<sup>1</sup> The *guds* has been added afterwards, the *anusodra* stands at the beginning of the next line, K indistinct

<sup>2</sup> Read 'जलदींदु', as correctly in K

<sup>3</sup> K indistinct, read 'शत्परिपू-'

<sup>4</sup> Read 'सौधारम्या'

<sup>5</sup> Read 'शकेश्वर', as correctly in K

<sup>6</sup> Read 'गधाट', as correctly in K

<sup>7</sup> K 'तिम्'

<sup>8</sup> Read 'मृणालान्वित'

<sup>9</sup> Read 'सधानित', as probably correctly in K. The sign of punctuation is superfluous and wanting in K.

<sup>10</sup> For the *aksharas* जाप to चणा something else seems to have been originally engraved

<sup>11</sup> Read 'वत्', as correctly in K

<sup>12</sup> Read 'उत्तरीमनि', as correctly in K

<sup>13</sup> Read 'दालिप्त', as correctly in K

<sup>14</sup> Read 'शक्त्यो',

<sup>15</sup> K 'तिम्', or perhaps 'तिम'

<sup>16</sup> Read 'नाद्विवेद'

<sup>17</sup> Read 'दान्य', as correctly in K, 'ना' has been corrected from 'का'

- 175 त्वादिशत् ॥ [४४\*] निधिशुचिनिगमक्षमागण्यशाकेश्वराब्दे प्रभु-  
 176 वरविनिकौंडादोशनादिङ्गुयप्पः । निजजनकजन-  
 177 न्योर्नित्यवैकुण्ठसिद्धे<sup>1</sup> करणिककरमेरान्<sup>2</sup> सर्वमान्या-  
 178 नकार्षीत् । [४५\*] शाकाब्दे निधिवक्त्रिवेदधरणोगण्येश्वरे वत्स-  
 179 रे आवास्यां विधुवासरे शुभदिने<sup>3</sup> नादिङ्गुयप्प-  
 180 सु. । प्रादान्मक्षवराग्रहारमचल सर्वर्षिसंपू<sup>4</sup>  
 181 रितं तद्गामाधिपचनकेशवरमानायाय वो-  
 182 धात्मने । [४६\*] शाकाब्दे निधिवक्त्रिवेदधरणोगण्येश्वरे वत्स-  
 183 रे वैशाख्यां विनिकौंडनामनि पुरे रम्यं महा-

*Fourth Face*

- 184 मंटपं । प्रादादगडिगोपिनाथ-  
 185 हरये प्राकारमत्युन्नतं लक्ष्मीना-  
 186 यकसाङ्गवतिमविभवे<sup>5</sup> नादिङ्गुय-  
 187 प्पप्रभुः । [४७\*] महेरालपुरमाधवदेव्यै<sup>6</sup> [व\*]प्र-<sup>7</sup>  
 188 सुन्नततरं प्रविधाय । नागवक्त्रिज-  
 189 लर्धोदुगशाके वर्षे एनमदितीप्पय-<sup>8</sup>  
 190 मन्त्री । [४८\*] शाकाब्दे वसुवक्त्रिवेदशशिगे वर्षे  
 191 च दात्राह्वये<sup>9</sup> नादिङ्गुयप्पदातुकू-  
 192 रुमखिलं कृत्वा स्वयं विप्रसात् । सं-<sup>10</sup>  
 193 ध्यास्त्रानजपाङ्गिकादिविधये तभ्य-  
 194 स्तमटाक<sup>11</sup> महत्<sup>12</sup> शाल्यारामवरक्षुसा-  
 195 धनमदानादिङ्गुयप्पप्रभुः<sup>13</sup> । [४९\*] उ-  
 196 त्पुल्लोक्षोलवेक्षत्कमलवनमिळद्राजह<sup>14</sup>-<sup>15</sup>  
 197 सावतंसं क्रेकारिक्रौचचक्रक्रम-  
 198 गतिमिधुनक्रोडखेलामनोन्न<sup>16</sup> । पा-  
 199 रावाराककार तटपुटघटितोत्ता-

<sup>1</sup> Read °सिद्धे, K illegible

<sup>2</sup> The third क of this word is expressed by the old sign K seems to read °ककर° by correction

<sup>3</sup> K. सुभ°

<sup>4</sup> Read सर्वर्षि°; K illegible

<sup>5</sup> K probably °तिम°

<sup>6</sup> Read °माधवि°

<sup>7</sup> K वप्र°

<sup>8</sup> Read °वर्षे एनमदिताप्पय-, in K probably corrected

<sup>9</sup> Read धात्रा°, as correctly in K

<sup>10</sup> The anusvāra stands at the beginning of the next line

<sup>11</sup> Read तैभ्यस्तटाक, as correctly in K

<sup>12</sup> Read महच्छा°

<sup>13</sup> K धनमदाना°

<sup>14</sup> Read तपुल्लो°

<sup>15</sup> The anusvāra stands at the beginning of the next line

<sup>16</sup> Read °मिधुन°, as correctly in K

- 200 लतालं तटाकं कृत्वा नादिङ्गुयप्पप्र-  
 201 भुरक्ततरा विप्रसादातुकूरोः<sup>1</sup> [॥ ५०\*]  
 202 शाकाब्दे गजरामवार्दिमहिगे दात्रा-<sup>2</sup>  
 203 ख्यवर्षे घनं प्रासादं नवहेमकुं-<sup>3</sup>  
 204 भकलित रम्य महामंटपं । श्रीमन्म-<sup>4</sup>  
 205 गळ्ळैलनाथहरये नादिङ्गुयप्पप्रभु-<sup>5</sup>  
 206 ग्रामं मंगळ्ळैलनामकमपि प्रादात्<sup>6</sup>  
 207 नृसिंहाय च । [॥ ५१\*] शाकाब्दे ब्रह्मवर्जिभ्यु-  
 208 तिशशिगणिते चेश्वराख्ये वर्षे<sup>7</sup> रेटूरिग्राम-<sup>8</sup>  
 209 <sup>9</sup>नीमन्यवयुतिकलनानिर्मिताप्पापुरा-  
 210 ख्य । दत्त्वा<sup>10</sup> ग्राम द्विजेभ्यस्तदुपकृतिकृते शा-  
 211 लिसस्यादिसिद्धे<sup>11</sup> प्रादान्नादिङ्गुयप्पप्रभुमणि-  
 212 रुदधिप्रख्यमेक तटाकं । [॥ ५२\*] अप्पापुरे वार्दिसम-  
 213 स्तटाक<sup>12</sup> पद्माकरोयं द्विजराजवासः । यन्ने<sup>13</sup> वन  
 214 चाच्युतशालिधाम श्रीक्षे पयःपूर्णत-  
 215 या नदीक<sup>14</sup> । [॥ ५३\*] नादिङ्गुसीन्नि कियतीमव-  
 216 युत्य भूमिमप्पापुरं च विरचा-<sup>15</sup>  
 217 य्य तटाकयुक्तं<sup>16</sup> [॥ ५४\*] नादिङ्गुयप्पस-  
 218 [चि]वीदित तद्धिजेभ्यो<sup>17</sup> ब्रह्माग्निवार्धि-  
 219 शशिशकगुणेश्वरेन्द्रे ॥ [५४\*] शाकाब्दे निधिरा-  
 220 मवेदधरणीगणेश्वरे वत्सरे येचू-  
 221 रादतयुत्य<sup>18</sup> भूमिसुचिता प-  
 222 द्वाकरालंकृतं । ग्राम केसरिपाटि-  
 223 <sup>19</sup>पुटिदशकप्रायं विधायादिशद्ये-  
 224 [चू]यौभळनारसिंहहरये ना-  
 225 [दिं]ङ्गुयप्पप्रभुः । [॥ ५५\*] अनन्तगोपिना-

<sup>1</sup> Read °कूरो, as correctly in K<sup>2</sup> Read °वार्दिमहिगे धात्रा-, as correctly in K<sup>3</sup> The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line<sup>4</sup> The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line<sup>5</sup> K inserts a superfluous sign of punctuation after °प्रभु°.<sup>6</sup> Read प्रादात्°<sup>7</sup> Read °ख्ये च वर्षे, as correctly in K<sup>8</sup> K रेटूरि°.<sup>9</sup> Read श्रीम°, as correctly in K<sup>10</sup> Read दत्त्वा.<sup>11</sup> K °सिद्धे, read °विद्धे<sup>12</sup> Read वार्दिमस्तटाक., as correctly in K<sup>13</sup> Read यन्ने,<sup>14</sup> Read नदीक, as correctly in K<sup>15</sup> Read विरच-, as correctly in K<sup>16</sup> K °युक्त।<sup>17</sup> K द्विजेभ्यो, read तद्धिजेभ्यो<sup>18</sup> Read रावव°<sup>19</sup> Read पुटि°.



- 226 [या]य रोप्पिचर्लनिवासिने । प्रादानो-  
 227 पवर ग्राम नादिङ्गुप्यमत्रि-  
 228 राट्<sup>1</sup> ।[। ५६\*] शाकादे वसुवङ्गिवेदधरणीग-  
 229 खे च दाचव्दके<sup>2</sup> वैशाख्या विनिकोडसो-  
 230 मनि सुधो<sup>3</sup> नादिङ्गुप्यप्रभुः । वा-  
 231 [सि]ष्टाय च भर्तृपूडिमखिल ग्रामं<sup>4</sup>  
 232 खनामांकितं प्रादाद्रायण-<sup>5</sup>  
 233 भास्कराय<sup>6</sup> निधुषेष्टैश्वर्यभोगान्वित [॥ ५७\*]  
 234 शाकादे गजवङ्गिवेदशशिगे<sup>7</sup> वर्षे च दा-  
 235 चाह्वय<sup>8</sup> आवण्यां विनिकोडसोन्नि<sup>9</sup>  
 236 कृतधोर्नादिङ्गुप्यप्रभुः । येच-  
 237 राववयुत्य गोपपुरमित्याख्य [द्वि]-  
 238 जेभ्यादिश<sup>10</sup> ग्रामं केसरिपाटिपुटिदश[क]-<sup>11</sup>  
 239 प्राय तटाकोज्वल<sup>12</sup> ॥ [ ५८\*] शाकादे निधिरा-<sup>13</sup>  
 240 मवर्गाधरणीगखेश्वरे वत्सरे कार्तिक्यां<sup>14</sup>  
 241 विनिकोडसोन्नि सुकृती नादिङ्गुप्य-  
 242 प्रभुः । प्रादाधन्नवराभिदं<sup>15</sup> च सकल  
 243 ग्रामं खनामांकित कौडिन्याम्ब-  
 244 <sup>16</sup>ययूरदेचविदुषेष्टैश्वर्यभोगान्वित<sup>17</sup>  
 245 ।[। ५९\*] यावज्जङ्गसुतात्रियंवकसुता-<sup>18</sup>  
 246 <sup>19</sup>श्रीसङ्गपुत्रीपय[\*]पूरास्ते पुनते भु-  
 247 वं च सकलां श्रीकोडवीटोपुरीं । या-  
 248 वत्काव्यसुधावुराशिलहरोहेलां  
 249 विधत्ते कविस्तावत्साङ्गुवतिभ्रकोर्तिलति-

<sup>1</sup> This verse is a repetition of v 37, and occurs in K once only

<sup>2</sup> K धाचव्दके ।, read धाचव्दके.

<sup>3</sup> The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line

<sup>4</sup> Read विदुषे, as correctly in K <sup>7</sup> K वेधश

<sup>5</sup> K कोडसोन्नि <sup>10</sup> K केभ्योदिश, read केभ्योदिशद्गाम

<sup>6</sup> Read सुधीना, as correctly in K

<sup>8</sup> K दात्रा

<sup>9</sup> K धाचह्वय ।, read धाचाह्वये

<sup>11</sup> Read पुटि, in K a very small ट seems to have been added afterwards

<sup>12</sup> Read कोज्वल <sup>13</sup> K निदिरा-

<sup>14</sup> K रे । का, read कार्तिक्यां <sup>15</sup> K प्रादादन्न, read प्रादादन्नवराभिद

<sup>16</sup> K perhaps देह.

<sup>17</sup> The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line

<sup>18</sup> In K the दा of the first सुता appears to have been corrected from some other *akshara*, °त्रियावक°, perhaps corrected

<sup>19</sup> In K the *anusvara* was inserted afterwards, read श्रीसङ्ग°.

- 250 का 'पुष्पत्वजस भुवि ॥ [६०\*] 'श्रीकृष्णसोणिपा-  
 251 लप्रचुरतरमहाराजधौरेयनो-  
 252 तिप्रागल्भ्यस्त्राक्वतिंमप्रभुवरति-  
 253 लको राचयामात्वस्तुः । आचं-<sup>3</sup>  
 254 द्रादित्यतारस्थिरतरमदिशक्तो-<sup>4</sup>  
 255 हुकावूरिनामस्यातग्राम<sup>5</sup> त्रि-  
 256 कूटेश्वरनिटसदृशे विश्वलोकेश्वरा-  
 257 य ॥ [६१\*] श्री श्री श्री ज्ञेयु<sup>6</sup> ॥

## ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Lane 1) Let there be prosperity<sup>1</sup>

(Verse 1) May the primeval boar protect you, he who lifted the earth that was wet as if it (were a woman that had fallen in love with him<sup>2</sup> and) were in violent perspiration on account of the touching of his body<sup>1</sup>

(V 2) Let this primeval boar devise what is propitious<sup>1</sup> When he had lifted the wet earth from the flood of water, he held it with great force for fear lest it should slip down,<sup>8</sup> and (thereby) hurt a little the lower part of it with his tusk (like a lover who, when he has lifted his mistress in excess of passion, bewildered by the contact with her body, squeezes her with great force and inflicts a little wound to her lower lip with his tooth).

(V. 3) The lord of Kākula who, in love's wanton sports, interlacing his own (blue) hands with the tender (white) arms of Lakshmi clinging to his chest, wears, as it were, a garland of *mandāra* flowers<sup>9</sup> entwined with strings of leaves of the blue water-lily, — may he exhibit the skill of fortune<sup>1</sup>

(V 4) The holy Rāma (who is identical with) Hari, who may be known from the Vēdānta,<sup>10</sup> who, though his nature is knowledge, without end,<sup>11</sup> and existence, yet, in order to perform the duties of Maghavat,<sup>12</sup> wears an illusory body, at whose sight even his enemies, such as Rāvana and the rest, went to heaven<sup>13</sup> at the end of their time, and others, such as Hanumat and Vibhishana, felt perfect satisfaction on earth,— let him grant welfare to the worlds<sup>1</sup>

(V 5) I do homage to the sinless lotus like foot of Rāma, the tree of desires to those who worship it, which is reddened by the splendour of the crest-jewels of Indra and the other

<sup>1</sup> Read पुष्पात्वं

<sup>2</sup> The following verse is not in K

<sup>3</sup> The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line

<sup>4</sup> The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line

<sup>5</sup> The subscript sign of the first *akshara* of this line is very indistinct

<sup>6</sup> For the reading of K see the text

<sup>7</sup> Both here and in the next verse the boar and the earth are represented as two lovers, and the words have to be taken in a double meaning

<sup>8</sup> Literally, 'on account of the unsteadiness of the contact'

<sup>9</sup> As Lakshmi is represented as being of white or golden colour, *mandāra* seems to be used here as a name of the white variety of *Calotropis Gigantea*, not of the scarlet-flowering *Erythrina Indica*

<sup>10</sup> Compare Vēdānta vēdy āmanā .. *Vishnavē* in l 135 of the Pīṭhāpuram inscription of Prithvīstara, above, Vol IV p 46

<sup>11</sup> I have translated *ananta*, as this is the reading of both inscriptions. But I think it not unlikely that *ananta* is a mistake for *ānanda jñān ānanda sad* corresponding to the well known *sach chid ānanda* which in such texts as the *Rāmātpantiya Upanishad* is frequently applied to Rāma-Vishnu.

<sup>12</sup> I.e. Indra

<sup>13</sup> I.e. obtained salvation

(gods) bowing (before him) as (the lotus is reddened) by the early rays of the sun, which is embellished by the waves of light from the thunderbolt of the slayer of Vritra<sup>1</sup> as (the lotus is embellished) by flights of bees, and which is distinguished by the tinkling of its anklets as (the lotus is distinguished) by the sweet sounds of the female flamingoes

(V 6) There is (a king) called the glorious Krishnarâya, the head-ornament of kings, whose lotus-like feet are illuminated by the crest-jewels of princes

(V 7) Through the precious stones presented by the glorious king Krishna the houses of the learned and the poets have pavements sparkling with jewels of different kinds, and have (thus) become jewel-mines,<sup>2</sup> voracious people (therefore) speak of the ocean which is (now) only a receptacle of floods of water (only in terms meaning water-receptacle, such) as *ambhódhik*, *juladhik*, *payódhik*, *udadhik*, *vârâm nidhik*, *vâridhik*

(V 8) In the court of Kalinga is seen the pillar of victory of the glorious king Krishna, (resembling) a stake for (tying) the elephants of his enemies, a post for (sacrificing) his foes in battle like cattle at a sacrifice, a shaft thrust into the hearts of his enemies, a lofty radiant shoot of splendour, the tusk of the boar-bodied (Vishnu) rising from the lower regions by piercing the earth

(V 9) The great chancellor, the glorious Sâlva-Timma, the best of ministers, rules the empire of the glorious king Krishnarâya

(V 10) The glorious minister Sâlva-Timma, the best of the family of Kaundinya, is the son of the minister Râcha, the son of the minister Vêma

(V 11.) We are not aware that the leaders of the learned differ in any way (from Sâlva-Timma) as to their wealth (obtained) by donations, their sports with Padmâ<sup>3</sup> or Vâñi,<sup>4</sup> the number of their excellent jewels, the thousands of their fair-eyed women, their beautiful mansions and palaces, their unequalled attendants or their carriages for horses, elephants, etc., (but) verily, well we know how (in one thing) Sâlva-Timma differs from them, for he is victorious in battle

(V 12) Was it, because she was ashamed (of being obliged) to clean herself from the contact with the mud, that Padmâ gave up the dwelling in the mud-born (lotus) and abides in the water-born (lotus) of thy face, together with her daughter-in-law Vâñi,<sup>5</sup> O Sâlva-Timma! (who on that account art both) Chaubattamalla (and) Chatuânana<sup>26</sup>

(V 13) When Sâlva (or the hawk), surnamed Timma, the one chief minister on account of (his knowledge of) the four means and the three powers together with the seven constituents (of government),<sup>7</sup> after having captured the swan-like kings appointed by Gajapati in Kondaviti, is planning an attack, the hostile princes, secretly absconding, tormented by hunger and thirst, are searching for the Śaka years in the mountains (7), the towns (3),<sup>8</sup> the oceans (4) and the earth (1), (thus) resembling birds which, flying off unnoticed, tormented by hunger

<sup>1</sup> I.e. Indra

<sup>2</sup> Or, oceans, *raindhara* being a common term for ocean

<sup>3</sup> I.e. the goddess of riches

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the goddess of learning

<sup>5</sup> Vâñi (Sarasvatî) is called here the daughter in law of Padmâ (Lakshmi), because, as a rule, learning and wealth agree as little with each other as, according to Indian ideas, a mother-in-law with her daughter-in-law

<sup>6</sup> Sarasvatî is generally supposed to dwell in the mouth of Chaturânana (Brahman), while Lakshmi is the consort of Vishnu. Chaubattamalla, therefore, seems to be used here as a name of Vishnu, though I do not find it mentioned anywhere else. *Chauhatta* seems to be equivalent to the Sanskrit *Chaturhasta*, compare *Chaturbhujâ*, a common name of Vishnu-Krishnu

<sup>7</sup> The four means (*upâya*) are *sîman*, *dâna*, *bhêda*, and *danda*, the three powers (*śakti*) are *prabhâta utsâha*, and *mantra*, the seven constituents of government (*anga*) are *sadmin*, *amâtya*, *suhrid*, *kôsa*, *râshtra*, *durga*, and *bala*, compare II 8, 17 + 20

<sup>8</sup> I have found *pura* in *Inscriptions*, p. xx f. built by Maya and destr

The four numbers give the date 1437  
list of numerical words given by Mr. Rice, *Mysore* 30 below. *Pura* in this sense refers to the three cities

and thirst, are looking for herbs and (*rain-giving*) clouds in the mountains, the towns, the oceans and the earth<sup>1</sup>

(V 14) On Saturday, the Harivāsara of the bright half of the month Āshādha, to be counted in the Śaka year marked by Sāluva (Sāluvāṅka), the town of Kondavīti, the excellent hill-fort,<sup>2</sup> was taken by the minister Sālva-Timma<sup>3</sup>

(V 15) (*The procreation of*) a son, (*the planting of*) a grove, (*the construction of*) a tank, (*the consecration of*) a temple, the marriage (*of a girl*) to a Brāhman, (*the hoarding of*) a treasure, and (*the composition of*) a poem are the seven *samtānaka* acts which cause happiness in this world and in the next one, the glorious lord Sālva-Timma, the prime-minister of the glorious king Krishna, has so often performed them, from the Bridge to the snowy mountain, that one cannot count them<sup>4</sup>

(V 16) There is, born in the lineage of Kauśika, the best of the family of Nāḍindla, an excellent minister, Timma, who has the true knowledge of him whose nature is intelligence<sup>5</sup>

(V 17) Krishnāmbā, renowned as Arundhatī,<sup>6</sup> because she does not oppose (*arundhatī*) the command of her husband, is regarded as Anasūyā, because she is always free from spite (*anasūyā*).

(V 18) The minister Nāḍindla-Timma was married to Krishnamāmbā, his sons were the excellent ministers Appa and Gōpa.

(V 19) The sister's sons of the glorious minister Sālva-Timma, who continued his family, were the excellent ministers Nāḍindla-Appa and (Nāḍindla-)Gōpa

(V 20) Appa,<sup>7</sup> who manifests himself in the waters and (*who bears the epithet*) Prachētas, and Nāḍindla-Appa, who is easily accessible<sup>8</sup> and intelligent, are the lords, the one of the western, and the other of the southern ocean

<sup>1</sup> In order to remove any doubt about the meaning of the words *giri pura jaladhī kṣmāsu gūḍham pralīnā* an explanation has been inserted at the end of the stanza 1437 Śak ābdalu [1\*] *su gūḍham pralīnā akṣa[ra\*]-samyā*, i.e. '1437 Śaka years, *su gūḍham pralīnā* is a notation by letters' We have therefore to take *s(u)* as 7, *g(u)* as 3, *dh(am)* as 4, and *p(ra)* as 1. There is a slight irregularity in the last *akṣhara*. According to the established usage, in groups of consonants the last consonant only counts (compare Burnell, *South Indian Palaeography*, 2nd ed., p. 79), whereas in this case *p* must have been intended to express the numeral, *r* having the value of 2. As the reading *pralīnā* is supported by both inscriptions as well as by the Kondavīdu inscription (compare p. 112, note 3), I have not ventured to alter the text, although the reading *pralīnā* seems to me far better. In that case the meaning would be that the princes are searching for the Śaka years deeply hidden in the mountains, the towns, the oceans and the earth, which, from an Indian point of view, would be an excellent pun, whereas in the text as it stands the words *gūḍham pralīnā* are quite superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> With *naga-rāyam* compare the terms *durggāṇām sārvaabhaumah* and *giri varah* applied to a hill fort in an inscription of the time of king Bukka, *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I p. 167. The neuter form of the word, though not in accordance with grammar, is warranted also by the Kondavīdu inscription (compare p. 112, note 3).

<sup>3</sup> Here again, at the end of the stanza a gloss has been inserted, stating that *Sāluvāṅka* is a chronogram *Sāluvāṅka akṣhara samyā* | 1437 Śaka varshālu. It appears that *s(d)* is 7, *l(u)* 3, *v(dm)* 4, and *k(a)* 1. This again is not quite in accordance with the table given by Burnell, where *l* has the value of 9. The author of the inscription apparently looked upon *l* as equal to *d* or *l*.

<sup>4</sup> The seven *samtānas* or *samtatis* are mentioned also in v. 24 below, in v. 43 of the Ganapésvaram inscription of Ganapati, above, Vol. III p. 88, in v. 9 of the Yānapalli plates and v. 17 of the Nadupūru plates of Anna Vēma, *ibid* pp. 61 and 239, compare the notes of Dr. Hultzsch on the first two passages.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.* Bāma. With *chinmay ātman* compare the epithets *jñān ananta sad ātmaka* and *bōdh ātman* applied to Bāma in vv. 4 and 46.

<sup>6</sup> This would be the literal meaning of the passage, but the author did not want to say that Krishnāmbā really was called Arundhatī. In the Kondavīdu inscription (compare p. 112, note 3) *nūnam* has therefore been substituted for *khyād*.

<sup>7</sup> *I.e.* Varuna.

<sup>8</sup> *Appa mūrti*, as applied to Nāḍindla-Appa, seems to mean 'whose person is obtainable,' i.e. 'who is easily accessible.'

(V 21) It was the lord Nāṇḍila-Appa who obtained from the glorious king Krishna and the minister Timma (*the right to use*) a palanquin, two *chauris*<sup>1</sup> and a parasol, and the posts of superintendent of Vinikonda, Guttī, and the city on the golden mountain (Mēru),<sup>2</sup> of commander-in-chief of a large army consisting of rutting elephants, horses and infantry, and of sole governor of that kingdom

(V 22) (*The man*) whose fame—a swelling smooth cloud of pulverized camphor, anointing, covering and spreading on, the beautiful rounded breasts of Śachi<sup>3</sup> which resemble<sup>4</sup> the two frontal globes of the elephant of the slayer of Jambha<sup>5</sup>—derides the moon in the month Kārttika by asserting that it has not its equals in whiteness,<sup>6</sup>—that man is this excellent lord Nāṇḍila-Appa whose brilliant fame (*therefore*) is to be praised by all men

(V 23) (*The man*) whose arm, when it brandishes a sword on the battle-field on the surface of the earth which he has made (*appear*) like the Pātāla world<sup>7</sup> by the clouds of dust whirled up from the ground crushed by the hard hoofs of millions of his war-horses, looks like the formidable looking lord of the serpents who supports the earth,—that man is this lord Nāṇḍila-Appa whose arm (*therefore*) is the support on which the weight of the earth rests.

(V 24) How can we praise Gōpa and Nāṇḍila-Gōpa as being alike to each other ? (*For*) the former has (*only*) one *samtāna*, while the latter has seven of them <sup>8</sup>

(V 25.) Some, (*although they were*) taught the rules of donation by the creator, are dull (or cold), such as the ocean and the moon, and some are exceedingly stupid, because they belong to the class of cattle, stone or wood, (*but*) the honourable Gōpa, teaching them the rules of donation, carries in his hand the ocean, in his heart the tree of desires and the cow of wishes, in his face the moon, and in his eye the stone of desires

(V 26) Having their bodies loked by the lords of the serpents decorating the sandal-wood pillars in the large apartments on the top of the houses in the towns of the numerous kings hostile to him,<sup>9</sup> becoming totally insensible and faltering, (*but*) having instantly lost their poison through (*the presence of*) Vamatēya,<sup>10</sup> the horses of the sun are suddenly walking along the sky, —brilliant is he, this Nāṇḍila-Gōpa who is praised by the sun <sup>11</sup>

(V 27) The glorious lord Sālva-Timma, the minister of the glorious Krishna, the first among kings, gave to his younger son-in-law, the glorious Gōpa, the best among governors and

<sup>1</sup> [Compare above, Vol IV No 4, verse 3 — E H ]

<sup>2</sup> [The city on the mythical mountain Mēru is Amarāvati, the residence of god Indra Here this poetical term is applied to Amarāvati in the Kistna district — E H ]

<sup>3</sup> The wife of Indra

<sup>4</sup> Literally, 'having for companions'

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.* Indra

<sup>6</sup> If my translation is correct, we should rather expect *nīya śrēṭim śādvasta vādash* instead of *nīyash śrēṭim advasta vādash*, which, however, is supported also by the Kondavīdu inscription (compare p 112, note 3)

<sup>7</sup> Pātāla is the abode of the serpents.

<sup>8</sup> As to the seven *samtānas* compare the note on v 15 In the case of Gōpa, *s.e.* Krishna, *samtāna* seems to refer to the one celestial tree which Krishna, on the advice of his wife Satyabhāmā, carried off from Indra's heaven, though the name of this tree is generally given as Parijata But the names of the five celestial trees are sometimes mixed up, compare *e.g.* v 16 of the Vāṇapallī plates of Anna Vēma, above, Vol III p. 62, where the Parijata tree takes the place of the Kalpa tree, or v 3 of the Bīṭragunta grant of Saṅgama II, *ibid* p 25, where Kalpa is used for the celestial trees in general, see also the note of Mr H Krishna Sāstri on this passage There is hardly any allusion to Samtāna-Gopāla, one of the names of Krishna, when worshipped as giver of progeny

<sup>9</sup> Snakes are supposed to be fond of sandal-wood The towns of Gōpa's enemies were deserted by their inhabitants and therefore abounded in snakes The houses were so high that their tops touched the sun

<sup>10</sup> *J.e.* Garuda This bird must have been the device on Gōpa's banner (compare v 33 below) which had been planted on the top of the palaces of his conquered enemies

<sup>11</sup> The sun is grateful to Gōpa whose banner saved his horses

an excellent minister, the post of governor of the whole empire of the city of Kondaviti, together with an army consisting of rutting elephants, horses and infantry, and (*the right to use*) a palanquin and two *chauris*

(V 28) The sister's son of the prime-minister, the glorious Sâlva-Timma, the chancellor (*pradhâna*) of the glorious Kṛishnarâya, the first among kings,—the minister Nâdindla-Gôpa, versed in the principles of policy, was the sole governor of the excellent city of Kondaviti

(V 29) In the Śaka year counted by Râghavâya the excellent minister Gôpa showed his veneration for (*the god*) Raghava in Achalapuri by (*erecting*) new buildings adorned with a wall and a gate-tower<sup>1</sup>

V 30 records the setting-up of an image of Raghunâyaka

(V 31) Râma, the husband of Sîtâ,<sup>2</sup> with a circle<sup>3</sup> consisting of Sugrîva, Lakshmana, Vibhishana, Jâmbavat, Bharata together with Śatrughna, Hanûmat and Angada, were duly set up by the minister Gôpa

(V 32) Possessed of Sîtâ and Râma, Bharata, Śatrughna and Lakshmana, this excellent city of Kondaviti is flourishing (*like*) Ayôdhyâ, (*but*) here are (*also*) Sugrîva, Hanumat, Vibhishana, Jâmbavat and Angada, (*for*) the lord Nâdindla-Gôpa set up Râma with his circle

(V 33) O Râmachandra, glorious lord of the city Kondaviti, dost thou, having become a moon (*chandra*), assume the ensign of the hawk (*sâlûva*), because thou thinkest that the hare comes in as a stain? If not, why (*dost thou assume*) this (*ensign*) of him who has the Garuda as his emblem?<sup>4</sup>

V 34 records the grant of a village to Sâlûva-Râghava

(V 35) In the year Yuvan, marked as Sâlîvâhana-Śaka,<sup>5</sup> the minister Appa, who is equal to Sâlîvâhana, obtained the regentship of the city of Kondaviti from the minister Sâlva-Timma

<sup>1</sup> At the end of this verse we find, as before, the explanation of the chronogram 'Râghavâya 1142 akshara-samjña' This time it shows nothing peculiar, r(d) being 2, gh(a) 4, v(d) 4, and y(a) 1

<sup>2</sup> This seems to mean 'with Sîtâ on his lap'

<sup>3</sup> *Saparicdraka* is apparently the same as *śāvarana* in the next verse. *Āvarana* seems to be a technical term for the circles formed by the statues of Râma's followers round the statue of their master. Thus we read in the *Râmapûrvatâpantiya Upanishad*, v 43 ff, that Râma is surrounded (*dṛṣṭa*, vv 55, 56) by five circles, called *śāvarana* in Nârâyana's *Dîpikâ*. The third of these circles is formed by the son of the wind (Hanumat), Sugrîva, Bharata, Vibhishana, Lakshmana, Angada, Arimardana (Satrughna) and Jâmbavat (vv 53, 54), exactly the same persons as those mentioned above. Sîtâ is not mentioned in the description of the Upanishad, though in the preceding verse 47 she is represented as sitting on Râma's lap, compare also v 26. That the author had in view some arrangement of statues similar to that described in the inscription, and not, as the commentator thinks, of figures drawn in a diagram, is probable from the fact that in describing the position of the figures he uses the terms *udag dakṣinayôh, agratah* (v 50), *paçohimê* (v 51), *dgnâyâdîshu* (v 53), whereas in the description of the diagram (v 53 ff) he speaks only of *madhyê, tatpârîvê*, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Is either Vishnu or Sâlva Timma. I am not at all sure that my translation of this verse is correct. Its principal object apparently is a pun on the name of the god, Sâlûva Râghava, mentioned in the next verse, compare vv 41, 42 which in a similar way praise Siva Virêśvara mentioned in v 43. The name of the god is certainly connected in some way with that of Sâlva Timma, where, to judge from the analogy of such names as Nâdindla Timma, etc., the first part would seem to be properly a family name. Whether Sâlva in this sense has anything to do with the tribal name of the Sâlvas or Sâlvas, must be left undecided, compare Winternitz, *Mantrapâṭha*, p. xlvii. On the other hand, in the titles *Ganda Kaṭîârî Sâlûva*, borne e.g. by Narasimharâya of Vijayanagara and Venkata I of Karnâṭa (*South Ind Inscr* Vol I pp 85, 131), and by the former king even with repetition of the last word (*Sâlûva sâlûva*, *ibid* p 132), *sâlûva* is clearly only a *birûda*. According to Dr Hultzsch<sup>4</sup> it means 'the hawk,' and in this sense, and as a synonym of *Garuda*, it seems to have been used in the present case also.

<sup>5</sup> As to the chronogram see the remarks on p 112 above

Vv 36-40 record various grants

(V 41) I worship the lotus-like foot of the destroyer of the sacrifice of Daksha,<sup>1</sup> which is revered by the hosts of the gods, which is covered by the brilliant rays of the lines of its exceedingly white nails, as (*a lotus is covered*) by ducks kept for pleasure, which is adorned with huge serpents glittering like ornaments, as (*a lotus is adorned*) with the floating fibres of its stalk, which is surrounded by the heads of the hosts of his enemies, as (*a lotus is surrounded*) by flights of female bees

(V 42) Let that Virēśvara protect you whose deep compassion with heroes was the cause of Daksha-Prajāpati's head becoming quickly the head of a ram <sup>12</sup>

Vv 43-49 record various grants.

(V 50) Having made at Ātukūru a tank, where lines of swans meet in the clusters of the widely opened water-lilies floating on the waves, which is charming, because the curlews are (*seen there*) striding in circles and sporting in pairs, (*pressing each other*) with their throats, (*at the same time*) uttering sharp cries, which is the rival of the ocean, where a loud dabbling noise originates in the cavities of the banks, the lord Nāṇḍila-Appa presented it completely to the Brāhmanas<sup>3</sup>

Vv 51 and 52 record two grants

(V. 53) This tank at Appāpura, resembling the ocean, which, abounding in lotuses, was the abode of the kings of birds,<sup>4</sup> became a forest, a field of rampant paddy, and in the hot season a stream, because (*even at that time*) it was full of water

Vv 54-59 record various grants

(V 60) As long as the floods of the daughter of Jahnu, the daughter of Tryambaka and the holy daughter of Sahya are purifying the earth and the whole city of Kondavīti,<sup>5</sup> as long as a poet is sporting in the waves of the nectar-ocean of poetry, so long shall the creeper of Sāḷava-Timma's fame continually blossom on earth<sup>1</sup>

V 61 records a grant by Sāḷva-Timma

(L 257) Happiness! Happiness! May it cause happiness<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Is Śiva*

<sup>2</sup> This is an allusion to the legend that Śiva, irritated because he had not been invited to the sacrifice of Daksha-Prajāpati, the father of his wife Sati, decapitated his father-in law, but afterwards, out of pity, revived him and gave him the head of a ram

<sup>3</sup> I find it impossible to render the niceties of the text in my translation. The terms used are such as to convey the idea of an arena, where circles of kings (*rājahamsa-avatamsa*) are assembled, where a wrestling (*mithuna-kṛōḍa-khēla*) takes place, where a champion (*ankakāra*) appears, and where loud applause (*uttala tāla*) is heard

<sup>4</sup> *Devīyādya* seems to be meant for *rājahamsa*

<sup>5</sup> The daughter of Jahnu is the Gangā. The daughter of Tryambaka is the Gōḍavari which rises on mount Tryambaka, compare the verse in Rudrabhaṭṭa's commentary on the *Paṇḍyaśrīrāma*, quoted by Aufrecht, *Cat Cod Sanscr Bibl Bodl* p 318a

*Yatr-āgatā Tryambaka-parvatād-ekā Gōḍavari Sindhunadāna vukāḥ |*

*tatr-astī Gōḍā-tata-madhya-dēśē Śatkhēlak-ākhyam nagaram suramyam ||*

The Tryambaka forms part of the chain of mountains on the north-west side of the Peninsula which commonly are called Sahya, in the *Paṇḍyaśrīrāma*, I, 45, 104, the Gōḍavari therefore appears in the list of rivers which rise on the Sahya. Here, however, the daughter of Sahya is the Kṛishnā, as shown by the corresponding verse in the Kondavīti inscription (compare p 112, note 3), where *Kṛishnavatnā* has been inserted instead of *Sahyaputri*. Rivers are frequently called the daughters of the mountains where they arise, even in the dry geographical description of the *Paṇḍyaśrīrāma* the rivers rising on mount Mahēndra are called his daughters (45, 106). The statement that the Kṛishnā purifies the city (*part*) of Kondavīti is, of course, a poetical exaggeration, the distance between Kondavīti and the river being more than twenty miles.

## B.—Kāzā Pillar Inscription.

END OF THE TEXT<sup>1</sup>*Fourth Face.*

- 255 . . . . . 'श्राके वस्त्रनिवेदे-<sup>3</sup>  
 256 दुग्धस्यैगम्यमंठप । नक्षपाटौ सु-  
 257 धालिस कृतवानप्पमत्रिराट् ॥ [६०\*] श्री  
 258 श्री श्री जियुनू' [॥\*]

## No 13—TWO GRANTS OF DANDIMAHADEVI

By F KIELHOPF, PH D, LL D., C I E, GOTTINGEN

The two grants of which at Dr Hultzsch's request I give an account here from excellent impressions supplied to him by Mr Venkayya, were preserved in the office of the Collector of Gañjām and will be deposited in the Madras Museum. There is no information as to where or by whom they were discovered. They have been briefly noticed already in Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol II p 32 f, Nos 216 and 217,<sup>4</sup> and I have for years been in possession of rubbings of them which formerly belonged to the late Sir A. Cunningham. The grants record donations by a lady named Dandimahādēvi, whose ancestors are enumerated in both, in almost identical verses

## A.—DANDIMAHĀDĒVĪ'S GRANT OF THE YEAR 180.

This is a single copper-plate which measures about 1'  $\frac{1}{4}$ " broad by 10  $\frac{1}{8}$ " high, and is inscribed on both sides. On to its proper right is soldered a seal, half of which sticks to the plate, while the other half projects beyond it. This seal rests on an expanded lotus flower the petals of which enclose it, it is circular and measures 2  $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. It bears in relief on a countersunk surface, across the centre, the legend *śrīmad-Dandimahādēvi*, in characters resembling those on the first side of the plate, above the legend, a couchant bull facing to the proper right, with the sun and the moon's crescent above its hump and a conch-shell above its hips; and below the legend, two straight lines over an expanded lotus flower the stalk of which rises out of the margin of the seal.—The writing is well preserved. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{3}{8}$  and  $\frac{7}{16}$ " on the first side of the plate, and between about  $\frac{1}{4}$  and  $\frac{3}{8}$ " on the second side. Both the general style of writing and the forms of individual letters shew that the two sides of the plate were written by different persons. The writer of the first side, who affects a monumental style of writing, apparently has taken some pride in his work and has done it fairly well, the writer of the second side, who writes in a current hand, has performed his task in a very slovenly manner and committed many blunders, some of which I am unable to correct. The characters on both sides belong to the northern part of Eastern India. They

<sup>1</sup> From an inked estampage supplied by Dr Hultzsch<sup>2</sup> Up to this, the text is practically identical with that of the preceding inscription<sup>3</sup> The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line<sup>4</sup> Read जियुनु, after this comes a sign the meaning of which I do not know<sup>5</sup> The prince 'Indulālā' of Mr Sewell's account, to whom is ascribed the feat of having rescued his brother's throne owes his existence to the epithet *vyudha bhōgindra kīlā* in verse 6 of the two grants. Most of the princes who are really mentioned in the grants have been omitted by Mr Sewell's informant





such symbols therefore would seem to have been longer in practical use than in other parts of the country. As regards the individual signs employed in this inscription, the symbol for 100 is something between *lva* and *lu*, just as the symbol for 200 in the Bāmanghāṭi plate is *lū*, and that for 80 is nearly identical in both plates. The exact form of the symbol—if it be intended as such—for the number of the *tithi* of the date I have not been able to trace elsewhere, and I am very doubtful whether I have correctly taken it to denote '5'—Excepting the description of the boundaries in lines 42 and 43, where some local dialect appears to be used, the language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The first part of the grant up to line 22, which gives the genealogy of Dandimahādēvi, is in verse, but includes a short prose passage in line 3. The formal part of the grant, from line 22 to the end, is in prose, except that in lines 36-39 it contains some benedictive and imprecatory verses or fragments of verses—here, as in some cognate inscriptions, given very corruptly—as well as a verse which records the name of the composer of the *prastāva*, i.e., as I take it, of the genealogical account. In respect of orthography the only general remarks called for are, that the letter *b* throughout is denoted by the sign for *v*, and that the writer of the second side (like some Telugu writers) has found some difficulty in distinguishing between the vowels *i* and *ī*. The second side of the grant, as I have intimated already, has been written so carelessly that it would be impossible here to point out all orthographical mistakes. On the first side it may suffice to call attention to the use of the *akṣara* *tea* instead of *chchha* in the word *saptatsada* (for *saptachchhada*) in line 2, which finds its counterpart in the common *samachchhaa* (for *samvatsara*)—I regret that in the formal part of the grant there are several words or phrases regarding the exact reading and interpretation of which I am uncertain. They are the words transcribed by *pa[vā?]*la**, l 27, *gōku[ta]*-, l 29, *lēkharī-pravēsanā*[*t*]*iyā*, l 31, and [*pū?*]*nā[ā]*, l 39. I also am unable to interpret the greater part of lines 42 and 43, which, as stated already, are not in Sanskrit.

The inscription is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭārikā Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēsvarī Dandimahādēvi* (l 24), whose ancestors are enumerated in verses 2-9. There was a king named Ummattasimha (l 5), from whose family sprang Mangapāda (l 7) and other kings. In their family there was the king Lōnabhāra (l 9), his son was Kusumabhāra (l 13), after him ruled his younger brother Lalitabhāra (l 13), he was succeeded by his son Śāntikara (l 15), and he again by his younger brother Śubhākara (l 18). When the last of these princes died, his queen<sup>2</sup> ascended the throne, and afterwards her daughter Dandimahādēvi (l 20) 'ruled the earth for a long time'. This queen, a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), from 'the camp of victory'—appropriately compared in verse 1 with the commencement of autumn (the season of war)—at Guhēśvarapātaka (l 3), issues the following order to the present and future functionaries in the Kōngōḍa-maṇḍala (l 24), viz the *Mahāsāmantas*, *Mahārājas*, *Rājaputras*, *Antarāngas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparīkas*, *Vishayapatis*, *Tadāyuktakas*, *Dāndapāśikas*, *Sthānāntarikas*<sup>3</sup> and others who enjoy the royal favour, those belonging to the regular and irregular troops and (royal) favourites,<sup>4</sup> and to the people, headed by the<sup>5</sup> *Sāmantas* and *Sāmaṇyins*,<sup>6</sup> who dwell in the eastern division of the Varadākhanda-vishaya (l 26) —

"Be it known to you! For the increase of the religious merit of our parents, ourselves and all beings, we have, on the occasion of a *saṁkrānti* (l 34), by means of a copper-charter

<sup>1</sup> The doubtful sign seems to me to bear some kind of resemblance to the symbol for 5 in the Chikkulla plates, above, Vol IV p 197, l 26, Plate

<sup>2</sup> Her name is not given, but from the epithets applied to her in verse 9 we may suspect that it was Gaurī

<sup>3</sup> I do not remember having met this term before, *sthānādāhikarāṇika* occurs above, Vol III p 320, l 11 of the text, and *sthānādāhikṛta* in *Ind Ant* Vol XXV p 179, l 14

<sup>4</sup> Compare above, Vol IV p 200, l 10, *chāḍa bhāḍa-vallabhajāḍiyā*, instead of *vallabha* we have *rājavallabha* above, Vol III p 342, l 6, p 347, l 7, and elsewhere

<sup>5</sup> See below, p 138, note 25

<sup>6</sup> The term *sāmaṇyins* occurs above, Vol IV p 258, l 14, instead of it we have *sāmaṇyika*, *ibid* p 200, l 11, and *sāmaṇyika*, above, Vol III p 352, l 27 (where the published text has *sāma[m\*]*l* asska*)

with pouring out of water given, in the way of a perpetual endowment and free from taxes,<sup>1</sup> the village of Villa (l 29) which belongs to this *viśhaya*— with the *uparīkara*, with the *uddēsa*,<sup>2</sup> with<sup>3</sup> its weavers, *gōkūṣa* (?), distillers of spirituous liquors and other artisans (?), with its hamlets<sup>3</sup> (?), landing-places (or steps on the river side), ferry-places<sup>4</sup> etc. and thickets, exempt from all molestation, not to be entered<sup>5</sup> . . . , in accordance with the maxim called *bhūmichchhādra* and for as long as the moon, the sun and the earth endure—to the door-keeper Dhavala (l 34), the son of Vāṇ[u?] and grandson of Apratidāghō-ha, an immigrant from Vingipātaka (?), belonging to the Viśvāmītra *gōtra*, with the *prātara* Dēvarata and *anupravara* Andala, and student of the Kanya-*sālā* Wherefore, out of respect for what is right, you should preserve this our gift ! ”

This order is followed (in line 35) by the date, the 5th (?) of the dark half of Mārgaśīrsha of the year 180 ; and (in lines 36-38) by benedictive and imprecatory verses. Lines 38-40 repeat that this is a charter of Dandimahādēvi, give the name of the author of the *prastāva*, the poet Jambhala, son of the great poet Jayātman (?), and record the names of certain officials, viz the *Rānaka* Dānālāya who was the *dūtaka* (?) of the grant, the *Mahākshapatalika* Nri[simha?], the *Mahāsamdhivigraha*n Ugrāditya, and the *Mahāpratishāra* (?) Prahara.

Line 41 adds that a quarter (?) of the village of Villa on the occasion of a *samkrānti* was given by Dhavala to the Brahmans, lines 42 and 43, in which the names of the villages of Hōndala and Khairapata occur, apparently state the boundaries of the village granted, and the inscription ends with the name of the engraver, Sambhaka.

Beyond saying that, judged by the writing, this inscription could hardly be older than the 13th century A D, I do not venture at present to express any opinion regarding its age. I do not know to what era the year 180 of its date and the year 288 of the date of Rājabhaṇja's grant should be referred, and can only trust that other inscriptions, similarly dated, will be obtained from the same part of the country, which may both help us to fix definitely the dates of these grants and throw more light on the general question of the employment of numerical symbols in Eastern India.

The place Gubhēsvaryāpātaka from which the grant was issued, the villages mentioned in it, and the *viśhaya* in which they were situated, I have not found on the maps. The name Kōngōdā<sup>6</sup> of the *mandala* to which the *viśhayas* of both the grants A and B belonged I have from the first ventured to identify with the name Kong-u-t'o (Kong-yu-t'o) of Hsuen Tsang (Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, Vol II p 206), and I am assured by Professor S Lévi that from a linguistic point of view this identification is in every respect unobjectionable. As stated by

<sup>1</sup> The phrases *akaratvāna* and *akaratvītya* are very common in grants from the same part of India.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol IV p 254, I have translated *sōddēśa* by 'with all their localities,' but *uddēśa* has probably a more specific meaning. *Sōparīkaraḥ sōddēśaḥ* (which apparently is the proper reading also in *Jour Beng As Soc* Vol LXIV Part I p 125, l 4 from the bottom) may be equivalent to the *sōdrangah sōparīkaraḥ* of other inscriptions.

<sup>3</sup> In the phrase which commences here the reading of the word *gōkūṣa* appears to be certain, but its meaning is not apparent. For some expressions (the exact meaning of which is uncertain), in which the word *prakṛtsi* occurs, see *Ind Ant* Vol XXV p 183, note 82. For the general import of the phrase here used I would compare above, Vol V p 112, lines 65 and 66, where the village-artisans are stated to be included in the grant, also *Ind Ant* Vol XIV p 58, l 52, and above, Vol IV p 296, "We (also) gave the oil mongers and the five (*classes* of) artisans as (*his*) slaves." For taxes on looms etc see *South Ind Inscr* Vol I pp 88, 89, 103, 155 etc.

<sup>4</sup> Compare above, Vol V p 52, last line of the text ("ferry boats" etc).

<sup>5</sup> The phrase commencing with *niśkhanā*(?)—I am unable to explain. It recalls, of course, such well-known expressions as *achātābhatapratēśa*, *achātābhatapratēśya*, *akimchitpragrāhya*, *akhatapratkshēpantiya*, etc.

<sup>6</sup> According to the grant B the Kōngōdā-mandala (or-mandalaka) was in Dakshina-Kōśalā—For a village or town named *Kaṇḍāda* see above, Vol III p 42.

Mr Beal, Sir A Cunningham supposed Kong-u-t'o (hitherto transcribed by Kōnyōdha) to be Gañjām, and Mr Fergusson took it as nearly certain that the small kingdom of Kong-u-t'o was 'somewhere between Kuttack and Aska' (in the Gañjam district) Inasmuch as both our grants come from Gañjām, either statement would tend to support my identification. On the maps I have searched in vain for a name like Kōngōda In Hiuen Tsiang's account of the kingdom of Kong-u-t'o there is one point to which, in concluding these remarks, I may draw attention The written characters of the people of that kingdom, he says, 'are the same as those of Mid-India' In other words, they belonged to the northern alphabet, just as is the case with the characters of the grants here edited, grants which otherwise one would rather have classed with the southern inscriptions

TEXT <sup>1</sup>*First Side.*

- 1 Ōm<sup>2</sup> [||\*] Svasti<sup>3</sup> vyastajal-ābhra-vibhrama-haraṇḥ<sup>4</sup> śvâtâ[tpa]tr-<sup>5</sup>ôtkarair=  
<sup>6</sup>avathīya-śrutichāmaraṇḥ=va(cha) <sup>7</sup>bha(ha)ṣita-vyākōśa-kā-
- 2 śōdayair=uddāmair=mmada-saurabhaṇḥ=cha karinām=ākshipta-saptatsa(chchha)d-<sup>8</sup>āmōdair  
sannihitām sad-aiva śara-
- 3 d-ārambha-śrīyam=vi(bi)bhrataḥ || [1\*] Śrīmad-Guhésvarapâtta(ta)ka-nivâsi-<sup>9</sup>  
vijayaskandhāvârât || Sarvv-âśâ-pa-
- 4 nīpūran-ādḥika-ruchir=yas=tāpam=astan=nayann=ānandan=kritavân(ñ)=janasya manasi  
<sup>10</sup>prāptam=pratishtā(śthā)ñ=chiram [1\*]
- 5 saddrīṣṭi-pratirōdhi yēna cha tamō nirmūlam=ū(u)nīmūlitam  
śrīmān=indur=iv=āvanīpatir=abhūd=Ummatta-
- 6 singh-ābhvayah<sup>11</sup> || [2\*] Tad-vamśād=abhavann=anindita-guṇā muktāmāyāḥ  
sadgatāḥ<sup>12</sup> sad-vrittāḥ sukha-
- 7 si(śi)talāḥ kṣhītibhritāḥ<sup>13</sup> śrī-Madgapād-<sup>14</sup>ādayah | yē nītā hrīday ōgra-tāpa-  
sa(śa)manē dē-
- 8 v-ānganābhūḥ svayan=kanthāślēsḥa-sukha[m?]<sup>15</sup> sthita-pranayinō hār-ābhīrāmāḥ  
kritāḥ || [3\*] Ta-
- 9 d-vamśē=bhavād=ūrjita[h\*]<sup>16</sup> kṛta-vu(bu)dha-prīti[h]<sup>16</sup> pratit-ōdayō dēvah  
śatruvadhū-mukhēndu-taran[h]<sup>17</sup> śrī-Lō-
- 10 nabhārō<sup>18</sup> nripah [1\*] yasy=ākramya gurupratāpa-śukhinah prithvībhritā[h]<sup>19</sup>  
prōdva(dḍha)tān dūram sarvva-
- 11 dīgantarēṣhu tarasā<sup>20</sup> svairam=prasasruḥ karāḥ<sup>21</sup> || [4\*] <sup>22</sup>Tasy=ātmaajah  
pranata-pārthiva-chakra-chūdā-
- 12 nīrvyāja-rōpita-padaś=charitārtha-nāmā [1\*] vistān-saurabha-gun-ōdaya-pūrit-āsas=  
tasmā-<sup>23</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From impressions supplied by Mr Venkayya.<sup>2</sup> Metre of verses 1 4 Śārdūlavikrīd ta<sup>3</sup> B has *svēdātapatr-*, read *svēdātapatr-*.<sup>4</sup> B has *haṣita*<sup>5</sup> B has *°pātaka vāsita-vi*, I should have expected *°pātaka-dvāsita vi*<sup>6</sup> B has only *prātam chiram*<sup>7</sup> B has *saddātāḥ*, read *sangātāḥ* (or *samgātāḥ*) B omits *sad vrittāḥ*<sup>8</sup> B has *sthītibhritāḥ*<sup>9</sup> B has *urjitaḥ*<sup>10</sup> The sign of *visarga* was originally omitted, but seems to have been inserted afterwards, B has *stīṣh*<sup>11</sup> This sign of *visarga* also was originally omitted<sup>12</sup> This sign of *visarga* also was originally omitted<sup>13</sup> B has *karā*<sup>14</sup> Instead of *tasmā* B has *śrīmān*, which is a better reading<sup>2</sup> Denoted by a symbol<sup>4</sup> The grant B has *vibhrama dharaṇḥ*<sup>6</sup> B has *astiya*, read *astīya*<sup>8</sup> B has *saptachchhad*<sup>11</sup> B has *sih ābhvaya*, read *simh ābhvayaḥ*<sup>14</sup> B has *śrīmadagapād*, read *śrī-Madgapād* (?).<sup>18</sup> B has *-Lōnahārō*<sup>20</sup> B has *tarasā*<sup>22</sup> Metre *Vasantatilakā*.

- 13 d=abhūt=Kusumabhāra iti kshītīśah || [5\*] Abhṛta<sup>1</sup> Lal[ta\*]bhārah kshāmā-  
bharam=bhūm-tējās=tad=ann  
14 tad-anujanmā vyūḍha-bhōgīndra-līlah | anayad=amalumānam yad-yasāhpūram=  
uchai(chchāi)r=api ripu-rama-  
15 nīnām=añjan-ōnmīśram=aśrah<sup>2</sup> || [6\*] Tasmin=nripē divam=upēyushi tat-  
tanūjah sāsāt=āvanēr=ajanē(m) Sā-  
16 ntakar-ābhuvā(dhā)nah [1\*] yēn=ōddhritēshv=akhila-durmmada-kantakēshva(shu)  
rēmē<sup>3</sup> yavō(thā)-sva(su)kham=apāsta-bhīyā janēna || [7\*] Tasya  
17 prasa(śa)sya-charit-ā[r\*]jita-bhūm-kā(kī)rtti[r\*]=vīśvambharā-vibhur=abhūd = a n u j a s =  
tatō=pi [1\*] śrēyōbhūr=ēka-padam=ity=a-  
18 khilaih śri(śrī)t-ātmā yah śrī-Sūbhākara iti prathitō yavō(thā)rtham || [8\*]  
Tasya tripīṣṭapa-jusha[h]<sup>5</sup> paramēśvara-  
19 sya dēvi samasta-janātā-ma(na)ta-padēpadmā<sup>6</sup> [1\*] singhāsanam<sup>7</sup> śasīkar-  
āmala-kā(kī)rtti-gaurī Gaur=īva gaurava-

*Second Side.*

- 20<sup>8</sup> padam chiram=adhyarōhatah<sup>9</sup> || [9\*] Tatō<sup>10</sup> Dandimāhādēvi<sup>11</sup> sutā tasyā<sup>12</sup>  
mahī(hī)yasī [1\*] mahīm=ahī(hī)-  
21 nasā(yā)<sup>13</sup> matyā chē(chī)ra-kālam=apālayata<sup>14</sup> || [10\*]  
<sup>15</sup> Avichchhā[n]āyatiprā[s]au vamsē[kā]ra-mahībhritām [1\*] chī[hna]-bhūtā pa-  
22 tāk=ēva yā va(ba)bhūva vibhūshanam || (I) lāvany-āmrita-nīhsyanda-<sup>16</sup>  
sundaram dadhatī vapuh |(II)[11\*] Paramamā-  
23 hēsvari<sup>17</sup> mātāpitri-pādānudhyātā paramabha[tt]ārikā mā(ma)hārājādhirāja-  
paramēśva-  
24 m(rī) śrīmad-Dandimāhādēvi<sup>18</sup> kusalinī<sup>19</sup> Kō[m]gōda-mē(ma)ndē(nda)lē  
vartamā[na\*]-bhaviṣhyan-mā(ma)hā-  
25<sup>20</sup> sāmamtam-māhārāja-rājaputr-āntaranga-kumarāmāty-ōparīkarikā-<sup>21</sup> vīśha y a p a t i - t a -  
26<sup>22</sup> dātyukuka-dandavāsika-[sth?]<sup>23</sup> ānāntarī[k]ān=anyān=[chā?]<sup>24</sup> rājaprasādīna(nō)  
bha[ta]-chāta-vallā[bha\*]<sup>25</sup> jātīnā<sup>26</sup> Varadē-  
27 khandā-vīśhayē pu(pū)rvva-khandē pa[vā?]<sup>27</sup> ka-<sup>28</sup> sāmanta-sāmavāji-pramukha-  
nīvāsīnō ja-

<sup>1</sup> Metre Māhūi, B omits the first two words of this verse

<sup>2</sup> Read =*afu*, which is the reading of B.

<sup>3</sup> B has *yathā sūddham*.

<sup>4</sup> Read -*pādapadmā*.

<sup>5</sup> Above the *āksharas mādēvi sūtā tasyā* of this line 10 *āksharas* are engraved in small letters. So far as I can make them out, they are *sāmamtasya mudamalapaja*, I do not understand their meaning

<sup>6</sup> B has =*adhyarōt* (or *ōrōta*), read =*adhyarōhat*

<sup>7</sup> Metre of verses 10 and 11 Ślōka (Anushtubh) Verse 11 contains six Pādas

<sup>8</sup> B has *Dandimāhādēvi*, read *Dandimāhādēvi*

<sup>9</sup> B has =*ahīnārā*

<sup>10</sup> Read *avichchhīn-dyati-prāptau* (?) *vamśakara-matībhīrtarī*

<sup>11</sup> Read =*nīsyanda*

<sup>12</sup> Read =*ahīnārā*

<sup>13</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous In the following name the sign of *anusāra* is very faint in the impressions, in the grant B the name is written *Kō-gōda*

<sup>14</sup> Read *sāmanta-mahārāja*

<sup>15</sup> Read =*ōparīka*.

<sup>16</sup> The second *ākshara* of this line, transcribed by *tyu*, is really *tya* with the sign of *u* below it, of the 10th *ākshara*, transcribed by *sthā*, the sign for *sth* seems to be no proper letter at all Read *dātyukuka dāyadapāsika* In B *sāmāntarīkān* is quite clear

<sup>17</sup> Read =*anyānī=chā*

<sup>18</sup> Read =*jātīyān*, compare above, Vol IV p 200, l 10, and note 9

<sup>19</sup> Read *pradhāna* (?) or *rdnaka* (?) For the following *śrīśaṅkṣa* compare *śrīd* p. 258, l 14, and note 16

[illegible]

20

22

24

26

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- 28 napadāna<sup>1</sup> pa(ya)tbārha[m\*] mānayati vò(bò)dhayati(tn) <sup>2</sup>pramajñāpayata [I\*]  
<sup>3</sup>Viyitam=asu bhavāra-
- 29 tadashasamana-Villa-grāma[h\*]<sup>4</sup> sya(sò)parikara[h\*] sòthēshah<sup>5</sup> sa-tamtravāya-  
gōku[ta].<sup>6</sup>saundi-<sup>7</sup>
- 30 k-ādi-prakutitah sa-khēta-ghata(tta)-nadi(dī)tarasthān-ādī(dī)-gulmakah sarvva-  
pīdā-va-
- 31 rjūtò-lēkhari-pravēsanās[t]iyā<sup>8</sup> bh[ū]michhīdr-āpivāna-<sup>9</sup>nyāyēn=ā-chandr-ārka-kshuti-  
sama-kālam ma(mā)tāpittrò-
- 32 r-ātmanah sarvva-sa[t\*]tvānā[ñ=cha] puky(ny)-ā[bh]ivri[d\*]dhayā Vingmāṭaka-<sup>10</sup>  
vin[ī]rgatāya Viśvāmītra-gōtrāya Dēva-
- 33 rāta-pravarāya Audal-ēta<sup>11</sup> anupravarāya Kanda(nva)sākh-[ā]ddhyāyī<sup>12</sup>  
Apratidāghōsha-pautrāya Vās[u?]-
- 34 <sup>13</sup> . -putrāya pratihāra-Dhavalāya sankrāntiyām hast-ōdakēn=āsm[ā]bhīs=  
tāmvrāsāsa[n]ikrity=ākshapanivī-dha-<sup>14</sup>
- 35 rmēn=ākaratvēna pratyā(pā)ditasad=<sup>15</sup>ēsh=āsma-dati=ddharma-gauravād=bhavadbhīh  
pariphalanīyā<sup>16</sup> [I\*] Samvat<sup>17</sup> 100
- 36 80 Mārgasīrsha-vadī 5(P) [I\*] <sup>18</sup>Vahubhīr=vasuddhā [da\*]ttā | rājāna<sup>19</sup> Sagar-  
ādibhīh [I\*] yasya yasya yadā bhumih tasya tasya
- 37 tadā pālāh [I\*] Mā<sup>20</sup> bhud=aphasanā sah para-datishu pā[tth]ivā [I\*] Sva-datā  
para-datam=vā yō harē vasuddharā [I\*] sa viśthāyā
- 38 krimir=bhutvā pītrbhī saha pachyatēh [(I)] <sup>21</sup>Śrīmat Dandimahādēvyā  
tāvachhāsanam=ast-īdam | Prasasti<sup>22</sup> samasta-
- 39 vachasā kavīn=ēha māmāhākavēh [I\*] krtā Jambhala-nāmn=ēyam=ātma-jēnam<sup>23</sup>  
Jayatmanah [I\*] <sup>24</sup>[Pā?]nā[kō]=pi rānaka-śrī-

<sup>1</sup> Read -nivāsi-janapadār=cha (?)<sup>2</sup> Read samājñā°.<sup>3</sup> Read Viśitam=asu bhavātām=ēta vishaya-satvāddha-<sup>4</sup> Of the name of the village (read by me *Villa*) the consonant of the first *akshara* has a somewhat odd form, and the second *akshara* might possibly be *lga*, below, in line 41, the name is written either *Vila*- or *Vēla*-<sup>5</sup> Read sōddēsh<sup>6</sup> B has distinctly *gōkuta*, in the present inscription the sign transcribed by *ta* differs somewhat from the sign for *ta* which elsewhere is used here<sup>7</sup> Read -saundik ddi prakutitakah<sup>8</sup> B has -lēkhantī-pravēsatay[ā] I do not find a similar term (containing *lēkhantī*) elsewhere, and am unable to suggest a suitable emendation<sup>9</sup> Read bhūmichhīdr ābhīdhāna-<sup>10</sup> Read Vingipātaka (?) or Vengipātaka (?)<sup>11</sup> Read °rāy=Audal-ēty anu°<sup>12</sup> Read -āddhyāyī, and compare above, Vol IV p 253, l 16 of the text With the following name which is clear in the impression, compare *Kōighōsha* and *Vallabhaghōsha*, above, Vol. III. p. 344, l. 42 of the text.<sup>13</sup> Here one *ai shara* is mutilated and illegible in the impression<sup>14</sup> Read tāmraśāntī-rsty=ākshayanī dha-<sup>15</sup> Read °ditar=tad=ēsh=āstīad dattir=.<sup>16</sup> Read °dbhīh pariphalanīyā<sup>17</sup> Read samvat, compare my introductory remarks<sup>18</sup> I consider it unnecessary to correct all the numerous mistakes in the following verses, compare above, Vol IV p 201, l 23 ff., and p 259, l 22 ff.<sup>19</sup> Read *rājāna*, which actually occurs in *Ind Ant* Vol. XIII p 49, l 13 Instead of it, we have *rājāna* also above, Vol III p 19, l. 24, and Vol. IV p 201, l. 24, *rājāna* in *Ind Ant* Vol XIII. p 276, l. 19, and *rājāna* above, Vol IV p 259, l 21<sup>20</sup> Intended for *mā bhūd=aphala tankā sah para dattishu*. (instead of the ordinary *para datt=ēti*) *pārthivāh*, compare *e g* above, Vol III p 45, l. 47 The second half of the verse, commencing with *śaddāntī*, is omitted here<sup>21</sup> Read *śrīmat-Dandimahādēvyā=tāvach=ohhāsanam*=(?) or *tāmra tāsānam*=(?)<sup>22</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh) — Read *prasasti*, for the following *samasta*-, which is quite clear in the impressions, I cannot suggest a suitable emendation.<sup>23</sup> Read °jēna Jayātrīmanah (?)<sup>24</sup> The engraving is quite clear here, but I can read with confidence only the second *akshara* (*nā*) — Read *ātakō* (?).



- 40 Dānālavah māhakāshapatala<sup>1</sup> śrī-Nri<sup>2</sup> | mā(ma)hāsandhivigrahi(hi) śrī(śry)-  
Ugrāditya[h\*] || māpratira<sup>3</sup> śrī-P[r]ahasah [||\*]  
41 \*Vila-grāmā<sup>4</sup> chat[v]ār[ô?] bhāgā[h\*] | tan-maddhō(dhyē) Dhavalēna  
vrā(brā)hmanā[dēsha ?]<sup>5</sup> bhāga[h\*] sankrāntya[m\*] hast-ōdakēna  
datam<sup>7</sup> [||\*]  
42 \*U[ttā]ra-parvata-śikhara sādḍhi tivadīśgādi pōchādīgādi hōndimasigagādi  
sādḍhi sājērata-  
43 [ga]kagādi sādḍhi Hōndala-grāma sādḍhi Khairapaṭa-grāma sādḍhi cha[tu]-  
śim-ōpalakshita<sup>9</sup> [||\*] Utkāmnā<sup>10</sup> Sambhakēna [||\*]

### B — UNDATED GRANT OF DANDĪMAHĀDĒVĪ.

This is another single copper-plate which measures 10½" broad by from 8½" to 8¾" high and is inscribed on both sides. On to its proper right is soldered a circular seal, 2½" in diameter, in the same manner as in the grant A. This seal bears in relief on a countersunk surface, across the centre, the legend *śrīmad-Dandīmahādēvī*, in the characters of the inscription,<sup>11</sup> above the legend, a couchant bull facing to the proper right, with the sun and the moon's crescent above its hump and a conch-shell above its tail, and on each side of the bull what may be either an elephant-goad or a lampstand, and below the legend, two straight lines over an expanded lotus flower the stalk of which rises out of the margin of the seal — The writing is well preserved. The size of the letters is between ¼ and ⅕". The characters furnish another specimen of the northern alphabet peculiar to Eastern India, they closely resemble those of the Orissa (?) plates of Vidyādharaḥaṇja, *Jour Beng As Soc* Vol LVI. Part I Plate ix. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Lines 1 to (the middle of) 20 are substantially identical with lines 1 to (the middle of) 21 of the grant A. The remainder of the text, which contains the formal part of the grant, is in prose, except that it includes a benedictive and imprecatory verse in lines 35-37. In respect of orthography, what strikes one most is the promiscuous employment of the three sibilants: *s* is often used for *ś*, and *ś* nearly as often for *s* (e.g. in *śalila*, l. 33, and *śakalam*, l. 36), *sh* for *ś* in *śhāsana-darshanād*, l. 34, *ś* for *sh* in *puruśas* (for *purushaś*), l. 37, and *s* for *sh* in *manuśya*, l. 36. The consonant *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, and medial *ū* by the sign for *u*. Besides it may be noted that *t* is used for *d* in *bhumichchhitr*, l. 29, and *Autalya*, l. 39, and that *upējushī*, l. 14, is written for *upēyushī*, -*āpūvrdhayē*, l. 33, for -*ābhuvriddhayē*,<sup>12</sup> and *udārḥita*, l. 36, for *udāhṛita*. In general, the formal part of this grant is less faulty than that of the grant A, its phraseology is about the same.

This is another inscription of the *Paramabhaṭṭārīḥ Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvarī* Dandīmahādēvī (l. 21), the names of whose ancestors are given exactly as in the grant A. From 'the camp of victory' at Guhēśvarapātaka (l. 3) this queen issues the following order to the

<sup>1</sup> Read *mahākshapatalikah*

<sup>2</sup> Here part of the name (perhaps *śimhah*) has been omitted.

<sup>3</sup> Read *mahāpratishārah* (?) *śrī*.

<sup>4</sup> The reading of the name here may be either *Vīla*- or *Vēla*-, compare above, l. 29, where the name apparently is written *Vīla*-.

<sup>5</sup> Read *-grāmasya*

<sup>6</sup> Read *°nānām=śha* (?)

<sup>7</sup> Read *dattah*

<sup>8</sup> The passage which begins here I do not understand. It apparently gives the boundaries of the village, but is not in Sanskrit. The word *sādḍhi* (or *sāddhi*), which occurs in it five times, is written in another (unpublished) Gañjām grant both *śāndhi* and *sāndhi*, compare *śānd* *sāndhayah* above, Vol III p 223, l. 16.

<sup>9</sup> Read *chatuśśim-ōpalakshitah*, compare above, Vol IV p 200, l. 13

<sup>10</sup> Read *utlīrnam* (The Gañjām grant mentioned above, note 8, has the extraordinary word *udagṛītam* for *utlīrnam*)

<sup>11</sup> According to Mr Sewell's informant the legend is 'Śrī Mahā Sōmarāthasvarī' in Telugu characters,<sup>12</sup> This statement is purely imaginary

<sup>12</sup> In line 30 this word is written correctly

various functionaries, as they may be present from time to time, in the Kōngōda-mandalaka in Dakshina-Kōśalā (l. 22), viz the *Mahāsūman'tas*, *Mahārājas*, *Rājaputras*, *Antarangas*, *Kumārāmātyas*, *Uparikas*, *Viśvayapatis*, *Tadāyutlakas*, *Dāndapāśikas*, *Sthānāntarikas*<sup>1</sup> and others who enjoy the royal favour, those belonging to the regular and irregular troops and (royal) favourites, and also to the *Mahāmahattaras*, *Bṛihadbhōgins*,<sup>2</sup> *Pustakapālas*, . . . .

and other officials in the Arttani-vishaya (l 25) —

“Be it known to you! For the increase of the religious merit of our parents, ourselves and all beings, we have, on the occasion of the uttarāyana<sup>3</sup> (l. 32), with pouring out of water given, free from taxes, the village of [Ga]rasāmbhā which belongs to this *vishaya*— with the *upari'ara*, with the *uddāsa* with its weavers, *gōhuṭas*(?), distillers of spirituous liquors and other artisans (?), with its hamlets (?), landing-places (or steps on the river-side), ferry-places etc. and thickets, exempt from all molestation, not to be entered . . . . , in accordance with the maxim called *bhūmicchchidra* and for as long as the moon, the sun and the earth endure—to the *Bhaṭṭaputra* Parushōttama, of the Kāsyapa *gōtra*, with the *pravaras* Kāsyapa, Avatsāra and Naidhrava, a member of the Vājasanīya *charana* and student of the Kānva *śākhā* (of that Vēda) Wherefore, seeing this order, out of respect for what is right and out of respect for ourselves, nobody should cause any obstruction !”

This order is followed (in lines 35-38) by a benedictive and imprecatory verse, by the names of the writer, the *Mahākshapaṭalīta* Bhōgada, and of the engraver, the copper smith [Kantha?]kaka, and by the statement that the village granted is (given as) contained within its well-known four boundary lines

Lines 38 and 39 add that half of the village was given by the grantee Parushōttama to the *Bhaṭṭaputra* Ravika, of the Kauśika *gōtra*, with the *pravaras* Audalya, Viśvāmītra and Dēvarāta

The inscription is not dated. Regarding the localities mentioned in it I can only refer the reader to my remarks on the grant A, the village granted by the present inscription, and the *vishaya* in which it was situated, I have not been able to identify

#### TEXT.<sup>4</sup>

##### First Side

19 . . . . . 'Tatō<sup>5</sup> Dandimahā[dē\*]vi sūtā tasya<sup>7</sup> mahiyasi [i\*]  
 20 mahīm=ahīnasā(yā) matyā chira-kalam=apālayata<sup>8</sup> || [10\*] Para[ma\*]māhēsvārī  
     māta(tā)pitri-pādānudhyātā parama-  
 21 bhattārikā maharājādhira(rā)ja-paramāśva(śva)rī śrīmad-Dandi(ndi)mahādēvi  
     kuśali(li)nī || tha<sup>9</sup> || Dakshina-Kō-  
 22 śalāyām Kōngōda-mandalakē yathākāl-ādhyāsinō

<sup>1</sup> For this term and some others in what follows see the notes on the preceding grant

<sup>2</sup> I do not remember having met with the terms *bṛihadbhōgin* and *pustakapāla* in other grants, with *bṛihadbhōgin* one may compare the ordinary *bhōgapati*. I am not able to explain the term [ku]lakōlasa- of the text

<sup>3</sup> I take *uttarāyanā* (like the expression *uttarāyana-nimittā* of several Eastern Chalukya grants) to be used in the sense of *uttarāyana samkrāntau*, 'on the occasion of the sun's entering upon his northern course'

<sup>4</sup> From impressions supplied by Mr Venkayya.

<sup>5</sup> Except for some various readings the most important of which have been given above under A, the preceding portion of the text is the same as in A, and need not therefore be published

<sup>6</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)

<sup>7</sup> Read *tasyā*, which is the reading of A

<sup>8</sup> Read =apālayat

<sup>9</sup> The same *akṣhara tha*, between two signs of punctuation, is used at the end of Vidyādharaḥṣaṇja's plates mentioned above Compare *Ind Ant* Vol XVII, p 140, note 46, and Prof Bühler's *Ind Palaeographie*, p 85 There should have been no sign of punctuation after *kuśali*

## Second Side

- 23 <sup>1</sup>bhaviṣṭyan-mahāsānta-mahārāja-rājaputr-āntarangara-<sup>2</sup>kumārāmāty-u (ō) p a r i k a -  
vishayapati-tadāyu-
- 24 ktaka-dāndapāsika-sthānāntarikā[n]=anyān=apṛ rājaprasādinaś=chāta-bhata-  
vallabhajātiy[ā]-
- 25 n=Arttani-vishayē=pi mahāmatatura-<sup>3</sup>vṛi(bṛi)hadbhōgi-pustakapāla-[ku]takōlas-  
ādy-[ā]dhikarana<sup>4</sup>
- 26 yathārha[m\*] mānayatī vō(bō)dhayatī śajñāpayatī<sup>5</sup> cha [l\*] Vīditam=astu  
bhavata(tā)m=ētat-vishaya-samva(mba)ddha-[Ga]-
- 27 rasāmbhā-grāmah sōparikarah sōddēśah sa-tavra(ntra)vāya-gōkuta-śō(śau)ndī[k]-ādī-  
prakṛita(tī)kah
- 28 sa-khēta-ghatta-nadī(dī)tarasthān-ādī-gulmakah sarvō(rva)-pī(pī)dā-vivarjitō=lōkhanī-  
pravēsatay[ā]<sup>6</sup>
- 29 <sup>7</sup>bhumichchhitr-āpīdhāna-nyāyēn=ā-chandr-ārka-kṣhiti-sama-kāla[m\*] <sup>8</sup>mātāpimātāpī-  
trōr=ātmanah sarva-sa[t\*]tvānāñ=cha puny-ābhivṛiddhayō Kāśyapa-gōtrāya Kā-  
śyap-Āvachchhā-<sup>9</sup>Nādhruva-pravarāya <sup>10</sup>Vājasēna-charanāya Kānvaśākh-Āyadhy[ā]y[i]-<sup>11</sup>  
nē bhata(tta)putra-Purushōta(tta)māya<sup>12</sup> ih=aiva utrāyanē datam<sup>13</sup> mātāpitrō-  
r=ātmanas=cha puny-āpivṛiddhayō<sup>14</sup> śālīdhārā-purasarēna<sup>15</sup> chandr-ārka-kṣhī-  
ti-sama-kālam=akam(ri)kritya pratipādītō=smābhur=yatām(tah)<sup>16</sup> śhā(śā)śāna-  
darsha(rśa)nā-
- 35 d=dharma-gō(gau)ravād=asmad-gauravāch=cha na kēnachit=paripanthinā  
bhavitavyam [l\*] Iti<sup>17</sup> kama-
- 36 ladal-āmva(mbu)vindu-lōlā[m\*] śrī(śrī)yam=anuchintya manusya(śhya)-j(ji)vitam  
cha [l\*] śa(sa)kalam=idam=udārhitā<sup>18</sup> vu-
- 37 dhvā na hī puruśai(śhah) para-kī[r]tayō vilōpyā[h] || Lēkhakō  
mā(ma)hākshapatalika-Bhōgadāh | Utkīrnam<sup>19</sup> tam-
- 38 [vā<sup>20</sup>]ra-<sup>20</sup>[Kantha ?]kakēna |(II) Grāmō=yam prasīdhdha-[da]tāhśima[ś=cha ?]<sup>21</sup> [l\*]  
Asya grāmasy=ā[r]ddhō bhāgah Purushōta(tta)mēna Kau-
- 39 śika-gōtrāya<sup>22</sup> Autalya-Viśvāmitra-Dēvarāja-<sup>23</sup>pravara-bhata(tta)putra-Ravikāya dattah  
ardhdha<sup>24</sup> amnśam [l\*]

<sup>1</sup> Before this one misses the word *varitamāna* -

<sup>2</sup> Read -*āntaranga* -

<sup>3</sup> Read *mahārahattara* -

<sup>4</sup> Officials named *pustakapāla* I have not found mentioned elsewhere, the following [ku]takōlas- I am unable to explain, and instead of -[d]dhī/arana I should have expected *ādīkaranikān*

<sup>5</sup> Read *śajñāpayatī*

<sup>6</sup> See above, p 139, note 8

<sup>7</sup> Read *bhūmichchhīdr-ābhīdhāna* -

<sup>8</sup> Read *mātāpī* - (only once)

<sup>9</sup> Read *Āvachchhā* -

<sup>10</sup> See the same form of the word (*Vājasēna* for *Vājasanēya*) above, Vol IV p 200, l. 14, and note 18.

<sup>11</sup> Read *ādhyāyī*

<sup>12</sup> Originally *°māyā* was engraved, read *°māyā=āyā=ōttarāgāṇā*.

<sup>13</sup> Read *dattō*, but this word and the following as far as *°vīrddhayō* should have been omitted

<sup>14</sup> Read *puny ābhivṛiddhayō*, compare *puny-āpivṛiddhayō* above, Vol. IV p. 200, l. 18; and *punya-yasō* - *pivarddhā* ibid p 259, l 18.

<sup>15</sup> Read *śālīdhārā purasārēna* (for *°saram*), compare above, Vol. III p. 45, l 40, Vol IV. p. 200, l 19, and elsewhere Some grants have *śālīdhārā-purasārēna vīdhīnā*

<sup>16</sup> Compare above, Vol IV p 201, l 21

<sup>17</sup> Metre Pushpitāgrā For the spelling of some words of this verse compare *śōd. ll. 32 and 38.*

<sup>18</sup> Read *udāhṛitam cha buddhā*

<sup>19</sup> Read *utkīrnam*

<sup>20</sup> Read *tambāra* ( for *tāmṛakāra* - ? ), compare *kāmsāra* for *kāmsyakāra*.

<sup>21</sup> Read *prasīdhā chatuṣṭamāś=cha*. The last *akṣhara*, which I have given as *śēla*, looks in the original like *ni*, preceded by part of the letter *ś*

<sup>22</sup> Read *gotrāy=Audalya*

<sup>23</sup> Read *Dēvarāja* -

<sup>24</sup> Intended for *ardhō=śhāh*, but these words are superfluous

No. 14 — PLATES OF THE TIME OF SASANKARAJA,  
GUPTA-SAMVAT 300

By E HULTZSCH, PH.D

These plates were received in February 1900 from Mr H D Taylor, I O S, Acting Collector of Gañjām, in whose office they had been lying unclaimed. It is not known where they come from. They will be deposited in the Madras Museum.

These are three copper-plates, the first of which bears writing on one side only, and the other two on both sides. But the second side of the third plate is so much worn that I have not been able to read the whole of it. The plates measure  $5\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth and  $2\frac{1}{4}$ " in height. Their edges are slightly raised into rims for the protection of the writing. On the left side of each plate a hole is bored for passing through a ring, which is  $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter and about  $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick, and which was cut by Mr. Venkayya on receipt of the plates. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of an elliptical seal, which measures 1" by  $1\frac{3}{8}$ ". In the depression of the seal are, in relief, a couchant bull facing the proper right, a vertical line across the breadth of the seal, and at the bottom the legend *Śrī-Saṃyabhitā[y\*]a*.

The alphabet is the 'acute-angled type with nail-heads,' which forms the transition from the Gupta to the Nāgarī alphabet.<sup>1</sup> Two signs of interpunctuation are used, viz a single horizontal line (ll 1, 24, 27) which corresponds to the single vertical line of other records, and the usual double vertical line — As regards orthography, I would note that the *upadhmanīya* occurs twice (ll 5 and 17) and that *b* is throughout represented by the sign for *v*. In *saṃhāra* (l 16) the guttural nasal stands for the *anusvāra*, in *nri(tri)bhuvana* (l 17) the vowel *ri* takes the place of the syllable *ri*, and in *saṃhāta* (l 5) *h* is an error for *gh*. The group *ddy* is simplified into *dy* in *udyōtita* (l. 15), while *t* is doubled before *r* in *śatattrayś* (l 2), *mātāpitrōh* (l 21) and *gōttra* (l 22). The *anusvāra* is generally changed into the corresponding nasal before consonants of the five first classes. Two cases of wrong *saṃdhi* are *paradattām=vā* (l 27) and *°dāt=mahārāja°* (l 8) — The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The bulk of it is in prose, lines 24 to 29 contain four imprecatory verses, and after them there seems to have been a fifth verse of which I can read only the last word (l 31). The Sanskrit of the prose portion is not very correct. Thus in line 8 f the words *prīya-tanayō mahārājā(ja)-Yaśōbhītaḥ* ought to stand in the genitive case and the following pronoun *tasya* ought to be omitted, in line 11 four words have to be transposed, line 16 contains a compound in which two superfluous synonyms are included, and in line 21 f. we find *arddhēna* and *°purassarēna* for *arīḥ* and *°purassaram*.

The inscription is dated in the Gupta year three hundred (l 2), i.e. in Gupta-Samvat 300 = A.D. 619-20, and during the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja Śaśāṅkarāja* (l 3). This king is probably identical with Śaśāṅka, the king of Karnasuvarna, who, according to Hsuen Tsang,<sup>2</sup> murdered Rājyavardhana, the elder brother and predecessor of the great king Harsha of Thānēsar. In Bāna's *Harshacharita* the slaying of Rājyavardhana is attributed to the king of Gauda who, according to one manuscript of the *Śrīharshacharita*, was called Narēndragupta,<sup>3</sup> but who, according to the commentator on the *Harshacharita*,<sup>4</sup> was named Śaśāṅka. The translators of the *Harshacharita* very ingeniously find an allusion to king Śaśāṅka in the word *śaśāṅka-maṇḍalam*.<sup>5</sup> If the Śaśāṅka of the *Si-yu-ki* and of the *Harshacharita* is

<sup>1</sup> See Professor Bühler's *Indische Paläographie*, § 23.

<sup>2</sup> Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol I p 210.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep Ind.* Vol I p 70.

<sup>4</sup> Bombay 1892, p 195.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid* p 199, and Cowell and Thomas' translation, p x and p. 275.

really identical with the Śaśāṅkarāja of this inscription, it follows that he must have continued to reign at least 13 years after the murder of Rājyavardhana and the accession of Harsha.

As, at the beginning of the inscription, Śaśāṅkarāja is mentioned as the *Mahārājādhirāja* ruling the earth, he must be understood to have been the sovereign of the prince who issued the grant. This was the *Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta Mādhavarāja II* (l 17 f) of the Śilōdbhava family (l 10), the son of Yaśōbhita (l 9) and grandson of Mādhavarāja I. (l 8). He was a worshipper of Śiva (ll 14-17) and, to judge from the legend on the seal of his grant, bore the surname Sainyabhita. The only other inscription of the same dynasty, which has been published, are the Buguda plates of Mādhavarman, surnamed Sainyabhita,<sup>1</sup> of the family of Śilōdbhava.<sup>2</sup> As the alphabet of these plates is considerably more modern than that of the subjoined inscription, it follows that Yaśōbhita's son Sainyabhita Mādhavarman of the Buguda plates was a remote descendant of Yaśōbhita's son Sainyabhita Mādhavarāja II, the contemporary and subordinate of Śaśāṅkarāja.

At an eclipse of the sun (l 23) Mādhavarāja II granted to a Brāhmana the village of Chhavalakkhaya (l 18 f) in the Krishnagiri-vishaya. He issued his order 'from the victorious Kōngēda' (l 8) on the bank of the Śalimā river (l 7). None of these local names can be traced on the map at present. Krishnagiri, the head quarters of the *vishaya*, might be identical with its synonym Nilagiri, which is a name of Jagannātha (Puri) in Orissa.<sup>3</sup> Kōngēda is mentioned in the form Kangoda as the residence of Mādhavarman in the Buguda plates (l 29), and the Kōngōda mandala occurs in the two grants of Dapdimahādēvi. Professor Kielhorn identifies Kōngōda with the Kong-u-t'o of Hsien Tsang.<sup>4</sup>

#### TEXT<sup>5</sup>

##### First Plate

- 1 श्री<sup>6</sup> स्वस्ति । चतुर्दधिसलिलवीचीमेखलानिनीनायां सदीपा-<sup>7</sup>
- 2 गरपत्तनवत्या वसुन्धराया गौसाब्दे<sup>8</sup> वर्षशतत्तये वर्तमाने
- 3 महाराजाधिराजाश्चीशशाह्वराज्ये<sup>9</sup> शासति गगणतल-
- 4 विनि[\*]स्तभगीरथावतारिताया हिमवह्निरेरुपरि
- 5 पतना[द\*]निकशिलासहातविभिन्नवह्निपातालात्तर्ज्जलीवे<sup>10</sup>
- 6 सुरसरित इव विविधतरुवरकुसुमसञ्चक्रोभयतटा-

##### Second Plate, First Side

- 7 न्तविनिपतितजलाशयायाः श[र]लिमासरित. <sup>11</sup>कुला[प]कण्ठा-
- 8 <sup>12</sup>द्वेजयकोद्वेदान्महाराजमहासामन्तश्रीमाधवराजस्य प्रियतनयो
- 9 महाराज(र)यशोभीतस्तस्यापि प्रियसनुः स्वगुण[म]रीचिनिकर-
- 10 <sup>13</sup>प्रबोधितशिलोद्भवकुलकमलो विकोशनीलोत्पल-

<sup>1</sup> In taking Sainyabhita (verse 9 of the Buguda plates) as a surname of Mādhavarman (v 12 of the same plates) I differ from Professor Kielhorn, who understands Mādhavarman to have been the son of Sainyabhita.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol III p 41 ff

<sup>3</sup> See my *Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts in Southern India*, No I p 59, note 3, and p 69, No 291

<sup>4</sup> See page 136 above

<sup>5</sup> From the original copper plates

<sup>6</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>7</sup> Read सदीपगिरिपत्तनवत्यां

<sup>8</sup> Read गौसाब्दे.

<sup>9</sup> Read राजश्रीशशाह्वराजे

<sup>10</sup> Read सहातविभिन्नवह्निपातान्तर्जलीवाया (P)

<sup>11</sup> Read कूलोप

<sup>12</sup> Read द्वेजयकोद्वेदान्महा

<sup>13</sup> Read प्रबोधित

[illegible]

21 a

[illegible]

21 b

[illegible]

221 a

22

24

26

22  
24  
26

221 a

22  
24  
26

221 b

28

30

28  
30

221 b

28  
30

- 11 प्रतिस्पर्द्धि(नी)खड्गधारानिशितनिग्नेप्रतिहतरिपु-<sup>1</sup>  
 12 वली- दीनानायकपणवनीपकोपभुज्यमानविभव. खसु-  
 13 जपरिषयुगलोपार्जितनृपन्थी[:\*] कमलविमलरथर-<sup>3</sup>

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 14 तनुर्जगन्म[ण्ड\*]लमण्डनश्रुतशौर्यधैर्यगुणान्वितो महावपभपर्यङ्क-  
 15 'ककुधोपधानविन्यस्तवाहोर्वालचन्द्रोद्योतितजटाकलापैकदे-  
 16 शस्य भगवतस्त्रित्युत्पत्तिप्रलयसृष्टिसङ्कारकारणस्य'  
 17 'नृभुवनगुरो'पादभक्तः परमब्रह्मण्यो' महाराजमहासा-  
 18 मन्तन्मीमाधवराजः कुशली कृष्णगिरिविषयमवदच्छवल-<sup>8</sup>  
 19 कउयग्रामे 'वर्तमानभविष्यकुमारासात्योपरिकतदायुक्तकानन्याश्च'<sup>10</sup>  
 20 यथाह<sup>11</sup> पृजयति मानयति च [I\*] विदितमस्तु भवतामयं ग्रामो-

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 21 आभिरर्द्धे<sup>12</sup> मातापित्तोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये सलिलधारापुर-  
 22 'स्त्ररेणाचन्द्रार्कममकालीनाक्षयनीये'<sup>14</sup> भरद्वाजसगीक्षायाङ्गि-  
 23 रसवार्हस्पत्यप्रवराय<sup>16</sup> छरस्पस्तामिने सूर्योपरागे प्रतिपादित[:\*] ॥  
 24 उक्तञ्च स्मृतिशास्त्रे । <sup>10</sup>वहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्त्रगरादिभि. [I\*]  
 25 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमितस्य<sup>17</sup> तस्य तदा फल ॥ षष्टि वर्षसहस्रा-  
 26 णि स्वर्गे मीदति भूमिदः [I\*] आक्षेप्ता चातुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके  
 27 वसे[त्\*] ॥ खदत्ता<sup>18</sup> परदत्ताम्बा (I) यो हरेत वसन्धरा[म् I\*] स विष्ठायां

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 28 [क्षमि]र्भूत्वा पितृभिस्त्रह पच्यते ॥ सा <sup>10</sup>भुतफलशङ्का व[:] परदत्ते-  
 29 [ ति ] पार्थिव[र:]\* ॥ खदाना[त्\*] फलमानन्त्य<sup>20</sup> (II) परद[त्तानुपालने] ॥ . . .  
 30 . . . . .  
 31 [प्र]यच्छति ॥

<sup>1</sup> निशित ought to stand before खड्गधारा, and प्रतिहत before निग्नेप

<sup>2</sup> Read °वली

<sup>3</sup> Read रुचिर.

<sup>4</sup> Read °ककुधोपधानविन्यस्तवाहोर्वालचन्द्रोद्योतित°

<sup>5</sup> Read सङ्कार.

<sup>6</sup> Read त्रिभुवन

<sup>7</sup> Read °ब्रह्मण्यो.

<sup>8</sup> Read °भविष्यरकु°

<sup>10</sup> Read °न्याय

<sup>11</sup> Read °रयं

<sup>12</sup> Read °स्मरसा°.

<sup>13</sup> Read वार्हस्पत्य

<sup>14</sup> Read वसु°

<sup>15</sup> Read खदत्ता परदत्तां वा

<sup>16</sup> Read भूदफल°.

<sup>11</sup> Read यथाहं

<sup>14</sup> Read °लीनीचयणीयो

<sup>17</sup> Read भूमितस्य

<sup>20</sup> Read °नन्त्य



## TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) *Om.* Hail! While the Gupta year three hundred was current (and) while the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious *Śaśānkarāja*, was ruling over the earth surrounded by the gulle of the waves of the water of the four oceans, together with islands, mountains and cities,—from the victorious *Kōngēda* near the bank of the *Śālimā* river, on both of whose banks, covered with the flowers of various excellent trees, pools of water have formed, (and which therefore) resembles the river of the gods (*Gangā*), which issued from the sky, which was brought down by *Bhagiratha*, (and) the streams of whose water are split and dashed outside by many masses of rock at (her) fall on the top of the Snowy Mountain,—the dear son of the *Mahārāja Yaśōbhita*, (who was) the dear son of the *Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta*, the glorious *Mādhavarāja (I)*,—the very pious *Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta*, the glorious *Mādhavarāja (II)*, who has caused to bloom the lotus—the *Śilōdbhava* family, by the mass of rays—his virtues, who has repulsed the armies of all the enemies by the sharp edge of (his) sword which rivals an unfolded<sup>1</sup> flower of the blue lotus, whose wealth is being enjoyed by the distressed, helpless, poor, and mendicants, who has acquired the prosperity of a prince by the pair of his bar-like arms, whose body is as spotless and as brilliant as a lotus, who possesses the virtues of learning, courage and constancy which adorn the whole world, (and) who is devoted to the feet of the blessed lord of the three worlds (*viz Śiva*) who is the cause of existence, creation and destruction,<sup>2</sup> whose arms are placed on the hump of the great bull (*viz Nandi*) as on the pillow of a couch, (and) whose matted hair is illuminated in one place by the crescent of the moon,—being in good health, suitably worships and honours princes, ministers, officers, their subordinates, and others who are present or shall be present at the village of *Chhavalakkhaya* which belongs to the *Kṛishnagiri-vishaya*, (and informs them as follows) —

(L 20) “Let it be known to you (*that*), for the sake of (*our*) father and mother and for the increase of (*our*) own merit, with libations of water, at an eclipse of the sun, we have given this village, to last for the same time as the moon and the sun, to *Chharampastāman* who belongs to the *gōtra* of *Bharadvāja* (and) has the *prairaras* of *Ângrasa* and *Bārhaspatya*”

(L 24) And it is said in the Law-book (*Smṛitiśāstra*)<sup>3</sup> [Here follow four of the customary verses, and perhaps a fifth verse which is obliterated]

## No 15 — TWO PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS AT AMARAVATI

By E HULTZSCH, PH.D

These two inscriptions (Nos 269 and 270 of 1897) are engraved on the four sides of a pillar at the southern entrance to the central shrine of the *Amarēśvara* temple at *Amarāvati* in the *Sattenapalli tāluka* of the *Kistna* district. The alphabet is *Telugu*, and the languages are *Sanskrit* and *Telugu*.

## A — Inscription of Kēta II ;

Śaka-Samvat 1104

This inscription contains 52 *Sanskrit* verses There are passages in *Telugu* prose in lines 108 to 127, 131 to 149, and 170 to 187

The inscription opens with the mention of the the *Śiva* temple called *Amarēśvara*, and close to w

*Dhānyakata* contains  
lofty *Chō* Buddha

<sup>1</sup> This meaning of *vikōśa* is not given in the

<sup>2</sup> The words *syāhṛī* and *samhāra* are mere repetitions

<sup>3</sup> In the *Buguda* plates (1) four verses

(v 1 f) Dhānyakataka is the old name of the present Amaravati,<sup>1</sup> the temple of Amarēśvara is the one in which the inscription is preserved, and the *Chartya* of Buddha is the famous Amarāvati Stūpa, which at the time of the inscription must have been still in good preservation. In that city, the inscription continues, was a royal family which claimed descent from the feet of the Creator (v 3 f), i.e. which belonged to the Śūdra caste. Four generations are mentioned, viz. Bhima I (v 6), Kēta I. (v 24), Bhima II. (v 28) whose wife was Sabbamādēvi (v 32), and Kēta II. (v 33). Nothing of historical importance is related of any of these princes in the 43 Sanskrit verses with which the inscription opens. The first passage in Telugu (l 108 ff) gives a list of the *virudas*<sup>2</sup> of Kēta II. He was styled the *Mahāmandalēśvara Kōta-Kētarāja*,—in which the word *Kōṭa*, 'the fort,' perhaps refers to the fort of Dharamkoṭa<sup>3</sup> near Amarāvati,—'the lord of the district of six-thousand (villages) on the southern (bank) of the Krishnavennā river, obtained through the favour of the glorious Trinayana-Pallava,'<sup>4</sup> and 'the lord of Śrī-Dhānyakataka, the best of cities'. Two further generations of the same family are known from the Yenamadala inscription of Ganapāmbā,<sup>5</sup> which mentions Kēta (identical with Kēta II), his son Rudra, and the latter's son Bēta who became the husband of the Kākatīya princess Ganapāmbā.

The grants recorded in the inscription were all made on Thursday, the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha in Śaka-Samvat 1104.<sup>6</sup> The grants are five in number. The 1st, 2nd and 5th are specified both in Sanskrit verse and Telugu prose, while the 3rd and 4th are only worded in Telugu — (1) Kēta II. granted to Buddha the village of Kranteru in the district of Kandravādi, and the villages of Mēdukondūru and Donkiparru in the district of Kondapadumati (v 44 and ll 121 to 124), (2) Kēta II granted to Buddha 110 sheep, the milk of which had to be used for ghee to feed two perpetual lamps (v 46 and the subsequent Telugu passage), (3) Gasavi-Sūramadēvi, one of the king's concubines, gave to Buddha 55 sheep for a perpetual lamp (l 141 ff), (4) a similar gift was made by Prōlamadēvi, apparently another of the king's favourites (l 145 ff), and (5) Kēta II himself granted to Brāhmanas the following villages for the merit of his mother Sabbamādēvi,<sup>7</sup> of his father Bhimarāja,<sup>8</sup> of his elder brother Chōderāja,<sup>9</sup> and for his own merit — Kōkallu (v 48) in the district of Gondanātavādi (l 173), Giṇṇipādu, Challagarā and Tādivāya (v 49) in the same district (l 176), Ammalapūndi (v 50) in the same district (l. 179 f), Kuntimaddi and Uppalapādu (v 51) in the same district (l 182), Sattenapalli, Chintapalli (v 51), Kētepalli and Erragunta (l 184 f) in the district of Kondapadumati (l 183 f), and Onkadona (v 51) in the district of Doddikandravādi (l 185). The names of these villages were changed, respectively, into Sabbāmbikāpuram (l 174) after the name of his mother, Bhimāvuram (l 177 f) after that of his father, Chōdāvuram (l 180 f) after that of his elder brother, and Jagamechchugandapuram (l. 185 f.) after one of his own surnames.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p 85 and note 4. The village of Viripara (*loc cit*) is perhaps the modern Vipparla (No 95 on the Madras Survey Map of the Sattenapalli taluka), 12 miles west of Amaravati.

<sup>2</sup> Four of these are not Telugu, but Kanarese, viz. *Kaligaḷa-mogada kat*, *Bēdvarig tva kat*, *Gandara ganda* and *Nanni-mārtanda*.

<sup>3</sup> See Mr Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol I p 64.

<sup>4</sup> The same *viruda* occurs in the Yenamadala inscription, above, Vol III p. 95.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol III p. 94.

<sup>6</sup> This date is given five times v 44, ll 119 to 121, v 46, l 133 f, and v 47. Professor Knelhorn kindly contributes the following remarks — "The date is incorrect. It would correspond, for Ś 1104 current, to Saturday, the 16th January A D 1182, for Ś 1104 expired, to Wednesday, the 5th January A D 1183, when the 10th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h 55 m after mean sunrise, and for Ś 1105 expired, to Tuesday, the 24th January A D 1184. I am of opinion that the year intended is Ś 1104 *expired*, and that either the week day or the *tithi* has been quoted incorrectly."

<sup>7</sup> Identical with Sabbamādēvi (v 32).

<sup>8</sup> Identical with Bhima II (v 28).

<sup>9</sup> The same person is mentioned in No 267 of 1897 as '(his) elder brother Kōta Chōḍarāja' (*anna Gōṭa-Chōḍarāja*).

It appears from the foregoing abstract that the majority of the villages were granted to Brâhmanas, but that, in spite of that, and though Kêta II and his predecessors were worshippers of Śiva-Amarêśvara,<sup>1</sup> he granted three villages and two lamps to Buddha, and two further lamps were granted to Buddha by two of the inmates of his harem. This proves what is already suggested by the second verse of the inscription, that at the time of Kêta II the Buddhist religion continued to have votaries in the Telugu country and was tolerated and supported by the Hindû rulers of Amarâvatî. I hope I am not unjust to Kêta II if I suggest that his gifts to Buddha were a case of '*Cherchez la femme*'. The two *dêvis* of his who granted lamps to Buddha may have been Buddhist *upâsîkâs* and may have induced him to join them in making donations to their own god, though he professed the Śaiva creed. It may have been to atone for his apostasy that he subsequently granted a large number of villages to Brâhmanas, as recorded in the inscription.

The villages granted by Kêta II belonged to four different districts — Kandravâdi, Doddikandravâdi, Kondapadumatî, and Gondanâtavâdi. Kandravâdi is evidently the same as the Kanderuvâdi-vishaya of the Eastern Châlukya inscriptions,<sup>2</sup> which also mention an Uttara-Kanderuvâdi-vishaya.<sup>3</sup> Doddikandravâdi is perhaps meant for Doddakandravâdi, i.e. 'the great Kandravâdi'. The district of Kondapadumatî corresponds to the eastern portion of the Sattenapalli tâluka of the Kistna district, for, the villages of Mēdukondûru, Donkîparîru, Sattenapalli, Chintapalli and Erraguntâ<sup>4</sup> are identical with the modern Medikondur, Dokîparîru, Sattenapalli, Chintapalli and Yerraguntapadu.<sup>5</sup> Gondanâtavâdi is identical with the Konnâtavâdi-vishaya which was ruled over by Kêta II according to the Yenamadala inscription.<sup>6</sup> It corresponds to the western portion of the Sattenapalli taluka, for, the villages of Gûnjapâdu, Challagarâ, Tâdivâya, Kuntamaddi and Uppalapâdu<sup>7</sup> are identical with the modern Gunjapalli, Challagaregi, Taduvaya, Kuntamaddi and Vuppalapadu.<sup>8</sup>

The date of the present inscription was probably the very day of the accession of Kêta II to the throne.<sup>9</sup> Two other inscriptions of the Amarêśvara temple (Nos 257 and 264 of 1897) are dated on the very same day. From the first of them we learn that Sabbâ (or Sabbamâ), the mother of Kêta II, was the sister of Gonka,<sup>10</sup> who is probably identical with Gonka III of Velanându.<sup>11</sup> Later inscriptions of Kêta II at Amarâvatî and Peddacherukûru are dated in Śaka-Samvat 1119, 1122 and 1131.<sup>12</sup>

#### TEXT.<sup>13</sup>

##### East Face<sup>14</sup>

1 श्री<sup>15</sup> [॥\*] अस्ति श्रीधा[न्य]कटक [पुरं सुरपुरा]हर । यत्रामरेख-

2 रश्मिभुरमरेखरपूजितः ॥ [१\*] बुद्धो देव[स्तु]-

<sup>1</sup> See verse 3 and l 113 f

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* p 127

<sup>3</sup> Nos 188, 186, 148, 22 and 154 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Sattenapalli taluka

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol III p 102, v 11

<sup>5</sup> Nos 19, 20, 21, 18 and 51 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Sattenapalli taluka

<sup>6</sup> See below, p 155, note 2

<sup>7</sup> No 257 of 1897, ll 29 to 33 —

<sup>8</sup> See above, Vol V p 119

<sup>9</sup> Kêtepalli cannot be identified

<sup>10</sup> Kôhallu and Ammalapundi cannot be identified

<sup>11</sup> Nos 261, 251 and 244 of 1897

<sup>12</sup> Nos 261, 251 and 244 of 1897

<sup>13</sup> From an inked estampage, prepared in 1897 by Mr H Krishna Sastri

<sup>14</sup> All the verses of this face, with the exception of verse 2, are found also on the east face of No 262 of 1897

भूपालरघुपुत्रसत्कुलवार्दिनाता गौचितीशशशिनी भगिनी गुणान्ध्या ।

सन्वाह्या कमलचारकरा स्फुट श्रीसत्याभवत्प्रियतमा पुरुषोत्तमस्य ॥

<sup>15</sup> See above, Vol IV pp 35, 37 and 38

<sup>16</sup> From an inked estampage, prepared in 1897 by Mr H Krishna Sastri

<sup>17</sup> All the verses of this face, with the exception of verse 2, are found also on the east face of No 262 of 1897

<sup>18</sup> Expressed by a symbol

- 3 सान्निध्यो यत्र धात्रा प्रपूजितः । चै-  
 4 त्यमत्युन्नतं यत्र नानाचित्रसु-  
 5 चित्रितं ॥ [२\*] अस्ति तत्र स्थिरैश्वर्यं राज्ञामाज्ञावतां  
 6 कुलं । अमरेश्वरदेवेन रक्षितं रक्षक नृणां ॥ [३\*] जात सु-  
 7 रेंद्रदैत्येन्द्रमुनीन्द्रगणवदितात् । श्रेयसां<sup>१</sup>  
 8 भूयसा दातुर्धातुर्थचरणद्वयात् ॥ [४\*] क्षी-  
 9 णीक्षेमंकरा भूपा यत्र शत्रुभयंकराः ।  
 10 शकरास्त्राधुवत्तानां शकरस्य तु किकराः ॥ [५\*]  
 11 तत्रामरेशसंकाशो भीमो नाम नृपोभवत् ।  
 12 विश्वे विश्वभराधोशा यत्पदांबुजपद्मदाः ॥ [६\*]  
 13 उर्वीपतिषु सर्वेषु सदृक्षो यस्य नेक्षितः ।  
 14 प्रजाना पालने सम्यग्द्विषासुन्मूलने तधा<sup>२</sup> ॥ [७\*]  
 15 चक्रे पवित्रचारित्रो भक्त्या शक्त्या च भव्यया ।  
 16 यस्मुरेशान्नरेशाश्च वरदान्वरदानपि ॥ [८\*] यो  
 17 भूरिभक्तिसुप्रीतशर्वस्वर्वमनोरथान् ।  
 18 कृतवान्मित्रसघस्य कृतवाञ्छञ्चुसंहतेः ॥ [९\*]  
 19 विस्मापितजना यस्य विस्मारितरणांतरा ।  
 20 वीरपूरितजभारिपुरा रणपरंपरा ॥ [१०\*]  
 21 यस्य क्ष्माचक्रशक्रस्य चक्रिचक्रसमीजसा ।  
 22 चक्रेण विक्रम्य दिशां चक्र चक्रे मृश वशं ॥ [११\*]  
 23 क्षिप्रं विपक्षवक्षांसि पाटयतोतिपाट-  
 24 वात् । नृसिंहनखरेभ्योपि प्रखरा यच्छरा वभुः ॥ [१२\*]  
 25 कांत्या पूर्णा<sup>३</sup> रणे तूर्ण<sup>४</sup> यदनुप्रेरितैश्शरैः<sup>५</sup> ।  
 26 अर्द्धचंद्रैवलयंतं<sup>६</sup> वक्त्रचंद्रा विरोधिनां ॥ [१३\*]  
 27 महामहीधनारोहन्यद्रणे विद्रुता द्विषः [१\*]  
 28 तीक्ष्णैः<sup>७</sup> क्षुण्णाः पुनश्शस्त्रैर्द्या भयातिशयादिव ॥ [१४\*]  
 29 यद्गटोद्गटोद्गटोद्गटचंडायुधविखंडिताः [१\*]  
 30 अखंडविक्रमाश्शक्रमाक्रामन्नरयः पुर [॥] [१५\*]  
 31 पांसुव्राते समुध्वते<sup>८</sup> यद्वयैस्समरोध्वतैः<sup>९</sup> [१\*]

<sup>१</sup> The *anuvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line

<sup>२</sup> No 262 of 1897 reads तया

<sup>३</sup> Read पूर्णा


<sup>४</sup> Read तूर्ण.

<sup>५</sup> No 262 of 1897 reads °तैश्शरै

<sup>६</sup> No 262 of 1897 reads °चंद्रैर्व्यं

<sup>७</sup> Read समुध्वते

<sup>८</sup> Read °रोध्वतैः.

- 32 व्योमव्यापिनि सक्लेशं सत्सुस्तप्ताश्वसप्तयः ॥ [१६\*]  
 33 नमयन्तो भुव भीमाः पदव्यासेन यज्ञजाः ।  
 34 द्विजानां रणे चक्रुर्द्विजानां च पीडन ॥ [१७\*]  
 35 चलयद्भी रणारभेवचलासचलैस्सह ।  
 36 यद्वलैश्शत्रुशौर्याणां चालनं लीलया कृत ॥ [१८\*]  
 37 प्राकारैः पातितैस्सम्यक्परिखाः परिपूर्य यः ।  
 38 प्रध्वस<sup>१</sup> रिपुदुर्गाणां प्रागभावसमं व्यधात् ॥ [१९\*]  
 39 दूरस्था अपि वीरस्य यस्य भ्राजिष्णुतेजसः ।  
 40 आज्ञां कुर्वति सर्वं स भूभृतः प्राभृतप्रभाः<sup>२</sup> ॥ [२०\*]  
 41 येन धर्मप्रधानेन कारुण्योपेतचेतसा । पु-  
 42 चा इव परिचाताश्वचवश्शरणागताः ॥ [२१\*]  
 43 चरित्रेण पवित्रेण विद्यया निरवद्यया ।  
 44 भूषितास्तोषिता येन भूसुरा भासुरान्वयाः ॥ [२२\*]  
 45 विवेकेनारिषड्वर्गमरिवर्गं भुजौजसा । जि-  
 46 त्वार्जितचतुर्वर्गो नृपवर्गे रराज यः ॥ [२३] \* 

*North Face*

- 47 ◎ तस्य प्रशस्यचारित्र[स्या]तः  
 48 केतनृपसुत । पटुर्हीनार्तिहर[णे]  
 49 रणे वितरणे च यः ॥ [२४\*] युद्धे यद्धे-  
 50 तिभिन्नारिक्लिरीटमणिभिः<sup>३</sup> श्रिता । घना-  
 51 हतोत्तमलोहस्फुलिगैरिव भूर-  
 52 भात् ॥ [२५\*] बहुशोभिमुखप्राप्त  
 53 स्फुटाभ्यागमपर्वसु । राजमं-<sup>३</sup>  
 54 डलमग्रासि सस्यगद्गाहुराहु-  
 55 णा ॥ [२६\*] सर्वसर्व[स]हाधीशगर्वपर्व-  
 56 तपाटने । पटुः प्रथीय्यान्<sup>४</sup> प्रथितो  
 57 यत्प्रतापपविर्भुवि<sup>५</sup> ॥ [२७\*] तस्यासीद्भी-  
 58 मभूमीशस्तनयो विनयोन्नतः ।  
 59 यश्शोभाशत्रुभूपानां भानां  
 60 भानुरिवाहरत् ॥ [२८\*] दूरपाता दृढा-

<sup>१</sup> No. 262 of 1897 reads प्रध्वस

<sup>२</sup> No. 262 of 1897 reads °प्रदा .

<sup>३</sup> The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line

<sup>४</sup> Read प्रथीयान्

<sup>५</sup> Read °पविर्भुवि,

- 61 घाता भोषणा रुक्मभूषणाः । अ-  
 62 मोघा यस्य वाणौघा रेजिरे स-  
 63 मराजिरे ॥ [२८\*] विक्रमादक्रियंतो-  
 64 चैर्येन नानाधराधराः । त्रस्तश-  
 65 त्रुधरित्रीशकुलाकुलगुहागृहाः ॥ [३०\*]  
 66 कृताः पुण्यवता येन सर्व्वसप-  
 67 त्समन्विताः । विबुधा भूमिविबु-  
 68 धा विबुधा इव विष्णुना ॥ [३१\*] त-  
 69 ज्ञार्था सर्व्वमादेवी ख्याता-  
 70 भूद्भुवि वीरसूः । वंश्याश्लौ-  
 71 र्योन्नता यस्याः पित्रो[ः\*] श्वश-  
 72 रयोरपि ॥ [३२\*] तस्मात्तस्यां समु-  
 73 झूतः केतभूषः प्रतापवान् ।  
 74 सद्गुणैरूपमानानां योका-  
 75 र्षीदुपमेयता ॥ [३३\*] नेता सम्य-  
 76 क्प्रजाना यो जेता युद्धेषु  
 77 विद्विषा । दातार्य्यिभ्योर्त्य्यितात्यर्था-  
 78 ना चाता [च] शरणार्त्य्यिनां ॥ [३४\*] य[ः]  
 79 प्रह्वीकृतभूपालो भूपाल-  
 80 नयपडितः । पंडितस्तुत-  
 81 सदृत्त[ः\*] सदृत्तजनवत्सलः ॥ [३५\*] येन  
 82 ध्वस्तविभूतीनामरातीनाम-  
 83 भून्मुखं । अतस्संतापसप्ता-  
 84 र्चिर्द्धमेनेव मलोमस ॥ [३६\*] वा-  
 85 णैः किरणदेशीयैर्ध्वीतदेश्यान्नि-  
 86 युद्धिपान् । तिग्माशुकल्या मिद-<sup>1</sup>  
 87 ति यद्गटा[स्त्र]मरोद्गटाः ॥ [३७\*] चित्तस्य-  
 88 शिवमौळींदुसुधार्द्रा इव यद्गिर[ः] ।]  
 89 मधुरा नित्यभानंदममद तन्व-  
 90 ते सतां ॥ [३८\*] प्रतिग्राम प्रतिपुरं प्र-  
 91 त्योक्तः प्रतिचत्वर । प्रतितीर्थ्य प्रति-

<sup>1</sup> The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line

- 92 सभं यस्यौदार्यं प्रशस्यते ॥ [३८~]  
 93 चित्रैस्त्रिचालयैर्यस्य पृथिव्यां [प्र]-  
 94 दितं यशः । वुभुक्षु[भिन्नुस]-  
 95 घातप्रभूतप्रीतिहेतु[भि]: [॥ ४०<sup>१</sup>] [ॐ]

## West Face

- 96 ॐ अनंतप्राणिसुप्रीतिकारिभिर्भूरिवा-<sup>१</sup>  
 97 रिभिः । तडागैस्सागराभोगैर्यो विभूषि-  
 98 तभूतलः ॥ [४१<sup>२</sup>] आरामान्योतनोत्सारान्स-  
 99 रोभिश्शोभितांतरान् । उत्फुल्लकजकिज-  
 100 ल्कपुजपिजरितांतरैः ॥ [४२<sup>३</sup>] देवालयै-  
 101 स्सुधाशुभ्रैस्सुवर्णकलशंकितैः<sup>२</sup> । पता-  
 102 काचुंबिताभोदैर्यद्वर्मी नीत उन्नतिं ॥ [४३<sup>३</sup>]  
 103 शाकाब्दे युगखेदुरुपगणिते माघे  
 104 दशम्या त्रिथौ शुक्लाया गुरुवासरे  
 105 गुणनिधिसंप्राप्तराज्योन्नतिः । श्रीम-  
 106 क्तेनृपसमस्तगुरवे ग्रामान्वरेणान्व-  
 107 हन्सप्रादात्सुगतिश्वराय विमुक्त-  
 108 श्रीर्द्धर्मसद्वये ॥ [४४<sup>१</sup>] ॐ ॐ ॐ स्वस्ति चतुस्सु-  
 109 द्रमुद्रितनिखिलवसुंधरापरिपालकश्री-  
 110 मक्षिणयनपल्लवप्रसादासादितक्षिणवेण्या-<sup>३</sup>  
 111 नदीदक्षिणषट्सहस्रावनीवल्लभ भयलीम-  
 112 दुर्लभ चोडचाकुक्ष्यसामंतमदानिक[प]-  
 113 मृगेंद्र विभवामरेंद्र श्रीमदमरेश्वरदेव-  
 114 दिव्यश्रीपादपद्माराधक परबलसाधक  
 115 श्रीधान्यकटकपुरवराधीश्वर प्रतापलंके-  
 116 श्वर कलिगळसोगदकै वेङ्गरिगीवकै गंडरगं-  
 117 ड गंडभेरुंड जगमेचुगड नन्निमार्त्त-<sup>४</sup>  
 118 ड नामादिसमस्तप्रशस्तिसहित श्रीमन्महा-  
 119 मंडलेश्वर कोटकेतराजुलु शकवर्षसुलु  
 120 ११०४ गुनेटि माघ शुद्ध १० गुरुवारसु-

<sup>१</sup> Read °सिर्म्मरि°<sup>२</sup> Read °सुवर्ण°.<sup>३</sup> Read दक्षवेण्या<sup>४</sup> The anusvāra stands at the beginning of the next line

- 121 न श्रीमद्भुवदेवरकु सुंकमुलोनुगा सर्वा-  
 122 यमुलतोनाचंद्राकंसुगानिच्चिन ऊड्लु कड-  
 123 वाडिलोनि क्रंतं८७ कौडपडुमटिलोनि मेडु-  
 124 कौडूरुनु डोकिपळ्ळुनु [॥\*] ई ध[र्मा]म नडप-  
 125 निवारु पंचमहापातकमुलु सेमिनवा-  
 126 रु वारणासि ब्रच्चिनवारु तम पेद्द कोडुकु क-  
 127 पालमुन गुडिचिनवारु [॥\*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां  
 128 वा यो हरेत वसुधरां । षष्टि वर्षस-  
 129 हस्राणि विष्ठाया जायते क्रिमिः ॥ [४५\*] ◎ ◎ ◎  
 130 ❀ वेदाशेदुमिते शाके भावे शुक्ले गुरोर्दिने । दशम्यां<sup>1</sup>  
 131 केतभूपालो दीपौ बुधाय दत्तवान् ॥ [४६\*] स्वस्ति सम-  
 132 स्तप्रशस्तिसहित श्रीमन्महामंडलेश्वर कोटकेतरा-  
 133 जुलु शकवर्षमुलु ११०४ गुनेटि भाघ शुद्ध १०  
 134 गुरुवारमुनं दमकु धर्मात्यसुगा श्रीमद्भु-  
 135 वदेवरकुनखडवर्त्तिदीपमुलु रेटिकिनै इच्चिन इ-  
 136 न्यएड्लु ११० [॥\*] वीनिलोन दामकअमरेवोयुडु [ए]भदेनु गो-  
 137 ठियल जेकोनि आचंद्राकंसुगां दन पुत्रानुपौत्रिकमुन  
 138 नित्य मानेंडु सेसि नेयि वीयंगलवांडु ॥ ऊटुकूरि के-  
 139 तेवोयुडु एंभडेनु<sup>2</sup> गोठियल जेकोनि आचंद्राकंसु-  
 140 गा दन पुत्रानुपौत्रिकमुन नित्य मानेंडु सेसि नेयि वी-  
 141 यंगलवांडु ॥ ◎ भोगस्त्रीललीनं गसविसूरमदेवुलु द-  
 142 नकु धर्मात्यसुगा श्रीमद्भुवदेवरकुनखडवर्त्तिदीपमु-  
 143 नकिच्चिन इन्यएड्लु ५५ [॥\*] वीनिं जेकोनि सब्बकमारेवोयुडु  
 आचद्रा-  
 144 कंसुगा दन पुत्रानुपौत्रिकमुन नित्य मानेंडु सेसि नेयि वीयं-<sup>3</sup>  
 145 गलवांडु ॥ भंडावुं प्रीलमदेवुलु दनकु धर्मात्यसुगा  
 146 श्रीमद्भुवदेवरकुनखडवर्त्तिदीपमुनकिच्चिन इन्यएड्लु ५५ [॥\*]  
 147 विनि<sup>4</sup> जेकोनि चेंवळ्ळि कोम्मानवोनि कोडुकु माचेनवीयुंडु  
 148 आचंद्राकंसुगा दन पुत्रानुपौत्रिकमुन नित्य मानेंडु  
 149 सेसि नेयि वीयंगलवांडु ॥ ❀ ❀ ❀ श्री श्री श्री [॥\*]

<sup>1</sup> The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line<sup>2</sup> Read एभटेनु.<sup>3</sup> The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line<sup>4</sup> Read वीनि



South Face<sup>1</sup>

- 150 ॐ शाक[न्दे] वार्द्धि[ता]रा[पथ]शशिवसुधासन्नि[ते]  
 151 मा[घ]मा[से] शुक्ले प[क्षे] दशम्यां त्रि[दि]वपरिवृढा-  
 152 चार्थ्य[व.]रे वरेण्ये । सोयं संप्राप्तराज्यस्सकल-  
 153 गुणनिधिः केतविश्वभरेशो ग्रामान् विज्ञातसीमा-  
 154 न् प्रथितगुणगणान्<sup>2</sup> प्राददाद्वाङ्मणेभ्यः ॥ [४७\*]  
 155 ग्राम [को]कल्लुनामानं प्रशस्यं सस्यसंप-  
 156 दा । विद्वद्भ्यो द्विजवर्येभ्यो जनन्या[ः\*] अयसेद-  
 157 दात् ॥ [४८\*] गिजिपाडुं चल्लगरां ताडिवाय<sup>3</sup>  
 158 च शोभनान् । ग्रामान्द्विजत्रा<sup>4</sup> कृतवान्भूय-  
 159 से अयसे पितुः ॥ [४९\*] सम्यगमलपू[डि\*] च ग्रामं<sup>5</sup>  
 160 भूमिगुणान्वितं । विप्रसात्कृतवान्भ्रातु-  
 161 ज्यार्यसे<sup>6</sup> अयसे मुदा ॥ [५०\*] सत्तेनपत्नि प्रा  
 162 दिशदुप्पलपाडुं<sup>7</sup> च चिंतपत्नीं च तधा<sup>8</sup> ।  
 163 श्रीकदीनकुंठिमही धर्मार्थं स्वस्य स  
 164 द्विजभ्यो ग्रामान् ॥ [५१\*] ब्रीहिवातैस्सुजातै-  
 165 रल्लघुफलभरैश्शालिसस्यैः प्रशस्यैरुद्रा-  
 166 [टै]स्सुप्ररुढैस्तिलयवच[ण]कैर्मृग-  
 167 माधैस्सपोषैः । धान्यैश्चान्यैसमृद्धा<sup>9</sup>  
 168 दिशि दिशि लसिताश्शोभनैश्शाकवाटैश्शोभं-  
 169 तां श्रीसमेतास्सकलजनदृशामुत्स-  
 170 वाश्श्वदेते ॥ [५२\*] ॐ स्वस्ति समस्तप्रशस्तिसहितं  
 171 श्रीमन्महामंडलेश्वर कोटकेतराजुलु त-  
 172 म तल्लि स[ब्ब]मदेवुलकु धर्मार्थमुगा श्रीम-  
 173 द्वाङ्मणो[त्त]मुलकुं गोडनातवाडिलोनिच्चिन यू-  
 174 रु कोकल्लु दीनि पेरु सब्बांविकापुरसु [\*] तम तं-  
 175 डि भीमराजुनकु धर्मार्थमुगा श्रीमद्वाङ्म-  
 176 णोत्तमुलकुं गोडनातवाडिलोनिच्चिन यू[डलु]

<sup>1</sup> Verses 47 to 52 are found also on the south face of No 264 of 1897

<sup>2</sup> No 264 of 1897 reads प्रथितपुगुणान्

<sup>3</sup> The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line

<sup>4</sup> The *anusudra* stands at the beginning of the next line

<sup>5</sup> No 264 of 1897 reads °दुप्पलपाडुं

<sup>6</sup> No 264 of 1897 reads °नैस्समृद्धा

<sup>7</sup> See Pāṇini, V. 4, 55

<sup>8</sup> Read °ज्यार्यस

<sup>9</sup> No 264 of 1897 reads तथा

- 177 गिजिपाडु चक्षगरा ताडिवाय इवि भीमा-  
 178 वुरमुलु [1\*] तमन्न चोडिराजुनकु धर्मात्यमु-  
 179 गा श्रीमद्वाङ्मणोत्तमुलकु गौडुनातवा-  
 180 डिलोनिच्चिन यूरु अम्मलपूडि दीनि पेरु चो-  
 181 डावुरमु [1\*] तनकु धर्मात्यमुगा श्रीमद्वा-  
 182 ञ्मणोत्तमुलकु गौडनातवाडिलोनिच्चिन  
 183 यूडुलु कुटिमदि उप्पलपाडु कोडपडु-  
 184 मटिलो सत्तेनपल्लि चित्तपल्लि वेतेपल्लि एङ्गिगुं-<sup>1</sup>  
 185 टलु दोड्डिकंङ्गवाडि अदु ओंकदोन इवि ज-  
 186 गमेच्चुगडपुरमुलु [1\*] इयग्रहारमु-  
 187 लु सर्व्वक(1)रपरिहारमुगा मन्निच्चित्तिमि ॥

#### ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Om (Verse 1) "There is a city (named) Śrī-Dhānyakataka, which is superior to the city of the gods, (and) where (the temple of) Śambhu (Śiva) (named) Amarēśvara is worshipped by the lord of gods (Indra) ,

(V 2) "Where god Buddha, worshipped by the Creator, is quite close, (and) where (there is) a very lofty *Chartya*, well decorated with various sculptures.

(V 3) "In that (city) there is a family of powerful kings, enjoying uninterrupted prosperity, protected by the god Amarēśvara, (and) protecting men ,

(V 4) "Which (family) was born from the pair of feet— worshipped by the crowds of lords of gods, lords of demons, and lords of sages,— of the Creator, the bestower of great bliss "

In this family was born Bhīma (I) (v. 6) His son was Kēta (I) (v 24) His son was Bhīma (II) (v 28), whose wife was Sabbamādēvi (v 32) Their son was Kēta (II) (v 33), a worshipper of Śiva (v 38) He built alms-houses (*satthālaya*, v 40) and constructed tanks (*taḍḍaga*, v 41), gardens (*ārāma*, v 42), and temples (*dēvālaya*, v 43)

(V 44) "In the Śāka year reckoned by the *Yugas* (4), the sky (0), the moon (1), and *rūpa* (1),— (i.e. 1104),— in (the month of) Māgha, on the tenth *tithi* of the bright (fortnight), on a Thursday,— the glorious king Kēta, a treasury of virtues, possessing great prosperity, having been raised to the kingdom,<sup>2</sup> gave, for the increase of (his) merit, many excellent villages to the preceptor of all (men), the lord Sugata (Buddha)

(Line 108) "Hail! The glorious *Mahāmanḍalēśvara Kōta-Kētarāja*, who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the lord of the district of six-thousand (villages) (*Ṣaṭṣahasr-āvanī*) on the southern (bank) of the *Kṛṣṇayannā* river, obtained through the favour of the glorious *Trinayana-Pallava*, the protector of the whole earth surrounded by the four oceans , inaccessible to fear and greed, the hon to the rutting elephants—the *Chōda* and *Chālukya Sāmantas*, resembling the lord of gods (Indra) in power, the worshipper of the divine lotus-feet of the holy god Amarēśvara, the destroyer of hostile armies, the lord of Śrī-Dhānyakataka,

<sup>1</sup> The *anustāra* stands at the beginning of the next line

<sup>2</sup> This seems to imply that the date of the grant was that of the king's accession to the throne A similar statement occurs in verse 47

the best of cities, resembling the lord of Lankâ (Râvana) in valour, he whose hand closes with<sup>1</sup> heroes, he whose hand gives to suppliants, the hero of heroes, the double-headed eagle (*Gandabhêrunda*), the hero praised by the world (*Jagamechchuganda*), and the sun of truth,—in the Śaka year 1104, on the 10th (*tithi*) of the bright (*fortnight*) of Mâgha, on a Thursday,—gave to the holy god Buddha the (*following*) villages, together with all revenue including tolls, for as long as the moon and the sun shall last — Kranteru in (*the district of*) Kandravâdî, and Mēdukondûru and Donkîparû in (*the district of*) Kondapadumati Those who do not keep up this charity, will have committed the five great sins, will have destroyed Vâranâsi, (*and*) will have eaten from the skull of their eldest son” Here follows an imprecatory verse (45)

(V 46) “In the Śaka (*year*) measured by the *Vēdas* (4), the directions (10), and the moon (1),—(*i e* 1104),—on the tenth *tithi* of the bright (*fortnight*) of Mâgha, on a Thursday,—king Kêta gave two lamps to Buddha

(L 131) “Hail! He who was possessed of all glory, the glorious *Mahâmandalêsvara* Kôta-Kêtarâja,—in the Śaka year 1104, on the 10th (*tithi*) of the bright (*fortnight*) of Mâgha, on a Thursday,—gave for his own merit to the holy god Buddha 110 sheep<sup>2</sup> for two perpetual lamps Having received fifty-five sheep among these, Dâmaka-Amare-Bôya with his sons and further descendants has to supply daily one *mâna*<sup>3</sup> of ghee as long as the moon and the sun shall last Having received (*the remaining*) fifty-five sheep, Kêta-Bôya of Ûtukûru<sup>4</sup> with his sons and further descendants has to supply *etc*

(L 141) “Gasavi-Sûrama-dêvi, (*one*) among the concubines (*of the king*), gave for her own merit to the holy god Buddha 55 sheep for a perpetual lamp Having received these, Sabbaka-Mâre-Bôya has to supply *etc*

(L 145) “Prôlamadêvi, (*who was in charge*) of the treasury, gave for her own merit to the holy god Buddha 55 sheep for a perpetual lamp Having received these, Mâchena-Bôya, the son of Kommana-Bôya of Chembarti, has to supply *etc*

(V 47) “In the Śaka year measured by the oceans (4), the sky (0), the moon (1), and the earth (1),—(*i e* 1104),—on the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Mâgha, on an excellent Thursday,—that treasury of all virtues, king Kêta, who had obtained the kingdom, gave villages whose boundaries were well known, (*and*) whose numerous advantages were famous, to Brâhmanas ”

He granted to Brâhmanas the village of Kôkallu for the merit of his mother (v 48), Giñjipâdu, Challagarâ and Tâdivâya for the merit of his father (v 49), Ammalapûndî for the merit of his elder brother (v 50), and Sattenapalli, Uppalapâdu, Chintapalli, Onkadona and Kuntimaddî for his own merit (v 51)

(L 170) “Hail! He who was possessed of all glory, the glorious *Mahâmandalêsvara* Kôta-Kêtarâja, gave, for the merit of his mother Sabbamadêvi, to the best of holy Brâhmanas the village of Kôkallu in (*the district of*) Gondanâtavâdî, (*changing*) its name (*into*) Sabbâmbikâpuram For the merit of his father Bhimarâja, (*he*) gave to the best of holy Brâhmanas the villages of Giñjipâdu, Challagarâ (*and*) Tâdivâya in (*the district of*) Gondanâtavâdî, (*changing*) their (*names into*) Bhimâvuram. For the merit of his elder brother Chôderâja, (*he*) gave to the best of holy Brâhmanas the village of Ammalapûndî in (*the district of*) Gondanâtavâdî, (*changing*) its name (*into*) Chôdâvuram For his own merit, (*he*) gave to the best of holy Brâhmanas the villages of Kuntimaddî and Uppalapâdu in (*the district of*) Gondanâtavâdî; Sattenapalli, Chintapalli, Kêtepalli and Erragunta

<sup>1</sup> See Dr Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, s v *moge* 5

<sup>2</sup> In modern Telugu *edlu*, the plural of *eddu*, means ‘bullocks’, but *inpa edlu* (ll 135 f, 143 and 146) or *inupa edlu* (below, p 158, l 218) must be synonymous with *gorṣṣalu*, ‘sheep,’ in ll 136 f and 139

<sup>3</sup> According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary* this measure is the sixteenth part of a *tâmu*

<sup>4</sup> This is perhaps the modern Ûtukur, No. 76 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Sattenapalli taluka.

in (the district of) Kondapadumati, and Onkadona in (the district of) Doddikandravâdi, (changing) their (names into) Jagamechchugandapuram<sup>1</sup> We have exempted these *agrahâras* from all taxes "

### B — Inscription of Bayyamâmbâ,

Śaka-Samvat 1156

This inscription is engraved on the south face of the pillar, below the end of the inscription of Kêta II. It consists of 12 Sanskrit verses and a passage in Telugu prose (ll 215 to 220)

This is another grant to god Buddha at Śrī-Dhānyaghâti (i.e. Amarāvati), made on Thursday, the eleventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Jyeshtha in Śaka-Samvat 1156 (expired), the cyclic year Jaya. According to Prof Kielhorn, 'the date corresponds to Thursday, the 11th May A.D. 1234, when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 3 h 50 m after mean sunrise'. The donor was Bayyamâmbâ (v 11) or Kôta-Bayyalamahâdêvi (l 216), the daughter of the *Mahāmandalêsvara* Rudradêva-Mahârâja (l 215 f), the son of Buddha (v 5) and grandson of Durga (v 4), who belonged to the Chaturthakula (i.e. the Śûdra caste) and resided at Madapalli in the district of Nâthavâdi (l 215) or Nâthavâti<sup>2</sup> (vv 1 to 3). From the word *Kôta*<sup>3</sup> which is prefixed to the name of Bayyalamahâdêvi in l 216, it may be concluded that she was married to one of the chiefs of Amarāvati. Verse 12, which is mutilated, contains the name of Manma-Gêta, i.e. 'the grandson<sup>4</sup> Kêta'. This seems to refer to Kêta II of Amarāvati, the grandson of Kêta I. Very probably Bayyamâmbâ was one of the wives of Kêta II.

### TEXT

South Face (continued)

- 186 श्री<sup>5</sup> [॥\*] अस्ति स्वस्तियुतो देशो नाथवाटीति विस्तृतः । पूगपुन्नागवकुळ-  
 187 निचुळाळिमनोहरः । [१\*] तत्र श्रीमत्पुरवरं मडपक्षिपुर पर ।  
 190 परैरभेद्यमुद्योतविद्योतितदिगतर<sup>6</sup> । [२\*] धातुस्समष्टजगतां<sup>7</sup> क-  
 191 र्त्तश्चरणपकजात् । जात विशिष्टं तत्रास्ति चतुर्थकुलमत्तम<sup>8</sup> । [३\*] त-  
 192 त्ताभवत् पृथुयशाः<sup>9</sup> परिमातदोषो ह्यभोजबधुरिव नदि-  
 193 तसर्व्ववर्गं । <sup>10</sup>श्रीय्यादिवर्त्यगुणगर्व्वितभृत्यवर्गो दुर्गचित्तो-  
 194 [अ इ\*]ति सुप्रथितः प्रियिव्या<sup>11</sup> ॥ [४\*] तस्यासीत्तनयः प्रभूतविनय-  
 195 . . हितश्रीयुतो <sup>12</sup>नानासद्भिजमुख्यपोषणरतश्चान-  
 196 . . गात्रयः । प्रत्यर्त्थिप्रबलप्रहृद्वनरकच्छेदी विधेयस्र[दा]  
 197 [जा\*]तो विष्णुरिवापरो <sup>13</sup>गुणनिधिर्व्वृद्धमावल्लभः ॥ [५\*] [त]-  
 198 [स्य](र) पत्नी सुप्पमावा पुरारिचरणावुजे । जातकौतुकसा-  
 199 कूतव्रिति<sup>14</sup> पतिपरायणा ॥ [६\*] सुप्पमावुद्धपत्योर्जातो

<sup>1</sup> This name was derived from his surname Jagamechchuganda, see l 117

<sup>2</sup> Regarding these two geographical names see p 159 below

<sup>3</sup> See p 147 above

<sup>4</sup> See Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, s v manamadu

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>6</sup> Read °मुद्गीत°

<sup>7</sup> Read °सक्त°

<sup>8</sup> Read °सुत्तम°

<sup>9</sup> Read परिधृत°

<sup>10</sup> Read श्रीय्यादि°

<sup>11</sup> Read पृथिव्या

<sup>12</sup> Read °सद्भिज°

<sup>13</sup> नि of निधि is entered above the line

<sup>14</sup> Read °व्रिति°

- 200 रु[द्र]नरेखरः । विश्वविश्वभराधीशो योसौ धर्म इवापर[:] [॥ ७\*]  
 201 तस्य पत्नी मैलमांवा धर्मकीर्तिरिति श्रुता । विश्रुतश्रु[त]-  
 202 सपन्नविहचित्तमणि[:\*]<sup>1</sup> स्वयं ॥ [८\*] अजीजनस्तुतान्<sup>2</sup> अ-  
 203 द्यौ विष्टपे शिष्टसन्नतान्<sup>3</sup> । लोकपालप्रतीकाशान् या म-  
 204 हिंन्नेव भूयसी ॥ [९\*] चातुर्यौदार्यभूमिस्त्रिभु-  
 205 वनविवरख्यातसौ[भाग्य\*]भाग्या या च श्रीकीर्त्तिमुत्ति[:\*]<sup>4</sup> सकल-  
 206 गुणिगणानंदसंदोहदात्री । <sup>5</sup>इष्टापूर्त्तादिकर्मप्रतिप-  
 207 दमुदिताखर्व्वगीर्वाणगर्व्वी सर्व्वीर्व्वीवक्रवालस्फुर[दु]रु-<sup>6</sup>  
 208 महिमाक्रांतलोकावकाशा ॥ [१०\*] तत्पुत्री बय्यमांवा प्र-  
 209 धितगुणगणा सत्कलापूर्णवर्त्ता<sup>7</sup> (I) <sup>8</sup>[शि]ष्टार्चाप्राप्तकीर्त्ति[:\*] स्वयमपि  
 विदु-  
 210 षामग्रणीरग्रगणा । वि[ह][त\*]पद्माकराणां तरणिरु[चि]रसौ या च  
 211 सौजन्यसिंधोरत्नासा[येदु]रेखा निखिलज[न]नुतालंक्रि[ति]वर्भत-<sup>10</sup>  
 212 धाच्याः ॥ [११\*] शाकाब्दे तर्कवाणक्षितिरशिगणिते<sup>11</sup> वत्सरेस्मिंज-  
 याख्ये ज्ये-  
 213 षे मा[सी]ज्यवारे सुररिपुदिवसे शुक्लपक्षे प्रश[स्ते] । प्रादा[तु]<sup>12</sup> श्री-  
 214 [धान्यवा]टीस्थितिकतरुचये <sup>13</sup>बुधदेवाय भूम्ने सा [दे]वी मन्मगेत-  
 215 . . . . . [॥ १२\*] श्रीमन्म(म)हामडलेश्वर  
 नाथवा[डि] रु-  
 216 द्रदेवमहाराजुल कूतु<sup>14</sup> कीटवय्यलमहादेविश्रमं-<sup>14</sup>  
 217 गारु [द]नुकु<sup>15</sup> धर्मार्थमुगा <sup>16</sup>श्रीमद्बुधदेवरकुनाचंद्रा-  
 218 र्कमखंडदीपमुनकुनिचिन<sup>17</sup> इनुपेडलु ५५ [।\*] वीनि जेकी[नि]  
 219 गुटिअनेबोयुंडु [द]न पुत्रानुपवुत्रिकमु नित्य  
 220 [मा]नेंडु नेयि पोयंग[ल\*]वांडु ॥ श्री<sup>18</sup> [॥\*]

## ABRIDGED TRANSLATION

Om In the district (*désa*) of Nāthavāti, in the town of Madapalli, in the Chaturthakula which was produced from the foot of the Creator, was born Durga (vv 1 to 4) His son was Budda, whose wife Muppamāmbā was devoted to Śiva (v 5 f) Their son Rudra married Maḷamāmbā and had by her eight sons (vv 7 to 9) and a daughter, Bayyamāmbā (v 11)

<sup>1</sup> Read °विह्विता°.<sup>4</sup> Read °मूर्त्ति°.<sup>7</sup> Read प्रथित°<sup>10</sup> Read °सकृत्ति°<sup>13</sup> Read प्रादाक्षी°<sup>14</sup> Read अम्, the *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line<sup>16</sup> Read श्रीमद्बु°<sup>2</sup> Read °तानद्यौ<sup>5</sup> Read इष्टा°.<sup>8</sup> Read °पूर्णवर्णा<sup>11</sup> Read °शशि°<sup>13</sup> Read बुध°<sup>17</sup> Read °निचिन<sup>3</sup> Read °सन्मतान्<sup>6</sup> Read चक्रवाल<sup>9</sup> Read शिष्टार्चा°<sup>15</sup> Read दनकु<sup>18</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

(V 12) "In the Sāka year reckoned by *tarḥa* (6), the arrows (5), the earth (1), and the moon (1),—(i.e. 1150),—in this (*cyclic*) year called *Jaya*, in the month *Jyēshtha*, on a Thursday, on the day of *Mura's* enemy (*Vishnu*),<sup>1</sup> in the auspicious bright fortnight,—this queen [the wife of] *Manma-Gēta* . . . . . gave, for the sake of (*her*) prosperity, [a lamp] to god *Buddha* who is pleased to reside at *Śrī-Dhānyaghāti*.

(L 215) "Kōta-Bayyalamahādēvi-amma, the daughter of the glorious *Mahāmandalēśvara* *Rudradēva-Mahārāja* of *Nāthavādi*, gave for her own merit to the holy lord *Buddha* 55 sheep for a perpetual lamp, to last as long as the moon and the sun Having received these, *Guntī-Ane-Bōya* with his sons and further descendants has to supply daily one *māna* of ghee *Om* "

### POSTSCRIPT

In connection with the preceding inscription of *Bayyamāmbā*, I publish below a short Telugu inscription of her father on a pillar of the ruined *Kanakadurgā-maṇḍapa* at the foot of the *Indrakila* hill at *Bezvāda* (No 279 of 1892) It records the gift of a lamp to the *Mallēśvara* temple at *Bezvāda* by the *Mahāmandalēśvara* *Rudradēvarāja* of *Madapalla* in *Nātavādi*, the son of *Buddarāja*, who was the brother-in-law of the *Kākatīya* king *Ganapati*.<sup>2</sup> The date of the grant was Thursday, the 15th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Vaiśākha* in *Śaka-Samvat* 1123 (expired), the cyclic year *Durmukhi*, which is a mistake for *Durmati* According to Prof *Kielhorn*, "the date corresponds to Thursday, the 19th April A.D 1201, when the 15th *tithi* of the bright half commenced 1 h 38 m after mean sunrise "

The town of *Madapalla* and the district of *Nātavādi* are identical with *Madapalli* and the district of *Nāthavādi* or *Nāthavāti* in the inscription of *Bayyamāmbā*<sup>3</sup> Mr *Ramayya* identifies *Madapalla* or *Madapalli* with a village near *Madhira*, a station on the *Nizam's* State Railway, and *Nātavādi* with the district of *Nat[ri]pati* in the *Chikkulla* plates<sup>4</sup> As, however, *Lendulūra*, whence the *Chikkulla* plates were issued, is the modern *Dendulūra* near *Ellore*, *Madapalla* or *Madapalli* might as well be the same as the village of 'Madapalli' which is mentioned in the *Postal Directory of the Madras Circle*, p 746, as being situated near *Ellore*

### TEXT.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>०</sup> स्वस्ति [१\*] शकवर्षबुलु<sup>७</sup> ११२३ [ड]गु दुर्मुखिसंवत्सर वै-
- 2 शाख शुभ्व<sup>८</sup> १५ गुरुवारमुन स्वस्ति समधिगतपंचमहा-
- 3 शब्दमहामंडलेखर<sup>९</sup> मंडपक्षपुरवराधीश्वर चाळुक्य-
- 4 राज्यमूलस्तभायमान शिष्टे[ष्ट]निदान श्रीम[त्\*]त्रिभुवना-
- 5 धीश्वरपादाराधक परबलसाधक नामादिसमस्तप्रश-
- 6 स्तिसंहित<sup>१०</sup> श्रीमन्महामंडलेखर नातवाडि रुद्रदेवराजु-
- 7 लु समस्तप्रशस्तिसंहितुलै[न] काकतियगणपतिदेव[म]-
- 8 हाराजुल मळ्ळंदि तम तंङ्गि बुहराजुलकु सुक्तिगानु

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the eleventh *tithi*.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol III p 95, Vol V p 142 f, and Vol VI p 39

<sup>3</sup> See p 157 above

<sup>4</sup> From an inked estampage

<sup>5</sup> Read यर.

<sup>6</sup> See above, Vol V Add and Corr p v f

<sup>7</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>8</sup> Read मंडलेखर

<sup>9</sup> Read °वर्षबुलु.

<sup>10</sup> Read °संहित

- 9 बेजवाड मल्लेश्वरश्रीमहादेवरक्तु आ[वं]द्राक्षस्थायि-<sup>1</sup>  
 10 [ग]। एत्तिन अख[ड]दी[प]मुनकिच्चिन मेक[लु] ५५ [।\*] वीनिं  
 जेकी[नि] कों-  
 11 [ड]सुरेवीयुंडु तन पुत्रपीवुत्तानुक्रममुन नित्य नं-<sup>2</sup>  
 12 क्षिमानेडु नेयि नडपगलवांडु ॥

## TRANSLATION.

Om Hail! On Thursday, the 15th (*tithi*) of the bright (*fortnight*) of Vaisākha in the Śaka year 1123, the Durmukhi-samvatsara,—Hail! the glorious Mahāmandalēśvara Rudradēvarāja of Nātavādi, who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the Mahāman dalēśvara who has obtained the five great sounds, the lord of Madapalla, the best of cities, the chief pillar, as it were, of the Chālukya kingdom, the end of (i.e. fulfilling) the desires of holy men, the worshipper of the feet of the holy lord of the three worlds, and the destroyer of hostile armies, gave—for the salvation of his father Buddarāja, the brother-in-law of Kākatīya-Ganapatidēva-Mahārāja who was possessed of all glory,—55 goats for lighting a perpetual lamp, as long as the moon and the sun shall last, before the god Mahādēva of the Mallēśvara (*temple*) at Bejavāda. Having received these, Konda-Sūre-Bōya with his sons and further descendants has to supply daily one *māna*, (stamped with) a Nandi, of ghee

## No. 16—SOME RECORDS OF THE RASHTRAKUTA KINGS OF MALKHED

By J F FLEET, ICS (RETD), PH D, CIE

This is the first of some papers which will deal with some selected records of the Rāshtrakūta kings of Mālkhed. The records have been chosen, partly because of the general historical interest that attaches to them, and partly in order to illustrate the development of the alphabet of the Kanarese country during the ninth century A D.<sup>3</sup> As regards the latter point, I cannot undertake to deal fully with all the palæographic details to do so, would be beyond my particular sphere of work, and would occupy time which I prefer to devote to other matters of wider interest, and I must leave that line of inquiry to be dealt with, in its minute particulars, by anyone who is more concerned than I am with the special illustration of Indian palæography. I shall notice a few details that may seem of particular interest. But, for the most part, I shall only deal, on somewhat broad lines, with certain characters which furnish leading tests in determining the sequence and approximate dates of undated genuine records which belong to the period in question or may fall within about half a century before it, and in arriving at some conclusion as to the order in which certain spurious records were fabricated and the periods to which they are really to be referred.

## A.—Hatti-Mattūr inscription of the time of Kṛishna I.

This inscription is now brought to notice for the first time. I edit it, and the collotype is given, from an ink-impression obtained by me in 1882.

<sup>1</sup> The *r* of *rakka* is indistinct

<sup>2</sup> The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line, read नदि°

<sup>3</sup> See some remarks on pages 74, 77, above

Hatti-Mattûr, or "cotton-Mattûr,"—evidently so called to distinguish it from a neighbouring village, which seems to be known either as simply Mattûr, or as Dombara-Mattûr, "Mattûr of the Doms or Gipsies,"—is a village about six miles N-N-W from Karajgi, the head-quarters of the Karajgi tâluka of the Dhârwar district. The Indian Atlas sheet No 42 (1827) shews it as 'Huttee Muttoor'. It is mentioned, by its full appellation, in the Bhairanmatti inscription of the period A D 1069 to 1076, which speaks of the (measuring)-rod of Pattiya-Mattaura.<sup>1</sup> The present record mentions a village named Maltavur, which may be either Hatti-Mattûr itself, or the other Mattûr, which is three miles and a half S-E-by-E from Hatti Mattûr. The inscription is on a *virgal* or monumental tablet, on the bank of the tank at Hatti-Mattûr.

The upper part of the stone is occupied by sculptures, which shew, in the centre, a *linga*, with a priest standing to it, on the proper right, the bull Nandi, with the sun above it, and on the proper left, a cow and calf, with the moon above them.—The writing, which is in a state of good preservation, covers an area about 1' 11½" broad by 1' 5½" high.—The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. The size of them<sup>2</sup> ranges from about 1" in the *é* of *éridor*, line 4, to about 1½" in the *z* of *ivu*, line 5, and the *srî* in line 1 is about 3½" high. The characters include final forms, or forms with the *virâma* attached, of *r* in lines 3 and 4, and of *l* in lines 3 and 5. As regards the palæography,—the *kh* does not occur. The *γ* and the *z* occur in *râjyan*, line 2, Nos 4 and 5, and they are both of the old square type, closed. The *b* occurs in *irbbara*, line 5, No 6, and is, similarly, of the old square type, closed. The *l* occurs three times; it, also, is of the old square type, but with rather a marked prolongation and sweep to the right of the downstroke with which the formation of the character ended, this feature, which was the first step in the development of the later cursive type of the character, can be seen very clearly in the *la* of *Akâla*, line 1, No 6, and also in *âlayake*, line 4.—The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose.—The orthography does not present anything calling for comment.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a king Akâlavarsha, who, because of the locality to which the record belongs and of the standard of the characters, is to be identified with the Râshtrakûta king Akâlavarsha-Śubhatunga-Krishna I.<sup>3</sup> The object of it is to record the death, in some local affray, of two heroes named Dâsamma and Ereyya.

The record is not dated. But it is to be placed after A D 754, which date we have for Dantidurga, the predecessor of Krishna I, and before A D 783-84, which date we have for his successor. And we may place it roughly about A D. 765.

#### TEXT.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Svasti Śrî-Akâlavarsha-bhatararâ<sup>5</sup> pri-
- 2 thuvi-râjyan-geye Surageyurâ Dâ-
- 3 samm-Ereyar Maltavurâ ūr-aḥivimol
- 4 imdu sattu svargg-âlayake<sup>6</sup> êrid[or] [||\*]
- 5 Ivu tammutt<sup>7</sup>-irbbara kalgal [||\*]

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol III p 231

<sup>2</sup> See page 41 above

<sup>3</sup> For an account of him, see my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol I Part II), p 390.

<sup>4</sup> From the ink-impression

<sup>5</sup> Read *bhatâr*

<sup>6</sup> We have here the use of the dative for the accusative, see page 43 above, note 5. It occurs again in line 4 of the Naregal inscription, B below

<sup>7</sup> Mr Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary gives this word with only the single *t*,—*tammutu*. It is presented again with the double *tt* in *tammutt irbbar* in an inscription at Kûragallu (*Ep Carn* Vol IV, Hs 92)



## TRANSLATION.

Hail ! While the *Bhatâra*,<sup>1</sup> the glorious Akâlavarsha-(Krishna I.), was reigning over the earth — In the destruction<sup>2</sup> of the village of Maîtavur, Dâsamma and Eṛeya, of the village of Surageyur,<sup>3</sup> pierced (*some of their foes*) and died<sup>4</sup> and ascended to heaven These are the stones of those two men themselves<sup>5</sup>

## B — Naregal inscription of the time of Dhruva.

This inscription was brought to notice by me in 1895 or 1896, in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p 394, note 3 It is now edited for the first time I edit it, and the collocation is given, from a plain uninked estampage sent to me in 1882 by Mr Govind Gangadhar Deshpande<sup>6</sup>

Naregal is a village about eleven miles E-N-E from Hângal, the head-quarters of the Hângal tâluka of the Dhârwar district The Indian Atlas sheet No 42 (1827) shews it as 'Neurgul' The record gives its old name in the form of Nareyamgal, and tacitly places it in the Banavâsi twelve-thousand province The inscription is on a *virgal* or monumental tablet, found on, and apparently built into the wall of, the sluice of the tank

I have no information as to whether there are any sculptures on this stone — The writing covers an area about 2' 2½" broad by 1' 0" high, and is in a state of excellent preservation throughout — The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed The size of them ranges from about ⅜" in the *th* of *prithuvî*, line 1, to about 1¼" in the upper *t* of *sattî*, line 4, and the *rgg* of *svargg*, line 4, is about 3⅞" high The characters include final forms of *n* (damaged) in line 4, and of *l* in line 3, and the distinct form of the lingual *d*<sup>7</sup> is clearly recognisable in *Kâdavam*, line 4 As regards the palæography,—the *lh* and *n* do not occur. The *j* occurs in *râjyam*, line 1, No 11, and is of the old square type, closed, and so, also, is the *b*, which we have in *Bbanamâsi*, line 2, No 5 The *l* occurs in three syllables, and is perhaps seen most clearly in the *lo* of *puyyalol*, line 3, No 13 it, also, is of the old square type, it does not present, here, the marked prolongation and sweep to the right of the downstroke which we have met with in the Hattî-Mattûr inscription, A above, and the downstroke is closed in onto the body of the letter, towards the bottom As regards the way in which the vowel *o* is formed in the same word, *puyyalol*, see page 164 below — The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose The record gives us, in line 4, *Domma*, as another form of *Domba*, = *Domba*, 'a

<sup>1</sup> This word,—a title of paramount sovereignty, as used here,—occurs sometimes with the double *tt*, *bhattâra*, in which form, only, it is given in Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, new edition, with the meanings of 'a noble lord (= *pûjya*), honourable' For other instances of the use of the title, see *Dyn Kan Distrs* pp 368, 393, 394, 402

<sup>2</sup> Compare the Batgere inscription of A D 888—(in a continuation of this paper),—which describes Sadêva as "destroying" Battakere The expression *ûr aḷîru*, 'village-destruction,' occurs again in a record of A D 1092 at Srirangpur in the Belgaum district, which mentions *Jakkirâdad=ur aḷîru*, "the village destruction of Jakkirâda" And we have it, practically, again in an inscription at Kudakûru (*Ep Carn Vol IV*, Hs 50), where, however, the translator has confused *aḷîru* with *adavî*, *adiri*, and has rendered *Peltiyûr=aḷîvinol* by "in the Peltiyûr forest"

<sup>3</sup> This is, perhaps, the modern 'Surage,' which the Bombay Postal Directory places somewhere in the Harjgi taluka.

<sup>4</sup> Or "were pierced and died"

<sup>5</sup> There are or were, then, two memorial tablets at this place,—the second of them perhaps without any writing on it

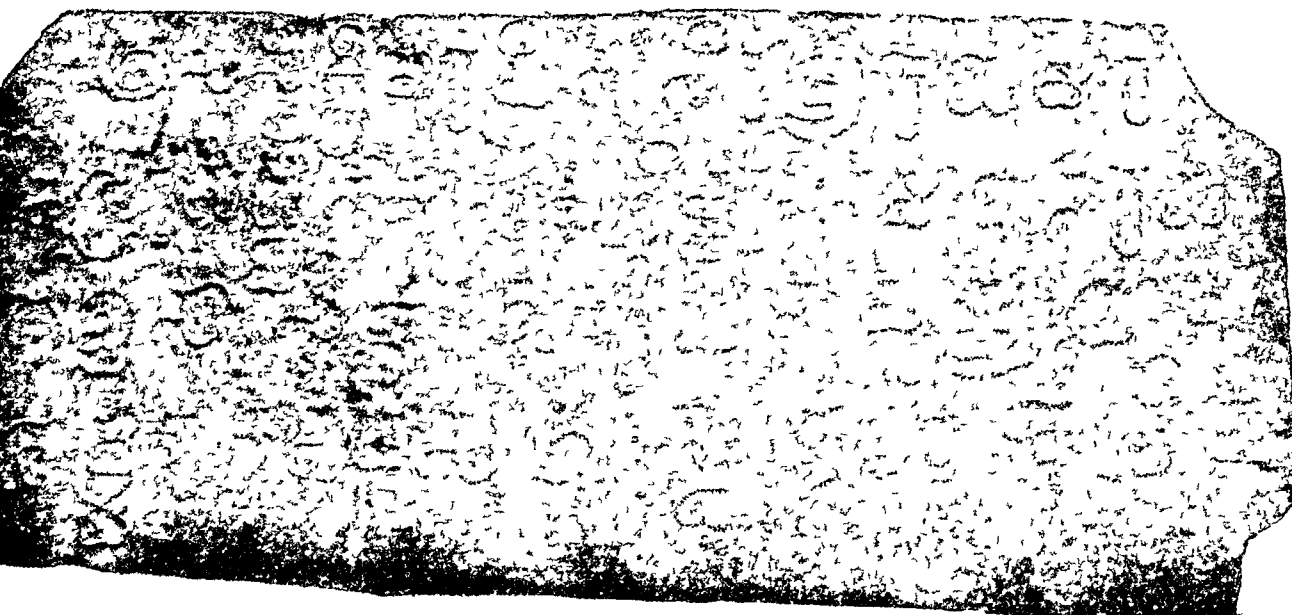
<sup>6</sup> I regret that I had forgotten this, and did not turn up my note of it in time to indicate the fact below the collocation

<sup>7</sup> See page 41 above



SCALE 25

B —Naregal Inscription of Dhuva





tumbler, a man of low caste, a Dôm or Gipsy, <sup>1</sup> and— (unless we should take *turupina* to be a mistake for *turuvma*)— in line 3 it gives us *turupu*, either as a variant of *turu*, ‘a cow, kine,’ or as the Kanarese form of some original Drâvidian word which has given us, in Tamil, *toruvu*, ‘a crowd, a herd of cows’— The orthography does not present anything calling for comment

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a king named Dôra, who is to be identified with the Râshtrakûta king Dhruva, son and successor of Krishna I <sup>2</sup> his name occurs in the Prâkrit form of Dhôra in, for instance, the Wanî grant of A D 807, <sup>3</sup> and the form Dôra, which we have in the present record, is to be taken as a corruption of Dhôra <sup>4</sup> The record mentions also a certain Mârakkarasa, who was governing the Banavâsi twelve-thousand province,—of course, as a feudatory of Dhruva The object of the inscription is to commemorate the death, on the occasion of a cattle-rand, of a local hero named Dommara-Kâdava, “ Kâdava of the Dombas or Gipsies ”

The record is not dated But, as we have for Dhruva the date of A D 783-84, <sup>5</sup> it may be placed roughly about A D 780

#### TEXT <sup>6</sup>

- 1 Ôm<sup>7</sup> Svasti Śrî Dôram prthuvî-râjyam-keye Mâra-<sup>8</sup>
- 2 kka-arasar=Bhanamâ(vâ)si-pannîrchchârasinum<sup>9</sup>=âle Nareyam-
- 3 galla sâsîrvvara turupina puyyalol
- 4 Dommara-Kâdavam sattu svargg-[â\*]layakk<sup>10</sup>=êridan [||\*]

#### TRANSLATION

Ôm! Hail! While the glorious Dôra was reigning over the earth, and while Mârakkarasa was governing the Banavâsi twelve-thousand — In the fight<sup>11</sup> about the cows<sup>12</sup> of the thousand (*Mahâjanas*)(<sup>2</sup>) of Nareyamgal, Dommara-Kâdava died and ascended to heaven

#### C — Lakshmêshwar inscription of the time of Śrîvallabha

This inscription was brought to notice by me in 1882, in *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 156, from an indistinct ink-impression which led me to speak of it then as only a fragment not capable of being edited It is now edited for the first time I edit it from a plain uninked estampage and an inked impression obtained by me in 1892 The collotype is from the estampage, which is better adapted for reproduction than is the ink-impression In the title of the collotype “ Śrîvallabha ” should be substituted for “ Gôvinda III ” <sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The word *domba*, *domba*,— which, through the form *dôma*, gives the origin of the Gipsy expression Romany Rye, “a Gipsy gentleman,” = *Domanî rây*, “a king of the Dôms” (see *Ind Ant* Vol XV p 15),— occurs with both the lingual *d* and the dental *d*, but more usually, I think, with the lingual *d* In the present case, however, we seem to have clearly in *domma* the dental *d* A *Domma* figures in the Anamkonḍ inscription of A D 1163, among the foes of the Kakatya king Rudradêva (*Ind Ant* Vol XI pp 10, 17)

<sup>2</sup> *Dyn Kan Distrs* p 393

<sup>3</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 157, text line 6

<sup>4</sup> Compare the name Dôrayya,— equivalent to Dhôrayya,— in an inscription at Kudakûru (*Ep Carn* Vol IV, Hs 50)

<sup>5</sup> See page 195 ff below

<sup>6</sup> From the estampage

<sup>7</sup> Represented by a plain symbol

<sup>8</sup> Nothing is wanting after this syllable The irregular corners of the estampage, here and at the bottom, are apparently due to projecting masonry work

<sup>9</sup> Read *pannîrchchâsîraman* The *u* of the last syllable is quite clear in the estampage, though it is hardly recognisable in the collotype

<sup>10</sup> See page 161 above, note 6

<sup>11</sup> Lit “in the beating, striking, etc”

<sup>12</sup> See at the top of this page

<sup>13</sup> See page 165 below, and note 3

Lakshmēshwar is a well known town, the head-quarters of the Lakshmēshwar subdivision of the Senior Miraj State, within the limits of the Dhârwâr district. The Indian Atlas sheet No 41 (1852) shews it as 'Lukmeshwur,' in lat 15° 7', long 75° 31'. The record mentions it by the old name of Purigere. The inscription is on a stone which is stored, with various other inscribed stones, at the kachêrî. I have no information as to where it was found. And there is nothing to explain why a stone of so irregular a shape should have been used for a formal record.

There are not any sculptures on this stone — The writing covers an area ranging from about 5" broad in line 1 to about 9" in line 10 and about 1' 6½" high, with blank spaces at the top and bottom as if for the purpose of setting it in a wall. It is in a state of fairly good preservation — The characters are Kanarese, well formed and well executed. The size of them ranges from about ½" in the *ya* of *Bâranâsya* in line 11 to about ¾" in the *n* of *nâlvattu*, line 6, and the *śrî* in line 1 is about 2¼" high, on the slant. They include a final form of *m*, in line 12, which, however, is damaged and does not appear clearly in the collotype. The distinct form of the lingual *d* is clearly recognisable in *kidiśido*, line 10. As regards the palaeography, — the *kh* does not occur. The *j* occurs in the word *rājyan*, line 2, No 6, and is of the old square type, closed. The *n* occurs in the same word, and again in *mūrun*, line 4, it presents the old square type, closed, corresponding to the *j*, and shews a somewhat unusually marked extension, to the right, of what is ordinarily only a very slight projection or knob in the centre of the letter. It is seen most clearly in the *nkê* of *mūrun-kêriyâ*, line 4, No 3. The *b* occurs in line 1 in *ballaham*, and again in line 10 in *Bâranâsya*, it, also, is of the old square type, closed, though the actual forms are considerably rounded off. It is seen best in the *ba* of *ballaham*, line 1, No 5. The *l* occurs six times, and is, similarly, of the old square type throughout, though, as with the *b*, the actual forms are rounded off, it is seen most clearly in the *lva* of *nâlvattu*, line 6, No 6, where the downstroke is closed in onto the body of the letter, and in *lavileya[m]*, line 11, where it is not closed in. In the *lô* of *lôkahke*, line 12, which is clearer in the estampage than in the collotype, we have the same form of the *akshara* that we have in, for instance, *sakalôttarâ* in line 9 of the Vakkalêri grant of Kirtivarman II of A D 757,<sup>1</sup> and, earlier, in *lôkahke* in line 10 of one of the Pattadakal inscriptions of Vikramâditya II of the period A.D 733 to 747,<sup>2</sup> it is a somewhat cursively formed variety (but preserving the old square type of the *l*, and not introducing any approach to the later cursive type) of the old square *lô* which we have in *lôkahs* in line 3 of the Aihole inscription of Pulakêśin II of A D 634-35,<sup>3</sup> and in *Lôhamahâdêviyarâ* in line 3 of the companion Pattadakal inscription of Vikramâditya II,<sup>4</sup> and which appears again in *modalol* in line 9 of the Kanarese grant of Gôvinda III of A D 804,<sup>5</sup> where, however, there is the difference that the side-stroke which converts *le* or *lê* into *lo* or *lô* is turned downwards. and the *lô* as formed in this Lakshmēshwar inscription, by a modification of the upper part of the *l*, is more archaic than the *lo* of *puyyalol* in line 3 of the Naregal inscription, B above, which is probably earlier in date, the vowel is there represented, not by a modification of the upper part of the *l* itself, but by two distinct vowel-marks attached before and after the entire *l*. On the other hand, in the present record, in *lavileya[m]*, line 11, the *e* is formed by a vowel-mark attached to the entire *l*, instead of being denoted by a modification of the upper part of the *l* itself, according to the archaic custom, as, for instance, in *kâlê* in line 16 of the Aihole inscription of Pulakêśin II of A D 634-35.<sup>6</sup> In *geyye*, line 3, the subscript *y* is represented, very exceptionally,

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol V p 202 and Plate

<sup>2</sup> Page 4 above, and Plate

<sup>3</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 127, and Plate

<sup>4</sup> Page 7 above, and Plate, and see note 6 on page 5

<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol X p 164, No 99, and Plate

<sup>4</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol X p 164, No 100, and Plate

The proper difference between *l* and *le*, *lê*, seems to have been that in *l* the *e* should be denoted by a circle on the top of the straight part of the upstroke of the *l*, and that in *le*, *lê*, the vowel should be denoted by turning in the curve of the top of the letter to meet the top of the straight part of the upstroke.

by an ordinary *y* (but without the top stroke) attached below the upper *y*, instead of by the usual subscript form which we have in the preceding word *rājyan*. I cannot quote any similar instance in so late a record,<sup>1</sup> and it seems to be here a freak.—The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. The record gives us, in line 1-2, *ballaha*, as a Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit *vallabha*, in line 4-5, *paṭṭagāra*, as a variant of *paṭākāra*, 'a weaver,' in line 5, *sēniya*, 'a (head)-man of a guild,' from *sēni*, = *śrēni*, + *a* (3), with which we have to compare *nāda*, 'a (head)-man of a district,' from *nād*, *nādu*, + *a* (3),<sup>2</sup> in lines 7 and 9, *sāmpu*, which seems to mean 'a length (of cloth or silk),' and to be another variant of *chāpu*, 'stretch, length, extent,' *jūpu*, 'the measure of a long stride,' and *dāpu*, 'stretch, etc., the measure of a stride,' and in line 8, *keḷagu* (with the copulative affix), as a variant of *keḷagu*, 'under, down, below'—The orthography does not present anything calling for comment.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a king whom it mentions by only the *biruda* Śrīvallabha, that is to say Śrīvallabha. On palaeographic grounds, it is to be placed in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. For that reason, coupled with the locality to which it belongs, it is unquestionably a Rāshtrakūta record. And this king Śrīvallabha is, in all probability, to be identified with the Rāshtrakūta king Dhruva. the only alternative is that he is Dhruva's son Govinda III, but, in spite of what has previously been thought, it now appears very questionable whether Govinda III was so specifically well known by the *biruda* Śrīvallabha as was his father Dhruva.<sup>3</sup> The object of the inscription is to record that the head-man of the guild of the weavers of the *mūrumlēri*<sup>4</sup> of Purigore-(Lakshmēshwar)

<sup>1</sup> It was the ancient way of forming the subscript *y*, see the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudrādāman, in the word *mahādīshatrapasya* near the end of line 3, and in other places (*Archaeol. Surv. West Ind. Vol. II* p. 128, and Plate).

<sup>2</sup> For an instance of the word *nāda*, see page 71 above, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> When I first brought this inscription to notice, I treated it as a record of the reign of Govinda III. At that time, in dealing with the Rāshtrakūtas I was chiefly following the lead of Dr Bühler. His Table of the Rāshtrakūtas showed the *biruda* Śrīvallabha for only Govinda III, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI p. 72, and his remarks (*ibid.* p. 64) in his introduction to the Radhanpur grant which he was then editing, and his translation (*ibid.* p. 71) of the passages from which he took the *biruda*. And, as a matter of fact, it is only recently,—since the time when the collotype of this record, now issued, was prepared and titled,—that it could be recognised that this *biruda*, when used in a Rāshtrakūta record, referable to an indefinite date in the period A.D. 770 to 800, in the special manner in which it is used in this record, does not by any means necessarily denote Govinda III. On this point, see further on, under the use of the *biruda* Śrīvallabha in the Rāshtrakūta records.

<sup>4</sup> This word *mūrumlēri*,—or *mūrunlēri*, as actually written in this record, with the guttural nasal instead of the *anusvāra*,—would mean, by literal translation, 'three streets.' But it seems to be a technical expression, the exact purport of which is to be found in connection with the wider meaning of 'quarter, quarters, a division of a town,' which *lēri* has in, for instance, *holelēri*, 'the Holer's quarters,' the well known expression for that part of a village (usually outside the village itself) in which the Mahārs, Māngs, and other low caste people dwell. I do not at present find anything, helping to explain it, in any of the other records at Lakshmēshwar. A proverbial saying, which may or may not indicate some clue, is given in the Rev. Mr Kittel's Kanūda-English Dictionary, under *nāru*, namely *nāru dru iddarū lēri bēku*, "though there be fully a hundred (persons), a street is necessary," and it is explained to me by Mr Kittel as meaning that a hundred persons, or more, may be a large number, but, if their houses are erected unsystematically, one here and one there, there is no proper village, and a street, along which houses are built in rows, is necessary to constitute a regular village.—It seems likely that we have a synonym of *mūrumlēri* in another technical expression, *mūrumpura*, of which, also, the exact purport is not apparent. *Mūrumpura* would mean, by literal translation, 'three towns,' but the exact bearing of it is, no doubt, to be explained in connection with the more special meaning, which *pura* has, of 'a division of a town, a ward,' particularly in the actual names of such divisions or wards. There was a *mūrumpura* at Balagāmi. A record there, of A.D. 1129, likens the *pañcha mathamgaḷ* or five *mathas* of that place, which it specifies as the shrines of Hari (Vishnu), Hara (Śiva), Kamalāsana (Brahman), Vitarāga (Jinendra), and Bauddha (Buddha), to the five-fold string of pearls of the Earth, and likens the *mūrum puraṅgaḷ*, which it calls *alliya mūrum kangaḷ* or "the three eyes of that place," to three strings of pearls on the neck of that same lovely woman (the Earth), who is thus superior to even the perfect Lakshmī (*P. S. O. Inscri.* No 178, lines 43 to 46, and see *Mysore Inscri.* p. 90). Also, a record of A.D. 1181, at the same place, mentions a certain Saviddya, who is described as—*nagara-pamchamatha mūrumpurada saudo(?)re herggade*,—"the Saudore(?)-Hergade of the nagara and the

made a religious grant, in the form of a proportionate quantity of the goods turned out by the weavers,—doubtless for the purposes of some temple, not mentioned in the record, at which the stone must have been set up

The record is not dated. But, selecting a year which suits both the palæographic standard of the characters and the bare possibility of the inscription being of the time, not of Dhruva, but of Gôvinda III, for whom we have the date of A. D. 794 from the Paithan grant,<sup>1</sup> we may place it about A. D. 793.

#### TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Ôm<sup>3</sup> Svasti Śriballa-
- 2 ham prithuvî-rājya-
- 3 n-geyye Purigereyâ
- 4 mûrun-kênyâ patta-
- 5 gârara sênî(ni)ya-
- 6 n=itta dharmma nâlvattu
- 7 sâmpinol=ondu mûva-
- 8 ttara kelagum i[nn]û-
- 9 ra mêlum are-sâmpu [||\*] Idu nî[l]u-
- 10 davn<sup>4</sup> [||\*] Idân=kadiso[m\*] Bâra-
- 11 nâsiya sâsira kavileya[m]
- 12 kondona<sup>5</sup> lôkakke sandon=ak[k]u[m] [||\*]

#### TRANSLATION.

Ôm<sup>1</sup> Hail! While Śriballaha was reigning over the earth —The religious grant, that was given by the head-man of the guild of the weavers of the *mûrumkêri*<sup>5</sup> of Purigere, was one

*pañcamatha* and the *mûrumpura*" (*P S O-C Inscr*s No 192, line 62, and see *Mysore Inscr*s p 119) And this last passage seems to separate the *mûrumpura* from the *nagara* or city, and to mark the expression as the name for some distinct portion or portions of the township, outside the town proper. The expression *mûrumpura* occurs again, with *pañcamatha*, in the Konnûr inscription which purports to reproduce a charter of the time of Amoghavarsha I (page 34 above, text line 71), and it seems, therefore, that there was a *mûrumpura* at Konnûr also — I would suggest, incidentally, that the word *svatala*, meaning literally 'own surface,' which we have in *Valabhî-svatala* (*Ind Ant* Vol VI p 15, text line 11 of plate u, and Vol XIV p 330, text line 25, and probably also in Vol IV p 175, text line 7-8), is to be taken as the equivalent of *nagara*, and that *Valabhî-svatala* does mean "Valabhî proper, Valabhî within the walls," as taken by Dr Bühler in dealing with the first of these passages. The *vihâra* built by Duddâ and situated in *Valabhî svatala* according to that passage, appears to be described in another passage as situated in *Valabhî-pura* (*Ind Ant* Vol VII p 67, text line 2 of plate u), and this seems to make *svatala* synonymous with *pura* in the sense of *nagara*. *Svatala* occurs again, in the case of a village called Trisatimaha (by mistake for Trisamgamaha) in another record of the Maistrakas of Valabhî (*Jour Bo Br E As Soc* Vol XX p 9, text line 14) — Another technical expression containing *mûru*, 'three,' and requiring explanation, is *mûrum modala*, meaning literally 'three beginnings, roots, bases,' we have it in the genitive, *mûrummodala*, qualifying *rahâjanam*, in the Nandwâdige inscription (*Ind Ant* Vol XII p 221, text line 3).

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol III p 103

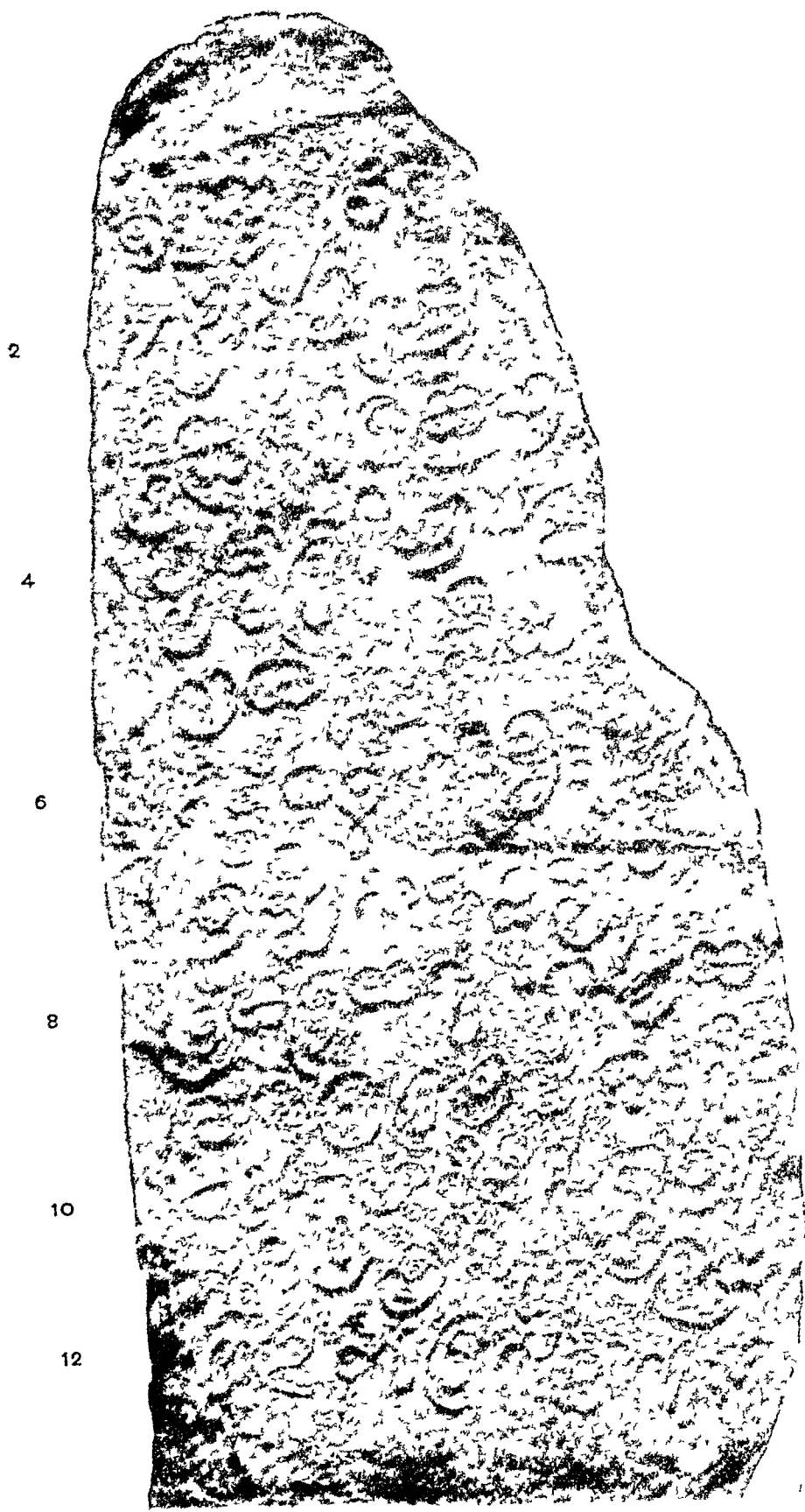
<sup>2</sup> From the estampage and the ink-impression

<sup>3</sup> Represented by a plain symbol

<sup>4</sup> Read *nîlendu*, or *nîllucudu*, or else read *vu*, with *nîlcutu* or *nîllucutu*

<sup>5</sup> This *akṣhara*, *na*, was at first omitted, and then was inserted below the *lô* of *lôkakke* — For the expression *kondona lôkakke*, compare, e.g., *Ind Ant* Vol X p 164, No 99, line 10, where the correction *kondorâ* now seems unnecessary. We seem to have *kondorâ lôkakke* in *Ind Ant* Vol VIII p 286, text line 6 (see the lithograph). The more usual, and probably more strictly grammatical expression, is *konda lôkakke*, see, for instance, *Ind Ant* Vol VIII p 285, No 57, text line 5, and Vol X p 165, No 101, text line 12, and p 166, No 102, text line 6

<sup>6</sup> See page 165 above, note 4







(length) on (each) forty lengths, (but) below thirty, and above two hundred, half a length<sup>1</sup>  
This shall continue<sup>1</sup>

(L 10) — Whosoever destroys this will associate himself with people who kill a thousand brown cows of Bâranâsi<sup>1</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

### The appellations of the Râshtrakûtas of Mâlkêd

This study is the outcome of some inquiries that were commenced with a view to determining exactly who may be the king Śrīvallabha, to whose time the Lakshmêshwar inscription, C above, refers itself. For that purpose, it was necessary only to go as far as Amôghavarsha I. But some other points of interest presented themselves during the inquiry, in connection with the proper names of the kings as well as their *buudas* and other appellations, and it seemed useful and convenient to go through the whole dynasty. I am not sure that I have quite exhausted the subject; it is difficult to do that in dealing with so many records, edited in different works and not arranged chronologically, and some of them published in Nâgarî characters which do not adapt themselves to capitals, thick type, and other devices for catching the eye quickly. But, at any rate, I am able to put forward results that can be easily completed, at any future time, in respect of any few details that may have been overlooked here.

I may add that I commenced the inquiry with the expectation that the results would prove that the Śrīvallabha of the record in question, and of an important passage which furnishes a date, could only be Gôvinda III. The steps by which we are driven to a different conclusion on this point, will disclose themselves in due course.

Two general remarks may as well be made here. One is that, for any particular point, it is usually sufficient to refer to only that passage, the earliest in date, which first brings it forward, the value of a statement is seldom, if ever, in any way enhanced by the mere repetition of it in successive records which do no more than reproduce the exact words of earlier records. The other is that, in matters of technical detail, prose records in general, and in particular the formal preambles of the prose passages which introduce the special subject of each copper-plate charter, are obviously of more importance than any preliminary verses, in which flights of fancy were naturally permissible and were plainly sometimes indulged in, and in which absolute accuracy might at any time be made subordinate by an unskilful composer to metrical and other similar necessities.

For a complete list of the Râshtrakûtas of Mâlkêd and of the first Gujarât branch, for use in connection with the remarks made in the following pages, reference may be made to the Table given by me in Vol III above, opposite page 54, or to the same Table in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol I Part II), opposite page 386.

The first paramount king in the dynasty of the Râshtrakûtas of Mâlkêd was Dantîdurga. Of his time, we have the Sâmângad grant, issued in A D 754. And this record, it may be mentioned, opens the pedigree with his great-grandfather Gôvinda I, and thus carries the family back as far as do any of the subsequent records, with the exception of the inscription

<sup>1</sup> I.e., apparently, half a length on any piece of less than thirty lengths, one length on each forty lengths up to two hundred, and then half a length on each forty above that number.

at the Daśāvatāra cave at Ellōrā,<sup>1</sup> which puts forward the names of Indra I as the father, and Dantivarman I as the grandfather, of Gōvinda I. The verse in the Sāmāngad grant which introduces Dantidurga, gives his proper name in the form of Dantidurgarāja, the formal preamble of the prose passages of the record adds *dēva*, and styles him Dantidurgarājadēva,<sup>2</sup> and a verse at the end of the record presents his name in the variant of Dantivarman, a form which rather curiously and unexpectedly crops up again, two centuries and a half later, in the Bhādāna grant of A D 997,<sup>3</sup> — (a record of one of the Silāhāra princes of the Northern Konkan, which recites the Rāshtrakūta pedigree), — without, as yet, any trace of it, in his case, in any of the intermediate records.<sup>4</sup> The second verse in the description of Dantidurga in the Sāmāngad grant may be interpreted as giving him the *biruda* of Rājasimha,<sup>5</sup> which, we now know, occurs at any rate in the case of other kings of other lines, but we have not as yet obtained any corroboration of it elsewhere in his case, and, from the first historical verse in the same record, the same *biruda* might be equally well established in the case of Govinda I, though the latter was only an ancestor and not a reigning king. Be that as it may, the formal preamble of the prose passages of the Sāmāngad grant does establish for Dantidurga the *birudas* of Prithivīvallabha and Khedgāvalōka.<sup>6</sup> And a verse in the Paithan grant of

<sup>1</sup> *Cave-Temple Inscriptions* (No. 10 of the brochures of the Archaeological Survey of Western India), p. 92, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's version, see also *Archaeol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V p. 87, where the Pandit's text has been reproduced, in transliteration, by Dr. Bühler. The latter version has thus become the more convenient one to quote. The record is probably of the time of Amoghavarsha I, because, after taking the early part of the pedigree as far as Dantidurga, it proceeds next to mention Amoghavarsha I, without any notice of the intermediate names. But it was left unfinished, breaking off abruptly in even the middle of a verse. And therefore we cannot say with absolute certainty that it was not composed in, and intended to run on to, a later time.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI p. 112, text lines 16 and 28, respectively.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. III p. 271, text line 4.

<sup>4</sup> The only other known instances of this name among the Rāshtrakūtas, are (1), as mentioned above, in the Ellōrā inscription which puts it forward as the name of the original ancestor of the family; (2) in the Baroda grant of A D 811 or 812, which mentions a *Rājaputra* Dantivarman who was perhaps a son of the feudatory prince Suvarnavarsha-Karlarāja (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII p. 161, text line 68), and (3) in the Bagumra grant, of doubtful authenticity, purporting to have been issued in A D 888, which puts it forward as the name of apparently the father of the alleged feudatory prince Akālavarsha-Krishnarāja of that record (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII p. 69, verse 20).

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.* (note 2 above), text line 19, the word is there translated, by "a very lion of a king."

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* text lines 27, 28 — The first of these two appellations was not recognised as a formal *biruda* when the record was edited, and it was treated as an abbreviation of *Śrīprithivīvallabha*. But we are now able to see that a distinction must always be made between, on the one hand, Prithivīvallabha "favourite of the Earth," and Śrīvallabha, "favourite of Fortune," which were formal *birudas* restricted to individual cases, and, on the other hand, *Śrīprithivīvallabha*, "favourite of Fortune and of the Earth," which was a paramount epithet of general application. A pointed instance in which the distinction between the *biruda* Śrīvallabha and the epithet is marked, is furnished by a passage in one of the Nausāri grants of A D 915, which describes Indra III as *paramabhatīśāraka-mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara Śrīprithivīvallabha Śrīvallabha-śrīman Nityavarshanarēndradēva* (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII p. 264, A plate n. b, text lines 11, 12). And, whereas we often find the *biruda* Śrīvallabha, at any rate, used as a substitute for a proper name, we do not find the epithet *Śrīprithivīvallabha* used in that way. — The idea underlying both the two *birudas* and the epithet, was, that Fortune and the Earth were accounted actual wives of kings, and it would, therefore, be more strictly correct to render *vallabha* by 'husband' in this epithet and in these two *birudas* and any exactly similar ones, and there are a few passages in which it should be so rendered, in order to bring out the meaning fully. But there are other *birudas* and expressions, in which that particular meaning of *vallabha* does not apply, and it seems on the whole desirable to render the word by 'favourite' even in the epithet and in the *birudas* in question, partly for the sake of uniformity of translation, and partly to mark the point that the original texts use *vallabha* and not any such word as *pati*, *bhakti*, etc. The idea is presented by Kālidāsa, in the *Raghuvamśa*, 1 verse 32, which says that, extensive as was his harem, the king Dilipa considered himself really provided with wives only in the persons of Sudakṣiṇā (his actual wedded wife) and Fortune, and — (the commentator points out) — the poet, using for 'king' the word *vasudhādhipa*, 'lord of the earth,' implies that the Earth was also his wife, but his group of real wives was not complete without Fortune and Sudakṣiṇā. An epigraphic passage in

A D 794 speaks of him as Vallabharāja, "the Vallabha king," or, possibly, "the king of the Vallabhas"<sup>1</sup> This designation however,—as also the simpler designation Vallabha,—was, not a special *biruda*, but an appellation of general application The two appellations were not restricted to the Rashtrakūta family, and the name Vallabha does not always denote a Rāshtrakūta even in the Rashtrakūta records<sup>2</sup> And the fuller one of them, Vallabharāja, is of interest in connection with the Rāshtrakūtas of Mālkhêd chiefly because, through its Prākṛit forms, it explains the name, "the Balharas," by which the contemporaneous Arab travellers and geographers of the ninth and tenth centuries A D used to speak of those kings<sup>3</sup> The Kadaba grant, which purports to have been issued in A D 813, would set up for Dantidurga the *biruda* of Vairamēgha,<sup>4</sup> by which appellation alone it mentions him, but we cannot admit this as established, until we obtain some authentic confirmation of it from a record the nature of which is unquestionable

Dantidurga was succeeded by his paternal uncle Krishna I The Paithan grant of A D 794 introduces him as Krishnarāja, and then presents two verses which establish for him the *birudas* of Śubhatunga and Akālavarsha.<sup>5</sup> Another verse in the same record might perhaps be taken as practically speaking of him as Śrīvallabha but the appellation is there divided into two words, *śrīyo vallabhah*,<sup>6</sup> which is at least a very exceptional manner of putting forward any formal epithet, title, or *biruda*; with that passage we have to compare the descriptions, similarly in verse, of Jagattunga II as *vallabhô vira-Lakshmydh* in the Nausārī

one of the Pāla records tells us that "Gōpāla was the husband of Fortune as well as the lord of the Earth," or, more literally, that "Gōpāla was a lord (*pātī*) of the Earth who was the fellow wife (*sapatnī*) of Fortune" (*Ind Ant* Vol XXI p 257, and note 55) And the Chōla records constantly utilise the idea thus an inscription of the twenty ninth year of Rājakesarivarma Rājādhirāja says that, "while the goddess of the Earth was beaming under his fringed white parasol, the king wedded the goddess of Fortune" (*South Ind Inscr* Vol III p 55), an inscription of the second year of Rājakesarivarma Rājamahendra says, from the opposite point of view, that "while the goddess of Fortune was resplendent, he wedded the great goddess of the Earth, in order that she might abide joyfully under the shade of a single parasol" (*ibid* p 114), an inscription of the fourth year of Parakesarivarma Rājendradīva says that, "while the goddess of Fortune and the great goddess of the Earth became his great queens, the king raised on high his brilliant white parasol" (*ibid* p 61), and an inscription of the twelfth year of Parakesarivarma Rājendrachola I, expanding the idea by introducing Victory as another so-called wife, and referring also to his actual wedded wife, speaks of "his long life, in which the great goddess of the Earth, the goddess of Victory in battle, and the beautiful and matchless goddess of Fortune, who had become his great queens, gave him pleasure while his own illustrious queen was prospering" (*ibid* Vol. I p 99) It may be added that we have a still more figurative expansion of the general idea, by the suggestion of a city as a wife of a king, in the verse in the Aihole inscription of A D 634-35 which says that Pulakēśin I, who was Śrīvallabha or favourite (in this passage, more exactly, husband) of Fortune, became also the bridegroom of the town Vatāpūri (page 8 above, verse 7) so, also, a country is put forward, in the same way, in the description of the earliest Śilāhāra princes of the Northern Konkan as "favourite of the Konkan" and "favourite of the whole Konkan" (*Ind Ant* Vol XIII p 134, text line 3, p 135, line 2, p 136, line 1-2, and, in another direction, we find Learning indicated, by the use of the word *vallabha*, as a wife of wise men (see page 187 below, note 10) — Both in the *biruda* Prithivīvallabha and in the epithet *śrīprithivīvallabha*, the Sanskrit records use, indifferently, either *prithī* or *prithivī*, while the Kānarese records often present the corruptions *prithuvī*, *prithuvī*, and *prithuvī* No distinction seems to be involved And, while giving in the present study, in each individual case, the form that is actually used, it seems desirable, for the sake of uniformity in indexing, etc., to adopt for general purposes the form *prithī*, which, though it is strictly only a substitute for *prithī*, is decidedly the more familiar word of the two and also seems to be the more common term

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol III p 106, text line 17. As regards the alternative rendering of this appellation by "the king of the Vallabhas," the Tamil form *Vallavar kōn*, which has been translated in that way by Dr Hultzsch (*South-Ind Inscr* Vol III, p 69), occurs in a passage in a Chōla record in which it denotes the Western Chālukya king Āhavamalla Sōmēśvara I

<sup>2</sup> See two passages referred to on page 193 below, notes 2 and 3 See also the end of note 4 on page 190

<sup>3</sup> See page 190 below, and note 6

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol IV p 346, after verse 2, and see p 336

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol III p 106, text lines 17 to 21

<sup>6</sup> *Lgc cit* text line 26 27.

grants of A D 915<sup>1</sup> and of Indra III as *rājya-śrīyō bhartā* in the Kardā grant of A D 972,<sup>2</sup> we do not infer from those verses that Jagattunga II and Indra III were formally known as Viralakshmīvallabha and Rājyasribhartri, in the same way, we do not take it as proved by the verse in the Paithan grant that Śrīvallabha is established as a specific *biruda* of Krishna I,<sup>3</sup> and the Wani grant of A D 807 styles him simply Vallabha.<sup>4</sup> A verse in the Baroda grant of A D 811 or 812, which describes Krishna I. as raining down wealth in excess of even the utmost desires of his servants,<sup>5</sup> might be taken as conveying a hint that he had a second *varsha*-appellation, in the shape of Dhanavarsha<sup>6</sup> but, in the Kāri grant of A D 826 or 827,<sup>7</sup> the same verse was made to do duty in the case of the feudatory Rāshtrakūta prince Suvarnavarsha-Karkarāja of Gujarāt, and it seems, therefore, that it was not intended to have any special meaning in either case. It may be added here that another verse in the Paithan grant tells us that Krishna I conquered in battle a certain Rāhappa, and then or thus "quickly extended the sovereignty which was resplendent with a row of *palādhvaja*-banners" It seems probable that Rāhappa was the more familiar name of the Rāshtrakūta king Kakkaraja II, of another branch of the family in Gujarāt, who was reigning over the territory on the north of the Tapti in A D 757,<sup>8</sup> or else that it was the name of his successor. And it is perhaps, in the same connection,—rather than with any reference to Dantidurga, as I have previously thought,—that we should apply the statement, in the Baroda grant of A D 811 or 812, that Krishna I uprooted a *ramśya* or "kinsman" who had taken to evil ways, and appropriated the kingdom to himself for the benefit of his family.<sup>9</sup>

Krishna I. left two sons, Gōvinda II and Dhruva. They are introduced by their proper names, as Gōvindarāja and Dhruvarāja, in two consecutive verses in the Paithan grant of A D 794.<sup>10</sup> And the second verse shews that Gōvinda II was the elder of the two brothers. A statement, which has been understood to imply that Gōvinda II succeeded to the throne and held it for a while, is made,—and as far as all known records go, appears for the first time,—a century and a half later in the Dēolī grant of A D 940, which says that "sensual pleasures made him (Gōvinda II) careless of the kingdom, and, entrusting fully the universal "sovereignty to his younger brother Nirupama-(Dhruva), he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose."<sup>11</sup> But no statement that he reigned is made in the Paithan grant, which is the first record after his time that puts forward details of the genealogy and succession. The verse which introduces him in that record, speaks, it is true, of his white umbrella with which the rays of the sun were warded off from his head as he moved in battle, and says that he conquered the world, and talks of his causing widowhood to the wives of his enemies and of his bursting asunder in war the temples of the elephants of his foes. These, however, are merely vague poetical statements, introduced to eke out the verse that first mentions him, of no more

<sup>1</sup> *Jour Bo Br R As Soc* Vol XVIII, the words are rendered in the translation (p 267) by "the beloved of the soldierly Lakshmi"

<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 265, text line 19.

<sup>3</sup> The verse, in fact, simply reproduces one part of the general idea (see note 6 on page 163 above), and incidentally describes Krishna I as being, among other things, a husband of Fortune, much in the same way, as a verse in the Baroda grant of A.D 811 or 812 (*Ind Ant* Vol XII p 159, text lines 21, 22) says of Dhruva that "bearing in mind, personally, that whatever is appropriate should be done in securing Lakshmi, he was always successful, but what was there wonderful in that?, since any man, who does not look about for assistance (and thus create factitious difficulties), is able to make his own wife subject to his control" this latter verse intimates that Dhruva was, in his turn, a lawful husband of Fortune, but it does not establish for Dhruva any *biruda* based on that idea.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XI. p 157, text line 5

<sup>5</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 159, text lines 11, 12

<sup>6</sup> Just as Gōvinda IV had the two *birudas* of Prabhūtararsha and Suvarnavarsha

<sup>7</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol V p 147, verse 33

<sup>8</sup> See *Dyn Kan Distrs* pp 391, 392

<sup>9</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 163

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol III p 107, text lines 27 to 30

<sup>11</sup> Above, Vol V p 193, verse 10, for the translation which I use, see the rendering of the same verse as verse 11 in the Karhad grant of A D 958 (above, Vol IV p 287)

specific purport and value than are the very similar statements that are made in the same record about Gôvinda I and Indra I, who were not reigning kings, but were simply ancestors of the first reigning king. And the Wanî grant of A D. 807, which is the next record of the same kind, specifically tells us that Dhruva obtained the sovereignty by "leaping over his elder brother (*gyêshth-ôllanghana*)," whose name it does not even take the trouble to mention<sup>1</sup> This is a most distinct assertion that Dhruva superseded his elder brother altogether. And further light is thrown on the matter by another passage in the Paithan grant,<sup>2</sup> which says that Gôvinda II fetched in large numbers even hostile kings,—the ruler of Mâlava and others, the lord of Kañchî, the Ganga, and him of Vengi,—but the mind of Dhruva, after that he had possessed himself of his ruby-ornaments and store of gold, underwent no change in regard to him, and then, having made conciliatory overtures to him in vain, Dhruva speedily defeated him in battle, and drove away the eastern and the northern opponents,<sup>3</sup> and thus "obtained the whole sovereignty" This makes it clear that Gôvinda II did not submit quietly to being deprived of his rights. And we have, perhaps, an intimation that he established himself in the northern territory, while Dhruva set himself up as his rival in the south, and that time elapsed before Dhruva made himself master of the whole kingdom. But it is plain that, at the best, Gôvinda II made a stand for only a short time. And it seems more probable that the passage simply seeks to describe him, as Pulakêsin II is described in the Aihole record, as engaging in the act called *aparuddhacharita*, that is to say, wandering abroad, debarred altogether from his rights, and endeavouring to obtain them by the help of other rulers<sup>4</sup> The statement made in the Wanî grant would not be inconsistent with the possibility that Gôvinda II was the intended successor of Krishna I. Also, we have not as yet found, in any of the records, any statements in respect of Dhruva similar to those which are made in respect of his son and successor Gôvinda III, namely, in the Râdhanpur grant,<sup>5</sup> that Gôvinda III received from his father the *kanthikâ* or necklet (which was the badge of appointment as *Yuvarâja*), but protested against a transfer of the sovereignty itself to him while his father was still alive, and, in the Paithan grant, that he was chosen for the succession out of several sons, because he surpassed his brothers in merit. We, therefore, cannot say that the succession was not intended to pass, at this point, from the father, Krishna I, to the elder son, Gôvinda II. And the pointed expression used in the Wanî grant is, in fact, rather suggestive that, not only was Gôvinda II the intended successor, but also the appointment of him as *Yuvarâja* had actually been made. We naturally, however, follow the information furnished by the Paithan and Wanî grants, which are so near in time to the events themselves, in preference to a loose statement, which first appears a century and a half later, in a record which does not follow any of the ancient drafts but presents an altogether new composition. If, indeed, that statement could be looked upon as authoritative at all, it might be interpreted, just as readily, as meaning that Gôvinda II was so much engrossed in sensual pleasures that he was altogether indifferent about the sovereignty and deliberately allowed Dhruva to usurp it, which, however, we know from the Paithan grant was not the case. But, obviously, the statement owes its existence to nothing but the fact, which we can recognise from also other independent drafts, that the name of Gôvinda II had been duly preserved in the *ramsâvali* and archives of the dynasty, and to a flight of fancy on the part of the composer of the draft that was followed in that record, who, differing from the composers of some other drafts, thought it worth while to mention Gôvinda II, and said about him the first thing that came into his head and sufficed to fill out a verse with some

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol. XI p 157, text line 7

<sup>2</sup> For the literal full translation, see above, Vol III p 104

<sup>3</sup> The Gangas, then, in the south, apparently remained to be dealt with on a subsequent occasion

<sup>4</sup> See Professor Kielhorn's explanation of the technical term in question (page 9 above, note 2)

<sup>5</sup> In the Wanî grant, which is slightly earlier in date, part of this passage was carelessly omitted, and two complete verses, of four *pâdas* each, were combined into one verse with the exceptional number of five *pâdas*

kind of a suggestion as to why the succession passed to the younger brother.<sup>1</sup> And the conclusion at which we arrive from the authoritative early records, is, that Dhruva set himself up as king immediately on the death of Krishna I, and that Gôvinda II had not any real part at all in the succession.<sup>2</sup> The Kadaba grant, which purports to have been issued in A.D. 813, would set up for Gôvinda II the *biruda* of Prabhûtavarsha.<sup>3</sup> But we do not accept this, until we find it in some unquestionable record. And the only secondary appellation that is as yet established for him, is that of Vallabha, it is supplied by the Paithan grant, which, in the first verse that mentions him, says that he was Gôvindarâja who had the *âkhyâ* or name of Vallabha, and, in the other passage, uses that name to denote him.

The successor, then, of Krishna I was his younger son Dhruva. The Paithan grant of A D 794, of his son and successor Gôvinda III, mentions him, in the verses, by the name of Dhruvarâja and the *biruda* of Nirupama,<sup>4</sup> and the formal preamble of the prose part of it further establishes for him the *biruda* of Dhârâvarsha, because, using a certain technical expression of very constant occurrence, it describes Govinda III as meditating on the feet of the *Paramabhaktâraka*, *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, and *Paramêśvara* Dhârâvarshadêva.<sup>5</sup> A verse in the Wanî grant of A D 807 gives his proper name in the Prâkrit form of Dhôra,<sup>6</sup> though a subsequent verse in the same record gives it in the usual Sanskrit form of Dhruva,<sup>7</sup> and an intermediate verse in the same record further establishes for him the *biruda* of Kalivallabha.<sup>8</sup> In the Pattadakal inscription of his time, he is designated Dhârâvarsha and Kaliballaha,<sup>9</sup> — the latter being the Prâkrit form of Kalivallabha. And the Naregal inscription gives Dôra, as another variety of the Prâkrit form of his proper name.<sup>10</sup> Another important *biruda* of his, Srivallabha, will be brought forward further on. A verse in the Sângli grant of A D 933

<sup>1</sup> We have a similar flight of fancy, or at any rate an unquestionably erroneous statement, in the assertion made in the Silahâra Bhâdâna grant of A D 997, that Amôghavarsha II reigned for a year, see page 176 below.

<sup>2</sup> The other Râshtrakûta records which deal with this part of the genealogy and succession, treat Gôvinda II as follows. The Râdhanpur grant of A D 807 follows the draft of the Wanî grant, and refers to him, in the same way, only as the unnamed elder brother whom Dhruva superseded (*Ind Ant* Vol VI p 69, verse 5). The Baroda grant of A D 811 or 812 passes him over without any allusion of any kind (*Ind Ant* Vol XII pp 162, 163), and so does the Kâpadwari grant of A D 909 or 910 (*Ep Ind* Vol I p 56), and so also, do even the Nausârî grants of A D 915 (*Jour Bo Br R As Soc* Vol XVIII p 266), which aim at presenting the whole line from Dantidurga to Indra III, with the first rudimentary introduction of a Puranic preface. The Nausârî grant of A D 817 (*Jour Bo Br R As Soc* Vol XX pp 144, 145, verses 18, 19), and the Kâvi grant of A D 826 or 827 (*Ind Ant* Vol V pp 149, 150, verses 18, 19), and the Baroda grant of A D 834 or 835 (*id* Vol XIV p 201, verses 2, 3), and the Bagumrâ grant of A D 866 or 867 (*id* Vol XII p 187, verses 15, 16), and the Bagumrâ grant, of doubtful authenticity, of A D 888 (*id* Vol XIII p 67, verses 9, 10), repeat the two verses which introduce the two brothers in the Paithan grant, but do not include the subsequent matter stated in that record about them. The Sângli grant of A D 933 mentions Gôvinda II between his father Krishna I and his younger brother Nirupama (Dhruva), but does not make any assertion that he reigned (*Ind Ant* Vol XII p 252). The Karhâd grant of A D 959 follows the draft of the Deolî grant of A D 940, and so repeats the statement that sensual pleasures made him careless of the kingdom, etc (above, Vol IV p 287, verse 11). And the Kardâ grant of A D 972 mentions him between his father and his younger brother, but does not revive the statement that is made in the Deolî and Karhâd grants, and does not say anything else tending to suggest that he reigned (*Ind Ant* Vol XII p 267).

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol IV p 342, line 40.

Above, Vol III p 107, text lines 29, 35, 37.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid* p 108, text lines 42, 43. It seems that the *biruda* was actually written there, carelessly, as Dhârâvantsadeva. If any doubt should be entertained as to what was really intended, reference may be made to the corresponding passages in the Wanî and Râdhanpur grants, both of which, it may be added, give the *biruda* with the ending *dêva*, just as the Paithan record does.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 157, text line 6.

<sup>7</sup> *Loc cit* text line 26. When this passage was translated, and, before it, the same passage in the Râdhanpur grant (*Ind Ant* Vol VI, p 70, verse 17), the fact that the word is here a proper name was not recognised, and it was rendered, with the following *ita*, by "already."

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid* text line 14. Regarding the meaning of this *biruda*, which had evidently been misunderstood both by Dr Bühler and by myself, see page 105 above, note 9.

<sup>9</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 125, text lines 1, 2.

<sup>10</sup> Page 163 above, text line 1.

seems clearly to intend to allot to him the *biruda* of Iddhatêjas, because it speaks of him as "the king Iddhatêjas, who had the other name of Nirupama,"<sup>1</sup> instead of using such a construction that the word might be taken as an ordinary adjective qualifying *râjâ*, but it is very problematical whether there is anything authentic about that appellation, appearing, as it does, for the first time at that late date

Dhruva was succeeded by his son Gôvinda III. His Paithan grant of A D 794 introduces him, in verse, as Gôvindarâja, son of Nirupama, and tells us that he was chosen for the succession out of several sons, because he surpassed his brothers in merit, and, in the preamble of the prose passages, it denotes him by the *birudas* of Prithvivallabha and Prabhûtavarsha, in combination with a third appellation Śrîvallabhanarêndradêva, which apparently uses the *biruda* Śrîvallabha, and which, in that case, is to be rendered by "his majesty the king Śrîvallabha."<sup>2</sup> His grant from the Kanarese country, issued in A D 804, uses, from among his various *birudas*, only that of Prabhûtavarsha, and presents his proper name in the Prâkrit form of Gôyinda.<sup>3</sup> Like the Paithan grant, his Wanî and Râdhanpur grants of A D 807 do not mention any of his *birudas* in the verses, in the formal prose passages, the Wanî grant uses the *birudas* Prabhûtavarshadêva and Prithvivallabha, followed by his proper name as Gôvindarâjadêva,<sup>4</sup> while the Râdhanpur grant follows the Paithan draft, and places the Prithvivallabha first, gives the Prabhûtavarsha without the ending *dêva*, and uses Śrîvallabhanarêndradêva, "his majesty the king Śrîvallabha," instead of the proper name.<sup>5</sup> The Baroda grant of A D 811 or 812, issued in his time, gives him, in verse, the *biruda* Kirtipurusha,<sup>6</sup> which we meet with in the Nilgund inscription of A D 866 in the form of Kirtinârâyana,<sup>7</sup> more in accordance with the habitual style of the Râshtrakûta *birudas*, and further on, in another verse, it speaks of him as Śrîvallabha.<sup>8</sup> The Torkhêde grant of A D 813, also issued in his

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 249, text lines 10, 11

<sup>2</sup> For the rendering of the honorific termination *narêndradêva*, see page 188 below — That the *śrî* is an integral and essential part of the appellation, and not the honorific prefix,— that is to say, that Gôvinda III really had the *biruda* Śrîvallabha — seems to be established by the corresponding passage in the Râdhanpur grant of A D 807, which (unless we choose to assume a mistake of some kind or a piece of carelessness) intentionally repeats the *śrî*, or, in other words, prefixes the honorific *śrî* to the *biruda* Śrîvallabha. The text in that record (see *Ind Ant* Vol VI p 67, plate II b, text lines 3, 4) runs — *Prithivallabha śrîmat-Prabhûtavarsha śrî-Śrîvallabhanarêndradêva*, using, in addition to the *śrî* before Śrîvallabha, the honorific *śrîmat*, which has precisely the same value, before Prabhûtavarsha. And, if it were not for that passage, there would be sufficient authority for treating the *śrî* in the Paithan passage as the honorific prefix, and for rendering the appellation used there by "his glorious majesty the king Vallabha," just as we have to render *śrîmad Vallabhanarêndradêva* in the formal prose passages of records of Gôvinda IV, Krishna III, and Kakkâ II (see further on, under those kings), particularly as the Nausârî grant of A D 817 seems to single out Prithvivallabha as the special *vallabha* appellation of Gôvinda III (see further on in the text above). We should then have to treat in the same way the expression used in the Torkhêde grant. And the result would go far towards cancelling the *biruda* Śrîvallabha altogether in the case of Gôvinda III, in fact, the only remaining authority for it would be the verse in the Baroda grant of A D 811 or 812 (see further on in the text above) — On the occasional emphasising of *śrî* as an integral part of proper names and *birudas*, see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p 8, note 3, clause (3) on p 9

<sup>3</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 126, text line 3 4, and p 127, text line 5

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid* p 159, text lines 34, 35

<sup>5</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol VI p 67, plate II b, text lines 3, 4, and see note 2 above

<sup>6</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 159, text line 24. The word was then translated by me, by "the personification of fame," for which, however, there seems no justification

<sup>7</sup> Page 103 above, text line 7, and see page 106, note 1

<sup>8</sup> *Loc cit* (note 6 above), p 160, text line 35 — Because Amoghavarsha I had the *biruda* Lakshmi vallabha, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji proposed to identify the Śrîvallabha of this passage with that king, who, he suggested, was "then heir-apparent of Gôvinda" (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol I Part I p 124). But that identification is not tenable. The verse occurs in the account of Indrarâja of Gujarât younger brother of Gôvinda III, to whom the rule over the province of the lords of Lâta was given by Gôvinda III. It says that he put to flight the leader of the Gurjaras, and that the array of the *Mahâsâmantas* or feudatory princes of the Dakshinâpatha or Dekkan, terrified and not holding together in the course of having their power or



time, uses the *birudas* Prabhūtavarsha and Śrīvallabha,—the latter with the simpler ending *narēndra*, Śrīvallabhanarēndra, “the king Śrīvallabha,” and it further establishes for him the *biruda* of Jagattunga,<sup>1</sup> which is mentioned again in the Nīlgund inscription of A.D. 866,<sup>2</sup> and was used alone, to denote him, in the Kanheri inscription, of A.D. 851, of the time of his successor Amōghavarsha I, who is there described as meditating on the feet of Jagattungadēva.<sup>3</sup> A verse in the Nausārī grant of A.D. 817, issued shortly after his time, can hardly be construed except as putting forward for him the *biruda* of Janavallabha.<sup>4</sup> But the next verse, which says that “his other name, known or renowned in the world, was Prithivīvallabha,” seems clearly to seek to attach some particular importance to that *biruda*, and, in fact, to single it out as his special vallabha-appellation. The other authentic records do not add anything. The Kadaba grant, however, which purports to have been issued in his time in A.D. 813, while introducing him as Prabhūtavarsha, denotes him further on by the appellation Vallabhēndra, instead of by that *biruda* or by his proper name.<sup>5</sup>

Gōvinda III was succeeded by a son, whose proper name has not yet come to light,<sup>6</sup> and who is known best, by his principal *biruda*, as Amōghavarsha I. The earliest known record of his time is the Nausārī grant, issued in A.D. 817 by the feudatory prince Suvarnavarsha-Karkarāja of Gujarāt, which introduces him by the *biruda* of Mahārājaśarva, “a very Śarva (Śiva) among Mahārājas or great kings,”<sup>7</sup> and then, in the next verse, brings forward his more familiar *biruda* of Amōghavarsha, and the former of these two *birudas*, Mahārājaśarva, is used to denote him in the inscription at the Daśavatāra cave at Ellōrā,<sup>8</sup> a subsequent verse of which may perhaps be interpreted as putting forward for him the *biruda* of Rajasimba.<sup>9</sup> The

possessions ravaged from them by Śrīvallabha, obtained protection from him (Indrarāja) by shewing respect to him. There is no reason to explain this, as the Pandit did (*loc cit*) as meaning that, “in attempting to establish ‘himself in independent power, Indra aided certain of the Rāshtrakūta feudatories in an effort to shake off the ‘overlordship of Amōghavarsha,’ or, as I myself have done (*Dyn Kan Distrs* p. 400), as meaning that ‘apparently in opposition to his brother and sovereign, he gave protection to some chieftains of the south, whose ‘possessions were taken away from them by Gōvinda III.’” The passage is evidently to be taken in connection with the combination that was formed against Gōvinda III by Stambha and eleven other princes. It is to be understood as meaning that Indrarāja helped Govinda III in the north, and made the rebellious feudatories there submit to himself. And it is plainly in return for this service that Govinda III gave Indrarāja the province of Lāta.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. III p. 54, text lines 5, 6, as regards the Śrīvallabha, see note 2 on page 173 above.—This record puts forward the Jagattunga in the form of Jagatunga, by a metrical license in adapting the verse which was used in the Patthan grant to put forward the *biruda* Śubhatunga for Kṛishna I.

<sup>2</sup> Page 102 above, text line 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol. XIII p. 134, No. 15, text line 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Jour Bo Br R As Soc* Vol. XX p. 138, text line 36, verse 23.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. IV p. 343 f., text lines 63, 82.

<sup>6</sup> Regarding some indications that we may expect to find that it either was Nārāyana or Viṣṇu, or else was a name beginning with Viṣṇu, see page 100 above.

<sup>7</sup> *Jour Bo Br R As Soc* Vol. XX p. 139, text lines 43, 44.—Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary gives Śarva as a name of also Viṣṇu, but I do not trace the authority for that, and the word is certainly best known as a name of Śiva, apparently in one of his Rudra-manifestations (see, for instance, the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Wilson's translation, Vol. I p. 116, Vol. II p. 24).—With this *biruda* Mahārājaśarva, compare Nripatitrinētra, “a very Trinētra (Śiva) among kings,” in the case of Gōvinda IV, and Rājatrīnētra, meaning the same thing, in the case of Kakka II.—If the intention of the composer of the verse had been to describe the king by a proper name as “the great king Śarva,”—according to the translation of this verse that has been put forward in the place referred to (p. 146, verse 29), and on previous occasions when the verse has been handled by others dealing with other records in which it occurs,—he ought, in conformity with epigraphic as well as grammatical usage, to have framed his verse so as to speak of him, not as Mahārājaśarva, but as Śarvamahārāja or Śarvarāja.

<sup>8</sup> *Archæol Surv West Ind* Vol. V p. 89, text line 12.

<sup>9</sup> *Loc cit* text line 13. This, however, is somewhat doubtful, as also in the case of Dantidurga (page 168 above), as this *biruda* has not as yet been explicitly found anywhere in connection with Amōghavarsha I.

Kanheri inscription of A D 843-44 establishes for him the *biruda* of Prithvivallabha,<sup>1</sup> in addition to mentioning him as Amôghavarsha. The Kanheri inscription of A.D 851 mentions him only as Amôghavarshadêva, who meditated on the feet of Jagattungadêva-(Gôvinda III) <sup>2</sup> The Nîlgund inscription of A D. 866 establishes for him the further *birudas* of Atisayadhavala, Nripatunga, and Lakshmiavallabha with the ending *indra* <sup>3</sup> And this completes the list of *birudas* established for him by records of his own time <sup>4</sup> Some of the subsequent records, however, put forward others, in respect of which we can only say that, while there may not be any very conclusive objections to them, still they cannot be taken as established until we find them in records of his own time. Thus, the Kâpadwanaj grant of A D 909 or 910 appears to mention him, in verse, as Mahârâjashanda, 'a very bull (i.e. most powerful or pre-eminent) among Mahârâjas' <sup>5</sup> A verse in the Nausârî grants of A D 915 says that Jagattunga-(Gôvinda III) begat Śrîvallabha, who subsequently became Viranârâyana, <sup>6</sup> and here we may remark that, though there may be no particular reason why Amôghavarsha I. should not have been known as Śrîvallabha, still it is quite possible that the composer of this record, which does not follow any of the early drafts, simply used, to suit his own convenience, a more familiar synonym of the special *biruda* Lakshmiavallabha which is established by the Nîlgund record. And finally, the Śilâhâra Bhâdâna grant of A D 997 seems clearly to style him Durlabha, as well as Amôghavarsha <sup>7</sup>

Amôghavarsha I was succeeded by his son Krishna II, whose name is given as Krishnavallabha, in verse, in the Mulgund inscription of his time, dated in A D 902-903,<sup>8</sup> and in the Prâkrit form of Kannara, in prose, in the Aihole inscription, also of his time, dated in A.D 903 <sup>9</sup> The Batgere inscription of his time, dated in A D. 888,<sup>10</sup> establishes for him the *biruda* of Akâlavarsha, which was evidently used, alone, to denote him in the Nandwâdige inscription of A D 903 <sup>11</sup> The Bagumrâ grant, of doubtful authenticity, which purports to have been issued somewhat earlier in A D 888, speaks, in verse, of a certain Vallabhanripa or "Vallabha king," who can hardly be anyone but Krishna II <sup>12</sup> And the Kapadwanaj grant of A D 909 or 910 establishes for him the *biruda* of Śubhatunga,<sup>13</sup> in addition to Akâlavarsha,

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XIII p 136, No 43 B, text line 1. I cannot help thinking that it may also mention him as Mahârâjasarva the apparent description of him there, immediately after his *biruda* Amôghavarsha, as *śrî-mahârâja*, "the glorious Mahârâja," is not very appropriate, and where there has been read *jûa*, in brackets as being damaged, followed by a *visarga*, there may possibly be the syllables *jaśarva*, crowded up together, moreover, the proposed genitive *mahârâjânah* would be, according to all general usage, a mistake (for *mahârâjasya*)

<sup>2</sup> *Loc cit* p 134, No 15, text line 2

<sup>3</sup> Pages 103, 104, above, text lines 8, 17, 19, and 20, in the last passage, the ending *narêndradêva* is attached, in prose, to the Atisayadhavala.

<sup>4</sup> The Sirâr inscription of A D 866 (*Ind Ant* Vol XII p 215, for a revised version, see further on in the present selection of records) only endorses the *birudas* used in the Nîlgund inscription, the Kâvi grant of A D 826 or 827 (*Ind Ant* Vol V p 144) appears not to mention him at all, for some reason or other, the Bagumrâ grant of A D 866 or 867 (*Ind Ant* Vol XII p 179) gives only Mahârâjasarva (verse 22) and Amôghavarsha (verses 23, 29), and the latest known record, the Kanheri inscription of A D 877-78 (*Ind Ant* Vol XIII p 136, No 43 A) gives only Amôghavarshadêva

<sup>5</sup> *Ep Ind* Vol I p 54, text line 14

<sup>6</sup> *Jour Bo Br R As Soc* Vol XVIII., translation, p 266. The *biruda* Viranârâyana is used for him in the Konnûr inscription, which, really written in the twelfth century A D, purports to reproduce the matter of a copper plate charter issued in A D 860 (page 36 above, verse 34)

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol III p 271, verse 4

<sup>8</sup> *Jour Bo Br R As Soc* Vol X p 190, text line 3, and see further on in the present series of records

<sup>9</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 222, text line 2

<sup>10</sup> Brought to notice in *Dyn Kan Distis* p 410. It will be edited further on in this series of records

<sup>11</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 221, text line i

<sup>12</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XIII p 69, verse 23

<sup>13</sup> *Ep Ind* Vol I p 57, verse 11

and further seems to speak of him as Vallabharāja.<sup>1</sup> The Hebbāl inscription of A D. 975, which is a Western Ganga record, would set up for him the *biruda* of Chalakennallāta,<sup>2</sup> but it seems likely that it only carries it back to him, mistakenly, from his great-grandson Krishna III.

Krishna II had a son, through whom the succession was transmitted, but who did not himself reign his proper name has not yet come to light, and he is only known, by a *biruda*, as Jagattunga II. That he did not reign, and that the succession passed direct from Krishna II to Indra III, is shewn by the formal preambles of the prose passages of the Nausāri grants of A D 915, which describe Nityavarshanarēndradēva-(Indra III) as meditating on the feet of Akālavanshadēva-(Krishna II).<sup>3</sup>

Krishna II, then, was succeeded by his grandson Indra III, son of Jagattunga II. His Nausāri grants of A D 915 mention him, in the verses, first by the *birudas* of Rattakandarpadēva and Kirtanārāyana, and then by the proper name of Indrarāja,<sup>4</sup> and, in the formal preambles of the prose passages, one of them mentions him by the *birudas* of Śrīvallabha and Nityavarsha, the latter with the ending *narēndradēva*,<sup>5</sup> — Nityavarshanarēndradēva, "his majesty the king Nityavarsha," while the other omits the Śrīvallabha and mentions him as only Nityavarsha, again with the same honorific ending.<sup>6</sup> The Hattī-Mattūr inscription of his time, dated in A D 916-17, mentions him by only the *biruda* of Nityavarsha,<sup>7</sup> and so also does an inscription at Lakshmeshwar, dated in the same year.<sup>8</sup> To the preceding *birudas*, established by the records of his own time, a verse in the Sānglī grant of A D 933, issued after his time, adds that of Rājamārtanda,<sup>9</sup> which seems probable and admissible.

Indra III. had two sons. The proper name of the elder one has not yet come to light, and he is only known as Amoghavarsha II, by the *biruda* by which he is mentioned in the Dēoli grant of A D. 940 and the Karhād grant of A D 959.<sup>10</sup> The Sānglī grant of A D 933 merely refers to him as the elder brother of Gōvinda IV, without mentioning him by any appellation at all.<sup>11</sup> A later and extraneous record, the Śilābhāra Bhādāna grant of A D 997, asserts that he reigned for one year.<sup>12</sup> But no such statement is made in the Dēoli and Karhād records. And, that there was no basis of truth for the assertion, is distinctly proved by

<sup>1</sup> *Loc cit* (see note 13 on page 175 above), verse 20. If so, the verse seems to refer to seven hundred and fifty villages, which constituted his private personal estate. But it is possible that the reference here is to the feudatory prince Akālavarsa-Krishnarāja, whose existence is set up by the Bagumrā grant purporting to have been issued in A D 888 (see note 12 on page 175 above).

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol IV p 352, text line 2.

<sup>3</sup> See notes 5, 6, below.

<sup>4</sup> *Jour. Bo. Br. E. As. Soc.* Vol XVIII p 259, B, plate II b, text lines 5, 7, 9, and p 263, A, plate II b, text lines 2, 5, 6, 8. The translation gives Viranārāyana, by mistake for Kirtanārāyana.

<sup>5</sup> *Loc cit* p 264, A, plate II b, text line 12, and see page 168 above, note 6.

<sup>6</sup> *Loc cit.* p 259, B, plate II b, text line 13.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol XII p 224, text line 1.

<sup>8</sup> Not yet published, I quote from an ink impression. The details of the date include Ādityavāra, the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of, perhaps, [Bhādra]pada, but only the last two syllables of the name of the month remain, and they are very doubtful. In this record, the *samvatsara*, Dhāta (for Dhātu, or Dhātṛi), is coupled with Saka Satvat 839 (current, by the southern luni-solar system), = A D 916-17, the year being expressed plainly in words. In the Hattī Mattūr record, it is coupled with S-S 838, which we must apparently take as expired, by the same system, again = A D 916-17.

<sup>9</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol XII p 250, text line 19, the word was then translated, by "a very son of a king."

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol V p 193-94, verse 16, and Vol IV p 288, verse 18.

<sup>11</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol XII p 250, text lines 23 to 25.

<sup>12</sup> Above, Vol III p 271, verse 6. The assertion is possibly based on some such authority as the spurious Wadgaon grant (noticed, *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p 416, note 6, to be explained more fully in an article on Spurious Indian Records in the *Indian Antiquary*), which puts forward as the reigning king, and as the alleged giver of the donation claimed by it, an Amoghavarsha by whom it really means Indra III. Or, perhaps, the Bhādāna grant has mistakenly applied to him an assertion which might be correct in respect of his uncle Amoghavarsha Vaddiga, whose reign was certainly not a long one.

the Sānglī grant, in which the formal preamble of the prose passages describes Suvarnavarsha- (Gōvinda IV) as meditating on the feet of Nityavarshadēva,<sup>1</sup> i.e. as the immediate successor of Indra III

The successor, then, of Indra III was his younger son Gōvinda IV, who is first introduced, in his Sānglī grant of August, A D 933, by the name of Gōvindarāja,<sup>2</sup> the next verse in that record gives him the *biruda* of Sāhasānka,<sup>3</sup> the next verse says that, though he was Prabhūtavarsha, he was called Suvarnavarsha because he made the whole earth entirely golden by showers of gold,<sup>4</sup> some lines in prose, containing epithets with rhyming endings, which stand before the usual preamble of the prose passages, give him the *birudas* of Nityakandarpa, Chānakyachaturmukha, Vikrāntanārāyana, and Nripatitrinētra,<sup>5</sup> and finally, the formal preamble of the prose passages mentions him as Suvarnavarshadēva, Prithvivallabha, and Vallabhanaiēndradēva, "his majesty the king Vallabha," who meditated on the feet of Nityavarshadēva-(Indra III)<sup>6</sup> The Dandāpur inscription of his time, dated in A D 918, quite early in his reign, mentions him by only the *biruda* of Prabhūtavarsha,<sup>7</sup> which is in accordance with what we understand from the Sānglī record, namely that he was Prabhūtavarsha first and became known as Suvarnavarsha subsequently. The inscription at Kalas in the Bankāpur tāluka, dated in A D 930,<sup>8</sup> does not seem to include any *varsha*-appellation in the verses, in addition to giving his name, in its Pāṇini form, as Gojjiga, Gojjigadēva, and Gojjigavallabha, it gives him the *birudas* of Nripatunga, Viranārāyana, and Rattakandarpadēva; and, in addition to using again Gojjigavallabha and Viranārāyana, the prose passage which leads up to the date and other details speaks of him as Gandamārtanda, Madagajārūdhmatamga (?),<sup>9</sup> and Rattavidyādhara, and also includes one or two other *birudas* of which the reading is not at all certain. The inscription at Kalasāpur in the Gadag tāluka, dated in December, A D 933,<sup>10</sup> mentions him by only the *biruda* of Suvarnavarsha. And so also does an inscription at Kaugere in the Rōn tāluka,<sup>11</sup> which is

<sup>1</sup> See note 6 below

<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 250, text line 23

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid* text line 25. The word was then translated, by "characterised by dāting," with, however, the remark in a footnote that it might be taken as a *biruda*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid* text lines 25, 26

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid* p 251, text lines 36, 37, 38

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid* text lines 39, 40. The appellation is preceded by the honorific *śrīmat*,—not *śrī*

<sup>7</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 223, text line 1. The record was then wrongly allotted by me to Jagattunga II—In *nālvatt=avutā*, line 2, *avutā* is a form of the present participle of *avi* (2), 'to be spoiled, damaged, to rot, to perish, to go out, be extinguished'. And thus the record is dated on the winter solstice of the month Pausa of the Pramāthin *samvatsara*, when the Saka year eight hundred and forty was "coming to an end". Pramāthin can be connected with the figures 840 only by the mean sign system of the cycle, according to which it began on the 12th February, A D 918, Saka *Samvat* 840 current, and ended on the 8th February, A D 919, Ś S 840 expired, or else by the northern luni solar system, according to which it coincided with S-S 840 expired, = A D 918-19, and, in either case, the date would fall in December, A D 918. If we were to apply the southern luni solar system, we should have to assume that 840 is a mistake for 841, because, by that system, Pramāthin coincided with Ś-S 841 expired, = A D 919-20. Prof Kielhorn (*Ind Ant* Vol XXV p 269) has adduced a later instance, of A D 930 (the date of the Kalas inscription, noticed further on), in which we must apply the northern luni solar system. And we may take it, therefore, that there is no mistake in the year in the Dandāpur record, and that it is dated in December, A D 918. Compare notes 3 and 4 on page 180 below.

<sup>8</sup> Noticed, *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 211, No 48, and p 248, and *Dyn Kan Distrs* p 416. For the exact date, the 17th January, A D 930, see Prof Kielhorn's result in *Ind Ant* Vol XXIII p 114, No 7, and his remarks in Vol XXIV p 269.

<sup>9</sup> The antepenultimate syllable is doubtful, but seems to be *ma* or *mā*. In the penultimate syllable, it is not quite certain whether the vowel with the *t* is *a* or *u*. Madagajārūdhmatamga may be rendered, as suggested to me by Prof Kielhorn, by "the most excellent rider of rutting elephants."

<sup>10</sup> Noticed, *Dyn Kan Distrs* p 416 f. To the details of the date given there, add "at the Uttarāyanasamkrānti." If this is to be taken as the leading detail, the equivalent cannot be Sunday, 29th December, but must be either Sunday, the 22nd, or Monday, the 23rd. The week day, Ādityavāra, is quite distinct and it seems impossible to read the *tithi* as anything but *aśvīnī*.

<sup>11</sup> Not yet published, I quote from an ink impression.

dated, without full details, in the Vijaya *samatsara* coupled with Śaka-Samvat 855 (expired), = A.D. 933-34

Gōvinda IV was succeeded by a paternal uncle, whose proper name is known, as yet, only in the Prākṛit forms of Baddegadēva and Vaddigadēva.<sup>1</sup> The Dēoli grant of A.D. 940 introduces him, in verse, by only the *biruda* of Amōghavarsha,<sup>2</sup> so, also, does the Karhād grant of A.D. 959, using the same verse,<sup>3</sup> and so, in other verses, do the Śilōtgi inscription of A.D. 945<sup>4</sup> and the Kardā grant of A.D. 972<sup>5</sup> the Ātakūr inscription of A.D. 949-50 mentions him, in prose, only as Amōghavarshadēva.<sup>6</sup> His proper name is met with first, as Baddegadēva, in the Western Ganga inscription of A.D. 975 at Hebbāl,<sup>7</sup> the Bhādhna Śilāhāra grant of A.D. 997 gives it as Vaddigadēva,<sup>8</sup> and the Khārīpūtan Śilāhāra grant of A.D. 1008 speaks of him as Vaddiganṛpa, "king Vaddiga."<sup>9</sup> We have, as yet, no records that can be referred with certainty to the time of Amōghavarsha-Vaddiga. But, that he did reign, is shewn by the formal preambles of the prose passages of the Dēoli and Karhād grants, which describe Akālavarshadēva-(Krishna III) as meditating on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara* Amōghavarshadēva,<sup>10</sup> and so also, by the Ātakūr inscription of A.D. 949-50, which, in a less stereotyped fashion, describes Krishna III as a bee on the water-lilies that were the feet of the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the *Paramēśvara* and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Amōghavarshadēva.<sup>11</sup>

Amōghavarsha-Vaddiga was succeeded by his son Krishna III. His earliest record, the Dēoli grant of A.D. 940, introduces him as Kṛṣṇanarājadēva, and then, in another verse, gives him the *biruda* of Śrīvallabha;<sup>12</sup> and, in the formal preamble of the prose passages, it styles him Akālavarshadēva, Prithivīvallabha, and Vallabhanarēndradēva, "his majesty the king Vallabha."<sup>13</sup> The Śilōtgi inscription of his time, dated in A.D. 945, does not add anything, as it only mentions him as Prithivīvallabha, Akālavarshadēva, and Kṛṣṇanarāja.<sup>14</sup> The Ātakūr inscription of A.D. 949-50 presents his name in the Prākṛit form of Kannaradēva,<sup>15</sup> and adds the *birudas* of Ankatrinētra, "a very Tripūtra (Śiva) in battle," Ānevedonga, "a marvel with elephants," Vanagajamalla, "a wrestler against forest-elephants," and Kachchega,

<sup>1</sup> Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary gives *baddiga* as another form of *landica*, and the latter as a *tadbhava* corruption of the Sanskrit *bandhila* or *bandhaka*, but this does not seem to help us towards the Sanskrit name. The St Petersburg Dictionary gives *Vandika*, also written *Bandika*, as a name of Indra, but it is hardly likely that Jagattunga II would name two sons after that god. We shall probably find the Sanskrit form of the name, sooner or later, among the Kalachuris of Central India, into whose family Jagattunga II, as well as his father Krishna II, intermarried. Meanwhile, we can only remark that the Karhād grant of A.D. 959 goes on, after the verse in which it introduces him (see note 3 below), to liken him, in a verse of its own which does not stand in the Dēoli grant, to Manu, Kārtavīrya, Bali, and Dilipa, and says that, though by possessing the qualities which they possessed he acquired pre eminent and permanent fame, still "his behaviour towards elderly persons was humble through modesty,"—*vriddhāṣṭu namra charitō vinayēna yō-bhāt*. It is just possible that there is a hint here that his proper name was something beginning with *Vṛiddha*, of which Vaddiga would be a perfectly admissible Prākṛit form, on the analogy of *baddi*, *vaddi*, as *tadbhava* forms of *vriddha*.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. V p. 194, verse 19

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IV p. 288, verse 21, as regards verse 22, see note 1 above

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid* p. 62

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*. Ant. Vol. XII p. 266, text lines 21, 24-25

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. IV p. 352, text line 5

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. III p. 271, text line 12. It is this record which, in the preceding verse, distinctly specifies him as the younger brother of Nityavarsha (Indra III)

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid* p. 298, text line 12

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. V p. 195, text lines 43 to 45, and Vol. IV p. 285, text lines 64, 65

<sup>10</sup> Page 55 above <sup>11</sup> Above, Vol. V p. 194, text lines 31, 34

<sup>12</sup> *Loc cit* p. 195, text line 45-46. The last appellation seems to be preceded, as it is in his Karhād grant of A.D. 959, by the honorific *śrīmat*,—not *śrī*.

<sup>13</sup> Above, Vol. IV p. 60, text lines 9, 10, 18.

<sup>14</sup> Page 54 f above, text lines 4, 20, 21.

"he who wears the girdle (of prowess)"<sup>1</sup> The Soratûr inscription of A D 951 endorses Ānevadenga, presents Vanagajamalla in the variant of Madagajamalla, "a wrestler against rutting elephants," and adds Chalakenallāta, "he who is good, excellent, or beautiful on account of firmness of character"<sup>2</sup> The Ukāl inscription, dated in his sixteenth year styles him Kachohiyun-Tañjayun-konda, "conqueror of Kāñchī and Tanjore"<sup>3</sup> His Karhād grant of A D 959 follows the Dēdli grant of A D 940, except that, in adapting the verse which first mentions him, it substitutes Kṛishṇaī janṛipati, 'king Krishnaraja,' for Kṛishṇarājādēva<sup>4</sup> but it adds a new *biruda*, it tells us that he was then encamped at Mēlpāti (Mēlpidi in the North Arcot district) for the purpose of creating livings for his dependents out of the provinces in the southern region and of taking possession of all the property of the lords of provinces, and of founding temples of (Siva under the names of) Kālapriyēśvara, Gandamārtandēśvara, Kṛishṇēśvara, and "so on,"<sup>5</sup> and, we find the Gandamārtanda, which is deduced from this passage, used, as well as Vanagajamalla, to denote him in the Śrāvṇa-Belgoja epitaph of the Western Ganga prince Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Page 53 above, text line 3, and see the notes to the translation — I there expressed a doubt as to the *biruda* Ankatrinṭra (see no's 7 to line 3 of the text), but that doubt may now be cancelled. My objection to the appearance of the compound, however, is justified, while the acceptance of the *biruda* itself, as a half Kanarese half-Sanskrit word, is also justified, by the fact that the *biruda* is given as one of the examples to Kṛishṇa's *Śabdamanidarpana*, sūtra 174, which deals with the compounds called *viruddha samāsa* (more popularly, *ari samāsa*) or "incongruous or improper compounds, or compounds of heterogeneous words dissimilar in kind," which, according to that sūtra, are allowed only when sanctioned by poets of old, as, for instance, especially in *birudas*. In Kittel's Dictionary, from which I have obtained the reference to the *Śabdamanidarpana*, it is suggested that the *biruda* may perhaps mean "the well known Siva," but there can be no doubt that it is equivalent to the Kadantrinṭra of another passage referred to in my note on the *biruda* — Since writing the above, I have received from Mr H Krishna Sastri a suggestion, based on an inspection of the original stone, that the *biruda* may perhaps be Anmatrinṭra, "a very Trinṭra in valour." But I think that, on the whole, Ankatrinṭra is preferable.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 257, text lines 1, 2 — As regards Chalake-allāta, which I then read Dhālakenallāta, I can see now, from a better ink impression, that the vowel of the first syllable is the short *a*, not the long *ā*, and that the consonant (which does look rather like *dh*) is really a rather badly formed or damaged *ch*, and the *biruda* occurs again, quite distinctly, in the Chīñchī inscription of A D 903 (see page 180 below) — Another *biruda* in which *chala* occurs, is Chaladankarāma, applied to the Raṭṭa chieftain Śāntivarman in the Saundattī inscription of A D 980 (*Jour Bo Br. R. As Soc* Vol X p 204, text line 9), for the rendering then suggested to me, "a very Rāma in the fierce fight" (*ibid* p 208 209), there is to be substituted "a very Rāma distinguished by firmness of character," in accordance with the translation given by Mr Kittel in his Dictionary, under *chala* — There is one instance of a *biruda* ending in *nalla*, which is practically the same as *nallāta*, among the Eastern Chalukyas. Vijayāditya III. had a *biruda* which is presented in the various forms of Gunaka, Fastaga, Gunagāka, and Gunakenalla (see *Ind Ant* Vol XX p 102). On the apparent authority of a passage which runs *Gunaga Vijayāditya-paṭir=amkaḍra=akshadd*, etc, I explained the *biruda* as meaning "a thorough arithmetician" (*loc cit*). It is, however, now plain that the proper form of the *biruda* was Gunakenalla, meaning "he who is good, excellent, or beautiful on account of his virtues," and that *anlakāra* is to be taken, not as a Sanskrit word explaining the *biruda*, but as standing for the Kanarese *ankalāra*, — the meaning being "a veritable champion" — The *biruda* Gunakenalla is given among the examples to the *Śabdamanidarpana*, sūtra 174 (mentioned in the preceding note), in Gunakenalla Gaṇēśa, which has been rendered by Mr Kittel, under *guna* in his Dictionary, by "Gaṇēśa who is good on account of his merit."

<sup>3</sup> *South-Ind Inscr* Vol III p 11, No 7

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol IV p 284, text line 37, and see note 13 on page 178 above

<sup>5</sup> *Loc cit* p 285, text lines 57 to 59. This passage perhaps also suggests that he had the *biruda* of Kālapriya, which might mean either "dear to Siva" or "devoted to Siva." But Kālapriya or Kālapriyanātha was itself a name of Siva, apparently in his form of Mahākāla of Ujjain (see Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, under *kāla*, 2), and therefore we are not of necessity to take the name Kālapriyēśvara as being based, as Gandamārtandēśvara was, on a *biruda* of the king. The dramas *Uttarārdmacharita* and *Mālatīmādhava* were played to celebrate the festival of Kālapriyanātha (Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindus*, Vol I p 287, Vol II p 10), and, apparently, so also the *Mahatracharita* (Pickford's translation, p 4 and note, from which we learn that a commentator has explained the name thus — "Kāla, another name of Siva, Kālapriyā, dear to Siva, i.e. Pārvatī, his wife, Kālapriyanātha, the husband of Pārvatī, i.e. Siva")

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol V p 179

And finally, an inscription at Śravana-Belgola, which records the death of his grandson Indra IV in A D 982, presents his proper name, in verse, in the form of *Kṛṣṇnarāṣṇendra*<sup>1</sup> To the facts already known about *Kṛṣṇa III*, we may conveniently add here the following An inscription at *Dēvī-Hosūr*, in the *Karajgi tāluka*,<sup>2</sup> refers itself to his reign, mentioning him as *Akālavarshadēva* and *Kannaradēva*, and gives for him a fixed date, in December, A D 961, two years and nine months later than the date of the *Karhād* grant And an inscription at *Chinūchli* in the *Gadag tāluka*,<sup>3</sup> which refers itself to his reign, mentioning him as *Akālavarshadēva*, *Chalakenallāta*, and *Kannaradēva*, mentions also, by the appellations *Satyavākya-Kongunivarma-Jayaduttaramga-Peimānadi*, the Western Ganga prince *Būtuga II*, whom it describes as "governing" the *Gangavādī* ninety-six-thousand, and it supplies for *Būtuga II* a fixed date, in April, A D 953, three years later than the latest date previously established for him

*Kṛṣṇa III* was succeeded by a younger brother, whose proper name is known, at present, only in the *Prākṛit* forms of *Khottiga*, *Kottiga*, and *Khōtika*, of which the first was probably the original corruption of his Sanskrit name, whatever that may have been<sup>4</sup> His appellations are given most fully in the *Adaraguñchi* inscription of A D. 971, which mentions him by the name of *Kottigadēva*, with the *birudas* of *Nityavarshadēva*, *Rājamārtanda*, *Battakandarpa*, and *Chitravedenga*, "a marvel among marvels" (?)<sup>5</sup> And an inscription at *Hirē-Handigōl* in the *Gadag tāluka*,<sup>6</sup> which again presents his name as *Kottigadēva* and uses the *biruda* *Nityavarshadēva*, adds *Yasakenallāta*, "he who is good, excellent, or beautiful on account of fame" An inscription at *Nāgavi*, in the same *tāluka*,<sup>7</sup> again presents his name as *Kottigadēva*, and again mentions him as *Nityavarshadēva* The *Kardā* grant of his successor's time, issued

<sup>1</sup> *Inscr. at Śrāv-Bel* No 57

<sup>2</sup> Not yet published, I quote from an ink-impression — The passage giving the date (lines 6 to 9) runs — *Sa(śa)ka varsha 884 Dundubhi samvatsar āntargata-Pausha su(śu)ddha trayōdasi(śi) Ādityavāram=Uttarāyanasamkrānti-andu* — By the southern luni solar system of the cycle, Dundubhi was *Śaka Samvat* 884 expired, = A D 962-63 In that year, *Pausha śukla* 13 ended at about 3 hrs 58 min after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) on Friday, 12th December, A D 962, and the solstice occurred at 12 hrs 38 min on Tuesday, 23rd December — By the northern luni solar system (compare note 7 on page 177 above), Dundubhi was *Ś-S* 884 current, = A D 961-62 In this year, *Pausha śukla* 13 ended at about 17 hrs 47 min on Sunday, 22nd December, A.D 961, and the solstice occurred at 6 hrs 25 min on the next day The date is, thus, not quite correct. But we need not hesitate, I think, about accepting the result for the *tithi* as the real date of the record

<sup>3</sup> Not yet published, I quote from an ink-impression — The passage giving the date (lines 4 to 7), runs — *Sa(śa)ka-bhūpāla kāl ākranta samvatsara sa(śa)tamgal=entū-nūre=lpatt-āraneya Ānanda-samvatsarada Vaisākha-su(śu)ddha bidige Sōmarāramum Mṛgaśira nakshatramum=Age(? ga)* — By the southern luni solar system of the cycle, *Ānanda* was *Śaka Samvat* 876 expired, = A D 954 55 In that year, *Vaisākha śukla* 2 ended at about 21 hrs 16 min after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) on Friday, 7th April, A D 954, and cannot be connected with a Monday at all. — by the northern luni solar system (compare note 7 on page 177 above), *Ānanda* was *Ś S* 876 current, = A D 953-54 And, in this year, *Vaisākha śukla* 2 ended at about 6 hrs 18 min on Monday, 18th April, A.D 953, and the moon entered *Mṛgaśiras* at about 11 hrs 8 min or 12 hrs 15 min

<sup>4</sup> I can suggest only *Krōhti*, which occurs as the name of one of the sons of *Yadu* (*Vishṇupurāna*, Wilson's translation, Vol IV pp 53, 61), and might perhaps turn into *Khottiga*, *Kottiga*, *Khōtika*, in the *Prākṛit* of the Kanarese country I notice, however, that *Momer-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary* gives *Kōtika* as the name of the son of a prince, from the *Mahābhārata*

<sup>5</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 255 f., text lines 1 to 5

<sup>6</sup> Noticed, *Dyn Kan Distrs* p 422, note 3 — It records a grant that was made at the *Uttarāyanasamkrānti* or winter solstice (line 16), but the details of the (month and) *tithi* and week-day, by which the exact date might have been fixed, were not given Line 1 contains the *Śaka* year, in figures, and the *samvatsara*, again, without any details. but the passage is much damaged, and all that can be said from the ink-impression, is that, while the first figure, 8, is quite unmistakable, the other two are altogether uncertain,—that then there comes the usual ordinal ending *neya* (= *aneya*),—and that then we may perhaps have either *Prabhava*, *Pramōda*, or *Prajāpati*. This would give a date in December, A D 967, 970, or 971, with the southern luni solar system of the cycle

<sup>7</sup> At the temple of *Kannūra-Basappa*, noticed, *Dyn Kan Distrs* p 422, note 3, where I have wrongly represented it as giving the name with the aspirated *lā*

in A D 972, is the first record to present his name as Khottigadēva, with the aspirated *kh*.<sup>1</sup> This form is presented again in the Bhīdāna Śilāhara grant of A D 997.<sup>2</sup> But the Khārēpātan Śilāhara grant of A D. 1008 gives Khōtika.<sup>3</sup>

Khottiga was succeeded by a nephew, who is most conveniently known as Kakka II. His Karda grant of A D 972 seems to present his proper name first, in verse, as Kakkarāja,<sup>4</sup> but it is possible that we ought to find there a superscript *r*, imperfectly formed or damaged, and that we ought to take the name to be Karkarāja, which seems more likely to be the Sanskrit form of it. Further on in prose, it presents it as Kakkaladēvarāja,<sup>5</sup> which, from the practice noted further on regarding the ending *dāra*, we must take to be its Prakrit form. The form Kakkaladēva was used in the Guṇḍu inscription of his time, dated in A D 973.<sup>6</sup> The Bhīdāna Śilāhara grant of A D 997 calls him Kakkalīśa, "the lord Kakkala."<sup>7</sup> And the Khārēpātan Śilāhara grant of A D 1008 calls him simply Kakkala, without any ending.<sup>8</sup> Among other later extraneous records, the Kanthēm Western Chulukya grant of A D 1009 gives his name as Karkara,<sup>9</sup> and the Kalachurya inscription of A D 1161 at Managōhī presents it as Kakkara.<sup>10</sup> His Karda grant of A D 972 gives him, in some lines in prose, containing epithets with rhyming endings, which stand just before the usual preamble of the prose passages, the *biru-das* of Amōghavarsha, Nūtanapārtha, Ahitamārtanda, Viranārāyana, Nripatunga, and

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 265, text line 25

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol III p 272, text line 16-17

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid* p 298, text line 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 265, text line 26 — There is not apparently, any such word as *kakka*. And the name seems to be certainly *karka*, 'white, good, excellent; a white horse; a crab; the sign Cancer,' etc. — The name occurs in four instances among the Rashtrakūtas before Kakka II. We meet with it first in the cases of Kakkarāja II of the first Gujarat branch and of his ancestor Kakkarāja I, in the grant of A D 757 from the Surat district; and there, in all three passages, the first component of the name is distinctly written *Kakka*, without the *r* (*Jour Bo Br R As Soc* Vol XVI p 107, text line 3, and p 108, lines 15, 23). We meet with it next in the case of Karka or Kakka I, father of Kṛṣṇa I of the main line: the Sāmāgaḍ grant of A D 754 gives his name as Kakkarāja (*Ind Ant* Vol XI p 111, text line 9), the Paṭṭhan grant of A D 794, however, gives it as Karkarāja in using the same verse, and again in a subsequent verse (above, Vol III p 106, text lines 7, 17), the Baroda grant of A D 811 or 812, using a new verse, gives it again as Karkarāja (*Ind Ant* Vol XII p 159, text line 5), the Ellē-A inscription at the Dhāvatāra cave, using again a new verse, apparently gives it in the same form, Karkarāja (*Archaeol Surv West Ind* Vol V p 88, text line 8); so, also, apparently do the Nausari grant of A D 817 (*Jour Bo Br R As Soc* Vol XX pp 142, 143, verses 6, 11) and the Kāvi grant of A D 826 or 827 (*Ind Ant* Vol V p 146, verses 5, 11), both using the two verses of the Paṭṭhan grant, though the Baroda grant of A D 866 or 867, using again the same two verses, seems to give it as kakkarāja (*Ind Ant* Vol XII p 182, text lines 5, 11), the Bagumra grant, of doubtful authenticity, purporting to have been issued in A D 888, uses again the two verses of the Paṭṭhan grant, and gives it as Karkarāja (*Ind Ant* Vol XIII p 66 f text lines 5, 10); and, finally, the Bhīdāna Śilāhara grant of A D 997 gives it as Karkarāja, in a new verse of its own (above, Vol III p 271, text line 3). And we meet with the same name again in the case of the feudatory prince Suvarnavarsha Karkarāja of the second Gujarāt branch: the Baroda grant of A D 811 or 812 gives his name as Karkarāja in the verse which introduces him and in the usual preamble of the prose passages (*Ind Ant* Vol XII p 160, text lines 36, 42), but seems rather to give it as Kakkarāja in the passage that purports to be his signature (*ibid* p 161, text line 68), the Nausari grant of A D 817 apparently gives it as karkarāja in the verse, a new one, which introduces him, and also in the preamble of the prose passages (*Jour Bo Br R As Soc* Vol XX p 139, text lines 52, 55, in respect of the signature, the translation shews Karkarāja, p 148, but the text has Kakkarāja, p 141, text line 86), the Kāvi grant of A D 826 or 827 apparently gives Karkarāja in a new verse (*Ind Ant* Vol V p 147, verse 31), the Baroda grant of A D 884 or 885 does the same (*Ind Ant*, Vol XIV p 199, text line 14), in reproducing the verse of the Nausari grant of A D 817; the Bagumra grant of A D 866 or 867, using both the verse of A D 826 or 827 and then the verse of A D 817, apparently gives it, in both places, as Karkarāja (*Ind Ant* Vol XII p 183, text line 6); and the Bagumra grant, of doubtful authenticity, purporting to have been issued in A D 888, using the verse of A D 817, gives it as Karkarāja (*Ind Ant* Vol XIII p 67, plate ii a text line 9).

<sup>5</sup> *Loc cit* p 266, text line 47

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol III p 272, text line 18

<sup>7</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XVI p 23, text line 41

<sup>8</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 271, text line 5

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid* p 298, text line 17

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol V p 16, text line 12



Râjatrînêtra,<sup>1</sup> and the formal preamble of the prose passages, using first Amôghavarsha with the ending *dêva*, adds the *biruda* Prithvivallabha, and further styles him Vallabhanarêndradêva, "his majesty the king Vallabha"<sup>2</sup> The Gundûr inscription of his time, dated in A D 973, uses his Prâkrit name Kakkaladêva, as already noted, and presents the *biruda* Prithvivallabha in the *tadbhava*-form Prithuvivallabha<sup>3</sup>

Kakka II was the last Râshtrakûta king of Mâlkhêd After his overthrow in the latter part of A D 973 or early in the next year by the Western Châlukya Taila II, an attempt was made by the great Western Ganga prince Nolambântaka-Mârasimha II to continue the Râshtrakûta sovereignty by crowning Indra IV, grandson of Krishna III<sup>4</sup> But, though Indra IV lived on till A.D 982, there is nothing to shew that the attempt was even temporarily or locally successful, doubtless, because Mârasimha II was either dead, or else had abdicated and passed into religious retirement, before June-July, A D 974,<sup>5</sup> and because before August, A D 975, another Western Ganga prince, Pañchaladêva, had set himself up as paramount sovereign, in opposition to Taila II, in the southern provinces of what had been the Râshtrakûta kingdom<sup>6</sup> Indra IV. eventually died, starving himself to death in the performance of the *sallêkhand*-vow on the 20th March A D. 982<sup>7</sup> The record which furnishes that information,<sup>8</sup> mentions him by the proper name of Indrarâja, and puts forward for him the *birudas* of Rattakandarpadêva, Râjamârtanda, Chaladankakâra, "the champion of firmness of character,"<sup>9</sup> Ahitarajava, "the Death of enemies," Chaladaggali, "the door-bar of firmness of character," Kirtinârâyana, Kaligalolganda, "the hero among brave men," Birarabira, "the bravest of the brave," and Eļevabedenga, "a marvel among those who take by force (*the property of others*)."

#### Some special features in the use of the appellations.

We have now to notice certain special features, attending the use of the appellations of the members of the family, whether they were actually reigning kings or not, which are disclosed by the technicalities that are recognisable in the diction employed in the Râshtrakûta records

And first as regards the proper names in their Sanskrit forms It has been mentioned that the verse in the Sâmângad grant which first introduces Dantidurga, gives his name as Dantidurgarâja, while the formal prose passage adds *dêva* and styles him Dantidurgarâjadêva The habitual earlier practice, and evidently the correct etiquette, was that the verses of the records should be constructed in such a way that the Sanskrit names should have the ending *râja* and nothing else,—in the case, not only of the paramount sovereigns and other members of the main line of Mâlkhêd, but also of the feudatory princes of the Gujarât branch This was done so constantly, that it is necessary to notice only the cases in which it was not done And I have found at present only the following exceptions, most of which occur in records which were

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 266, text lines 38 to 41

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* text lines 44, 45 This appellation is preceded by the honorific *śrīmat*,—not *śrī*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid* p 271, text lines 3, 5

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol V p 170, and note 4 An allusion to the attempt is to be found in the Western Châlukya Kauthêṃ grant of A.D 1009, which presents an imaginary item of ancient history in asserting that Jayasimha I., the original ancestor (about A D 500) of the earlier Chalukya dynasty of Bâdâmi, re established his line, after a period during which its power had been in abeyance, by conquering a Râshtrakûta king Indra, son of Krishna (*Ind Ant* Vol XVI p 17) The assertion is certainly based (see *Dyn Kan Dist* p 842) upon nothing but the overthrow of Kakka II by Taila II, and on the names of Krishna III and Indra IV and the crowning of the latter

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol V p 152

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid* p 172

<sup>7</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XXIII p 124, No 64

<sup>8</sup> *Inscr at Śrav-Bej* No 57

<sup>9</sup> This is to be added to the two instances given above, page 57, and note 8, of the occurrence of *ankakdra* in a *biruda* the first component of which is not a proper name

independent compositions not following standard drafts, or else in additional passages which were not integral parts of standard drafts. A verse in the Wanî and Râdhanpur grants of A D 807 presents the name of Dhruva without the ending *râja*.<sup>1</sup> A verse in the Nausârî grant of A D 817 brings forward the name of Stambha without the ending *râja*.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, a verse in the inscription at the Daśavatâra cave at Ellôrâ, which appears to be of the period of Amôghavarsha I, speaks of Dantivarman I as simply Dantivarman.<sup>3</sup> The Nausârî grants of A D. 915,—the first, as far as our present knowledge goes, with the exception of the Daśavatâra inscription, of a series of later official compositions which departed completely from the early standard drafts,—use for Dantidurga an altogether new verse which omits the *râja* and speaks of him as “the king, the glorious Dantidurga,”<sup>4</sup> the Dêôlî grant of A D 940, using another new verse (which stands also in the Karhâd grant of A D 959), mentions him as simply Dantidurga,<sup>5</sup> and so also, in still another new verse, does the Kardâ grant of A D 972.<sup>6</sup> The Sânglî grant of A D 933 speaks of Indra III as “king Indra,”<sup>7</sup> and the Kardâ grant of A D 972 speaks of Krishna II as “king Krishna” and of Indra III as “king Indra.”<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, the ending *dêva* after *râja* is used, in verses, in the Bagumrâ grant of A D 866 or 867 of the feudatory prince Dhârâvarsha-Dhruvarâja (the second of the name) of Gujarât, in a verse which speaks of him as Dhruvarâjadêva but which stands after the proper introduction of that form of the name in the formal prose passage,<sup>9</sup> and in the Nausârî grants of A D 915, in the introductory verse which speaks of Indra III as Indrarâjadêva,<sup>10</sup> and in the Dêôlî grant of A D 940, in a verse which speaks of Krishna III as Krishnarâjadêva,<sup>11</sup> and in the Kardâ grant of A D 972, in a verse which speaks of Krishna III, again, as Krishnarâjadêva.<sup>12</sup> The double ending *râjadêva* with proper names was properly restricted to prose passages. And, just as we find it in the case of Dantidurga in his Sâmângad grant, so also we find it in the formal prose passages in the Wanî grant of Gôvinda III of A D 807,<sup>13</sup> and in the Baroda grant of A D 811 or 812 of the feudatory prince Suvarnavarsha-Karkarâja of Gujarât,<sup>14</sup> and in the Nausârî grant of A D 817 of the same prince,<sup>15</sup> and in the Kâvi grant of A D 826 or 827 of the feudatory prince Prabhûta-varsha-Gôvindarâja,<sup>16</sup> and in the Baroda grant of A D 834 or 835 of the feudatory prince Dhârâvarsha-Dhruvarâja,<sup>17</sup> and in the Bagumrâ grant of A D 866 or 867 of the second feudatory

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 158, text line 26, and Vol VI p 67, plate n a, text line 13, and see note 7 on page 172 above

<sup>2</sup> *Jour Bo Br R As Soc* Vol XX p 138, text line 40. Regarding Stambha, who has not been mentioned in the preceding pages, see pages 195, 197, below

<sup>3</sup> *Archæol Surv West Ind* Vol V p 88, text line 4

<sup>4</sup> *Jour Bo Br R As Soc* Vol XVIII p. 257, B, text line 8, and p 261, A, text line 78. The actual expression is *śrî Dantidurga nripatih*. The composer perhaps found it inconvenient to introduce the *râja* here. But he employed it, as usual, in the case of Krishna I, whom, he mentions as *śrî Krishnarâja nripatih*, B line 15 16, A line 14

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol V p 193, text line 13, and Vol IV p 282, text line 12

<sup>6</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 264, text line 6

<sup>7</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 250, text line 22,—*Indra narêndra*

<sup>8</sup> *Loc cit* (note 6 above), p 265, text line 17,—*Krishna-nripa*, and line 19,—*Indra nripa*

<sup>9</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 184, plate n b, text line 6

<sup>10</sup> *Loc cit* (note 4 above), B text line 5, and A text line 4

<sup>11</sup> Above, Vol V p 194, text line 31. In this same verse as used in the Karhâd grant of A D 959, *nripatih* was substituted for *dêva* (above, Vol IV page 284, text line 37)

<sup>12</sup> *Loc cit* (note 6 above), p 265, text line 24

<sup>13</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 159, text line 35

<sup>14</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 160, text line 42. In the prose passage near the end of the grant which records the signature, *dêva* is not attached to the name either of Karkarâja or of his father. It appears first, in that part of a record, in the Baroda grant of A D 834 or 835, mentioned further on, and then again in the Bagumrâ grant of A D 866 or 867

<sup>15</sup> *Jour Bo Br R As Soc* Vol XX page 139 text line 55

<sup>16</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol V. p 147, plate n b, text line 18

<sup>17</sup> *Id* Vol XIV p 199, text line 25

prince Dhârâvarsha-Dhruvarâja<sup>1</sup> In the Bagumrâ grant, of doubtful authenticity, which purports to have been issued by a feudatory prince Akâlavarsha-Krishnarâja in A.D. 888, the *dêva* is omitted in the formal prose passage,<sup>2</sup> and this omission now furnishes another point against the genuineness of that record. In the formal prose passages of the Paithan grant of A.D. 794, of the Râdhanpur grant of A.D. 807, of the Nausârî grants of A.D. 915, of the Sângli grant of A.D. 933, of the Dêoli grant of A.D. 940, of the Karhâd grant of A.D. 959, and of the Kardâ grant of A.D. 972, other appellations are used, instead of the proper names but the ending *dêva* is attached to them in the same way, and, in the Paithan and Râdhanpur grants, Gôvinda III is styled Śrîvallabhanarêndradêva,<sup>3</sup> — in the Nausârî grants, Indra III is styled Nityavarshanarêndradêva,<sup>4</sup> — in the Sângli grant, Gôvinda IV is styled Vallabhanarêndradêva,<sup>5</sup> — in the Dêoli and Karhâd grants, Krishna III is similarly styled Vallabhanarêndradêva,<sup>6</sup> — and in the Karda grant, Kakka II, again, is styled Vallabhanarêndradêva.<sup>7</sup> From all these facts we gather, in the first place, that the authors of the later records, — from about A.D. 900 onwards, — in abandoning the drafts that had been followed in the introductory passages of the earlier records, and in adopting a more florid style of composition in verses of their own invention, freely neglected, whenever it suited their convenience, certain rules that had been previously observed, with almost unfailing uniformity, in respect of the proper names in their Sanskrit forms. But we also learn that the ending *dêva* was not an integral part of those names, but was only a honorific termination used, properly, only in prose passages for an enhancement of dignity. And we also learn that the ending *râja* was not an essential part of those proper names. In dealing with the records, whether in editing fresh ones or in revising published versions, it may be convenient sometimes to translate those endings, — *râja* by “king,” and *dêva* by “his majesty,” — or sometimes, and in fact more usually, to let them stand as parts of the proper names. But, for other purposes, — for genealogical tables, general historical accounts, etc., — it is most convenient, and most conducive to an easy discrimination between different persons of the same name, to drop those endings altogether in the case of the paramount sovereigns (whom we have occasion to mention most frequently), retaining them in the case of the feudatory princes (whom it is not necessary to refer to so often). Only one instance is as yet forthcoming, of the use of any special word, except *râja*, in immediate combination with a proper name in its Sanskrit form, it is found in the Mulgund inscription of A.D. 902-903, in a verse which speaks of Krishna II as śrî-Krishnavallabha-nrîpa, “the glorious king Krishnavallabha,” or “the glorious king Krishna, the Vallabha.”<sup>8</sup> And there is one instance in which, after the word *râja*, there is added the ending *indra*, which seems to have been more properly restricted — (except, of course, in the word *narêndra*) — to the combination *vallabhêndra*,<sup>9</sup> it occurs in the inscription of A.D. 982 at Śravana-Belgola,<sup>10</sup> in the verse which mentions Krishna III as Kṛishnarâjêndra this appellation — (if it is sought to translate it) — may be taken as meaning either “Krishna, the chief of kings,” or “Krishnarâja, the chief of Krishnarâjas.”

Secondly, as regards the proper names in their Prâkrit forms, by which I mean, not simply and strictly such forms as would be recognised as technically Prâkrit forms by

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 184, plate II b, text line 2

<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XIII p 67, plate II b, text line 2

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol III p 108, text line 43-44, and *Ind Ant* Vol VI p 67, plate II b, text line 4

<sup>4</sup> *Loc cit* (note 4 on page 183 above), p 259, B plate II b, text line 18, and p 261, A plate II b, text line 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol. XII p 251, text line 40

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol V p 195, text line 45-46, and Vol IV p 285, text line 55. In the Dêoli record, something else was written first, and, in the corrections that were made, the syllables *llabha* were not brought out quite clearly.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 266, text line 44-45

<sup>8</sup> *Jour Bo Br R As Soc* Vol X p 190, text line 3. A revised version of this inscription will be given in the present selection. hṛakūṭa note 10.

<sup>9</sup> See page 14

<sup>10</sup> *Inscr at Śrav-Bel* No 57, verse 2

Prākṛitists, but all the corrupted or more familiar forms<sup>1</sup> of the Sanskrit names, which we meet with mostly in the vernacular records, and some of which cannot, perhaps, be exactly accounted for by any of the regular rules of Prākṛit grammar. These Prākṛit names were not used at all freely in the verses: in fact, we can only quote a verse in the Wari grant of A.D. 807, repeated in the Rādhapur grant of the same year, which speaks of Dhruva as Dhōra, without any ending to the name,<sup>2</sup> and some verses in the Kalas inscription of Gōvinda IV, of A.D. 930,<sup>3</sup> of which three present his name as Gojjigadēva, one gives it as Gojjigavallabha or "Gojjiga, the Vallabha,"<sup>4</sup> one speaks of him as Gojjigabhūpāla or "king Gojjiga," and the remaining one calls him simply Gojjiga, without anything attached to it, and a verse in the Kardā grant of A.D. 972, which mentions Khotigadēva.<sup>5</sup> The Prākṛit names do not appear to occur anywhere in the formal preambles of the prose passages of the copper-plate grants, from which we have quoted above the usage of those passages in respect of the Sanskrit forms of the names and of some appellations that were sometimes substituted there for the proper names. In the prose records on stone, the Prākṛit names are sometimes found without any ending, for instance, Dōra, in the case of Dhruva, in the Nalegal inscription,<sup>6</sup> and Gōyinda, in the case of Gōvinda III, in his Kanarese grant of A.D. 804,<sup>7</sup> and Kannara, in the case of Krishna II, in the Aihole inscription of A.D. 911-12.<sup>8</sup> We more usually find the ending *dēva* attached to the Prākṛit names, for instance, we have Kannaradēva, in the case of Krishna III, in the Ātakūr inscription of A.D. 949-50,<sup>9</sup> and in the Soratūr inscription of A.D. 951,<sup>10</sup> and in the Tirukkālukkunram inscriptions of his seventeenth and nineteenth years,<sup>11</sup> and in the Vellore inscription of his twenty-sixth year,<sup>12</sup>—Kottigadēva, in the Adaraguñchi inscription of A.D. 971,<sup>13</sup> and in the Hirē-Handigōl inscription and the Nāgavi inscription at the temple of Kannūra-Bassappa,<sup>14</sup>—and Kakkaladēva, in the Gundūr inscription of A.D. 973.<sup>15</sup> And so again, in the Hebbāl inscription of A.D. 975, which is a Western Ganga record, we have Kannaradēva and Baddegadēva.<sup>16</sup> Evidently, the more formal official practice was to attach the ending *dēva* to the Prākṛit names. But we can readily see that it was not an integral or essential part of those names, and that it may be disregarded for all general purposes. To the rule of using the ending *dēva* with the Prākṛit names in prose passages, only one exception, substituting another ending, is forthcoming, it is found in the Kalas inscription,<sup>17</sup> which

<sup>1</sup> It can hardly be imagined that a Vikramāditya, a Vishnuvardhana, a Jayasinha, a Dantidurga, a Parakāśarvarman, a Narasimhavarman, and so on, would be habitually addressed by such formal appellations in the domestic circle and in other spheres of private life. There must have been more familiar names for use in such circumstances. In the present day, the Chiefs of the Southern Marāṭhā country have *vyāvahārika* names, 'practical, current, or familiar names,' or *aliases*,—such as Annā Saheb, Appā Saheb, Babā Saheb, Bāpū Saheb, Dādā Saheb, Nānā Saheb, Rau Saheb, Tātyā Saheb, etc,—by which they are in fact better known, even officially, than by their real Sanskrit, Marathi, or Kanarese names. These *vyāvahārika* names, however, are distinctly *aliases*, not corruptions of the real names. In former times, probably the Prākṛit corruptions of the formal Sanskrit names were used as the *aliases* are used now, primarily in private life, and then finding their way into the official records.—For another note on Prākṛit names, ancient and modern, see *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.* p. 410, note 1. The modern forms given there would, I think, be used, not by Chiefs and other persons of rank, but only by ordinary people.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI p. 157, text line 6, and Vol. VI p. 65, text line 5.

<sup>3</sup> Noticed, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII p. 249, not yet published.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the solitary instance, among the Sanskrit names, of Krishnavallabha, which, also, occurs in verse (see page 184 above).

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII p. 265, text line 25.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI p. 127, text line 5.

<sup>7</sup> Page 54 f. above, text lines 4, 20, 21.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. III p. 284, text line 1-2, and p. 285, text line 2. And so also in the Ukkal inscription of his

sixteenth year (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III p. 12).

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. IV p. 82, text line 1.

<sup>10</sup> See page 180 above, notes 7, 8.

<sup>11</sup> Above, Vol. IV p. 352, text lines 2, 5.

<sup>6</sup> Page 163 above, text line 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII p. 222, text line 2.

<sup>10</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII p. 257, text line 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII p. 256, text line 5.

<sup>15</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII p. 271, text line 5.

<sup>17</sup> See note 3 above.

gives us Gojjugavallabha again in the prose passage which leads up to the date and other details of the record, though here, of course,—no metrical conveniences being involved—the form Gojjugadēva might have been used just as easily. We do not anywhere find the ending *rāja* used in direct connection with a Prākṛit name. The only approach to an instance of that is found in the Kardā grant of A D 972, in a prose passage (standing after the usual formal preamble) which speaks of Kakka II as Kakkaladēvarāja,<sup>1</sup> and here the *rāja* was only added after the customary ending *dēva*.

Finally as regards the principal *birudas*, most of which occur in both the Sanskrit and the Kanarese records. In the first place, it may be remarked that these must be the *gauna*-names, 'the secondary or subordinate names, or the names relating to and indicative of qualities,' which are spoken of in contrast to the *mulhya* or principal names in a verse in the Baroda grant of A D 811 or 812.<sup>2</sup> As to the use of them, in the verses of the earlier records they occur without any endings, for instance we have the plain unqualified Śubhatunga, Akālarsha, and Nirupama, in the Paithan grant of A D 794,<sup>3</sup>—Nirupama and Kalivallabha, in the Wani grant of A D 807,<sup>4</sup>—Śivallabha, in the Baroda grant of A D 811 or 812,<sup>5</sup>—Janavallabha, Prithivallabha, Mahārājasha, and Amoghavarsha, in the Nausāri grant of A D 817,<sup>6</sup>—Prabhūtarsha, Jagattunga, Kirtinārāyaṇa, and Atīśayadhavala, in the Nilgund inscription of A D 866,<sup>7</sup>—and Maharajashanda, Śubhatunga, and Akālarsha, in the Kāpadwanaj grant of A D 909 or 910.<sup>8</sup> The Nausāri grants of A D 915 first present an occasional practice of attaching the ending *dēva* to the *birudas* in verses, thus, they give us Jagattungadēva and Rattakandarpadēva<sup>9</sup> but it was plainly nothing but a matter of convenience for the purpose of filling out the verses, and the only instances that can be found in the subsequent records are Nripatungadēva in a verse in the Deolī grant of A D 940 (repeated in the Karhād grant of A D 959),<sup>10</sup> and Akālarshadēva, in a verse in the Sālōṭgi inscription of A D 945,<sup>11</sup> though the preceding verse has Amoghavarsha without any ending. On the other hand, the prose passages indicate that the proper practice was to use in prose the ending *dēva* with the leading *birudas*,—doubtless because in prose they were generally introduced under conditions of greater ceremony. In the formal preambles of the prose passages of the copper-plate grants, the ending *dēva* is invariably found attached, as a mark of respect, to the *biruda* that was used to denote the king who was referred to as the immediate predecessor of the reigning king, though it was not always attached to the corresponding *biruda* of the reigning king himself; thus, the Paithan grant of A D 794 describes Prabhūtarsha-(Govinda III) as meditating on the feet of Dhāravarshadēva-(Dhruva),<sup>12</sup> and the Wani grant of A D 807 describes Prabhūtarshadēva-(Govinda III) as meditating on the feet of Dhāravarshadēva-(Dhruva),<sup>13</sup> and the same rule was observed, in the case of the predecessors, in the Rādhapur grant of A D 807, the Nausāri grants of A D 915, the Sāngli grant of A D 933, the Deolī grant of

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 266, text line 47

<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ar'* Vol XII p 159, text lines 4, 5, and see also another verse which first appears in the Tōrlhede grant of A D 843 (above, Vol III p 55, text lines 10, 11). I am indebted to Prof. Kuelhorn for reminding me of this.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol III pp 105, 107, text lines 19, 20-21, 35, 37

<sup>4</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 158, text lines 14, 15

<sup>5</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 160, text line 35

<sup>6</sup> *Jour Bo Br R As Soc* Vol XX, p 183, text line 36, and p 179, lines 44, 45

<sup>7</sup> Pages 102, 103, above, text lines 5 to 8

<sup>8</sup> *Ep Ind* Vol. I p 54, text lines 14, 16

<sup>9</sup> *Jour Bo Br R As Soc* Vol XVIII. pp 258, 259, B plate II a, text line 12, and plate II b, lines 4, 5, and pp 262, 263, A plate II. a, line 10, and plate II b, lines 1, 2

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol V p 193, text line 18, and Vol IV p 283, text line 19. It may be noted that the Deolī grant gives Jagattungadēva in prose in line 49, but immediately afterwards uses Jagattunga, without any ending, in verse in line 51.

<sup>11</sup> Above, Vol IV p 60, text line 10

<sup>12</sup> Above, Vol III, p 108, text line 43

<sup>13</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 157, text lines 34, 35

A D 940, the Karhâd grant of A D 959, and the Kardâ grant of A D 972<sup>1</sup> Among the stone records, a similar formal preamble is found in the Kanheri inscription of A D 851, which duly describes Amoghavarshadêva I as meditating on the feet of Jagattungadêva-(Gôvinda III),<sup>2</sup> and, though a formal preamble was not used in the Âtakûr inscription of A D 949-50, still that record duly follows the same rule in describing Krishna III as a very bee on the water-lilies that were the feet of Amoghavarshadêva-(Vaddiga)<sup>3</sup> In the other prose records on stone, we find sometimes the ending *deva*, and sometimes the plain *biruda* without any ending, the instances on each side are about equal in number we might expect to find the honorific ending used in all cases in which the *biruda* was used alone, without the proper name, but that was not done in, for instance, the Hattî-Mattûr inscription of the time of Krishna I, which employs for him no appellation except that of Akâlavarsha,<sup>4</sup> and the Pattadakal inscription of the time of Dhruva, which uses only the appellations Dhârâvarsha and Kalivallabha,<sup>5</sup> and, though these two happen to be private records, not requiring any official drafting or approval, some of the others are official records, and, accordingly, we cannot determine the existence of any custom in this matter, dependent on the nature of the record and its liability to official scrutiny It seems evident, however, that the better general practice was to use the ending *dêva* with the *birudas* in prose No instance has as yet been found, in which the word *râja* is used as the ending of a *biruda*, either in verse or in prose other words meaning "king" occur in some of the verses, for instance, Amoghavarsha-nripati, "king Amoghavarsha," in the Dêlî grant of A D 940,<sup>6</sup> and Jagattunga-nripa, "king Jagattunga," Amoghavarsha-nripati, and Amoghavarsha-nripa, in the Kardâ grant of A D 972<sup>7</sup> but the more special word *râja*, used so pointedly with the Sanskrit proper names, is not met with anywhere Another ending used with a *biruda* in prose, is *indra*, which we have in Lakshmîvallabhîndra, in the Nîlgund inscription of A D 866<sup>8</sup> an exceptional instance of its use with a proper name, in Krishnarâjendra, has been noted on page 184 above, and another exceptional instance of it with a *biruda* is found in Nirupamêndra, in the case of the feudatory prince Dhârâvarsha-Dhruvarâja (the second of that name) of Gujarât, in a verse in the Baroda grant of A D 866 or 867,<sup>9</sup> but it seems to have been, properly, restricted to the combination *vallabhîndra*, as an honorific form of *vallabha*<sup>10</sup> And other endings, used in prose, were *narêndra*, in, for instance, Śrîvallabhanarêndra, in the Torkhêdê grant of A D 813,<sup>11</sup> and *narêndradêva*, in, for instance, Śrîvallabhanarêndradêva, in the Paithan grant of A D 794<sup>12</sup> But the manner in which the Nîlgund inscription of A D 866 speaks of Amoghavarsha I. as, indifferently, Amoghavarsha,

<sup>1</sup> The Sârnâg grant does not mention any predecessor of Dantidurga, because he was the first paramount Rashtrakûta king The Kanarese grant of A D 804, and the Torkhêdê grant of A D 813, and the Kâpâdwânj grant of A D 909 or 910, do not include the formal preamble mentioning predecessors The other copper plate grants are records of the feudatory Gujarat branch of the family, and in the records of that line it was not the custom to name the previous princes in the preambles of the prose passages

<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XIII p 134, No 15, text line 2

<sup>3</sup> Page 53 above, text line 2.

<sup>4</sup> Page 161 above, text line 1

<sup>5</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol. XI. p 125, text lines 1, 2

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol V. p 194, text line 31.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol. XII pp 264, 265, text lines 12, 13, 24 25

<sup>8</sup> Page 104 above, text line 17, and see page 106, note 2, see also page 186 below

<sup>9</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol. XII p 184, text line 17, the appellation was there translated by "king Nirupama" (p 188, verse 37)

<sup>10</sup> For the appellation Vallabhîndra, see page 189 below, page 190, note 1, page 191 — The ending *indra* is met with once, in a Western Chalukya record (*Ind Ant* Vol XIX p 17, text line 8), in the paramount epithet of which the customary form was simply *śrîprithivîvallabha*, the epithet is there presented as *śrîprithivîvallabhîndra* — There is a miscellaneous use of *vallabhîndra*, otherwise than in a regal *biruda* or epithet, in a record at Sravana-Belgola (*Inscr. at Śrav Bel* No 3), which describes the Kalbappu hill as "worthy to be praised by gods, Vidyâvallabhîndras (i.e. those who are the chiefs of favourites or husbands of Learning, those who are eminently learned people), demons, men, and saints"

<sup>11</sup> Above, Vol III p. 54, text line 5

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid* p 103, text line 43-44

Amoghavarshadēva, Atisayadharāla, and Atisayadhavalanarēndiādēva,<sup>1</sup> is enough to show that all these endings, also, were not integral and essential parts of the *birudas*, and are to be disregarded for all general purposes. In editing records, it may be convenient to retain the ending *indra*, rather than to translate it by rendering, for instance, Lakshmivallabhendra by "Lakshmivallabha, the chief of Lakshmivallabhas or of favourites of Fortune." But the other two will be better treated by translation,—*narēndra* being rendered by "king," and *narēndradēva* by "his majesty the king."

We have next to note that the most distinctive and leading *birudas* of the Rāshtrakūtas were those ending in *varsha*. Not only are they found most frequently in the stone records, and often without any other appellation accompanying them, but also, in the formal preambles of the prose passages of the copper-plate charters of the kings of the main line, it is always the *biruda* ending in *varsha* that is used,—and without any other appellation,—to denote the predecessor, and the *biruda* ending in *varsha* of the reigning king is always presented with such others of his appellations as are put forward, and, in the corresponding passages of the copper-plate charters of the feudatory princes of the Gujarat branch, the *biruda* ending in *varsha* is always prefixed to the proper name of the prince. We may find, hereafter, an exception to this rule about the designation of the predecessor in the copper-plate charters of the main line, when we obtain any such record of Amoghavarsha I, for, the Kanheri stone inscription of A D 851 describes him as meditating on the feet, not of Prabhūtarashadēva, but of Jagattungadēva,<sup>2</sup> and, as we shall see further on, there are other indications that Gōvinda III was best known as Jagattunga after his death, though, as we shall also see, in his lifetime he was best known as Prabhūtavarsha. But, after the Sāmāngad grant of A D 751, all the copper-plate records of the main line that we know at present, conform, with such variations as have been indicated above in the actual selection (without omitting the *biruda* ending in *varsha*) and order of the appellations of the reigning king, to the practice of the Pathan grant of Gōvinda III, which describes him as Prithivīvallabha, Prabhūtavarsha, his majesty the king Śrīvallabha, meditating on the feet of Dhāravarshadēva,<sup>3</sup> and the Ātakūr stone inscription uses only the *biruda* Amoghavarshadēva to denote the predecessor of Krishna III.<sup>4</sup> And another special feature of the *birudas* ending in *varsha* is that we cannot trace back the conception of them to any predecessors of the Rāshtrakūtas of Mālkhēd,<sup>5</sup> nor even to the first Gujarāt branch of the Rāshtrakūtas which was represented by Karkarāja II son of Gōvindarāja in A D 757, nor to the early Rāshtrakūtas of Central India whose existence is disclosed by the grants of Abhimanyu and Yuddhāsura-Nandarāja.<sup>6</sup> They were plainly first devised by the Rāshtrakūtas of Mālkhēd. The fashion seems to have been set by Akālavarsha-Krishna I, as we have no *biruda* ending in *varsha* for his predecessor Dantidurga. And it seems likely that each subsequent member of the family was invested with a *varsha*-appellation at the time when he was selected for the succession and was formally appointed as *Yuvarāja*.

Other special Rāshtrakūta *birudas* were those ending in *avalōka* and *tunga*. Of the former, we have two instances in the Mālkhēd line, namely, Khadgāvalōka in the case of Dantidurga, and Ranāvalōka in the case of Stambha son of Dhruva,<sup>7</sup> and we find two instances

<sup>1</sup> Pages 103, 104, above, text lines 8, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22

<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XIII p 134, No 15, text line 2

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol III p 108, text lines 43, 44.

<sup>4</sup> Page 53 above, text line 2

<sup>5</sup> But, when once they had been started by the Rāshtrakūtas of Mālkhēd, the fashion was followed, probably as the result of intermarriages, in other families also, for instance, we have the Kalachuri king Keyādaravarsha-Yuvarāja I, at some time about A D 925 (see Prof Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, Vol V above, Appendix, p 61, No 429), and the Paramāra king Amoghavarsha-Vāḥpatirāja, with the date of A D 974 (*ibid* p 8, No 46), and Karivarsha Sāhīladēva, a king of Champakā (Chambā) (*ibid* p 81, No 593), and the Paramāra chieftain Dhātavarsha, with the date of A D 1209 (*ibid* p 28, No 193)

<sup>6</sup> See *Dyn Kan Dist* p 386

<sup>7</sup> See pages 195, 197, below

in another branch of the Râshtrakûta stock, in the case of Gunâvalôka-Nanna and his grandson Dharmâvalôka-Tunga, whose names are disclosed by an inscription at Bôdh-Gayâ<sup>1</sup> The *birudas* ending in *tunga* start, like those ending in *varsha*, with Krishna I, who, accordingly, seems to have set the fashion in both respects Both the *birudas* ending in *tunga* and those ending in *avalôka* appear to be, originally, exclusive appellations of the Rashtrakûtas of Mâlkhêd, since, as in the case of the *birudas* ending in *varsha*, we cannot trace the conception of them to any other source<sup>2</sup> But any similarity between them and the *birudas* ending in *varsha* ceased there The *birudas* ending in *avalôka* appear to have soon gone out of fashion Of the *birudas* ending in *tunga*, we have only one instance in the feudatory Gujarât branch, in the case of Akalavarsha-Subhatunga (proper name not yet disclosed) between A D 834-35 and 866-67. In the main line, we have not as yet obtained any such *birudas* in the cases of Gôvinda II, Dhruva, Indra III, Amôghavarsha II, Amôghavarsha-Vaddiga, Krishna III, Khotiga, and Indra IV And, except in the single case of the use of Jagattunga, in the Kanheri inscription of A D 851, to denote Govinda III as the predecessor of Amôghavarsha I, there is no evidence that the *birudas* ending in *tunga* could be used for official purposes in the particular manner in which the *birudas* ending in *varsha* were constantly used, namely as substitutes taking entirely the places of proper names.<sup>3</sup> That was the special characteristic of the *birudas* ending in *varsha*

The remaining leading *birudas* are those ending in *vallabha*. Of these, there is apparently only one, Śrîvallabha, which could be used, like the *varsha*-appellations, to take entirely the place of proper names And there is another feature in which they differ from the *birudas* ending in *avalôka* and *tunga* as well as those ending in *varsha*, namely that, together with the appellations Vallabha and Vallabharâja, they were not first devised by the Râshtrakûtas of Mâlkhêd, but the idea of them was taken over by the Râshtrakûtas from their predecessors

We will examine first the appellations Vallabha and Vallabharâja, which were taken over by the Râshtrakûtas from their predecessors, the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmî In the Western Chalukya records themselves, we find<sup>4</sup> the plain appellation Vallabha used, as a substitute for their proper names, to denote both Pulakêśin I. and his grandson Pulakêśin II,<sup>5</sup> we find it attached after the names of the original ancestor Jayasîmha I, and of Pulakêśin I, Kîrtivarman I, and Pulakêśin II, and it is given as an appellation of Ranavikrânta-Buddhavarmanrâja of the first Gujarat branch of the Western Chalukyas<sup>6</sup> With the honorific ending *indra*, that is, in the form Vallabhêndra, we find it once, in the same series of records, attached after the name of

<sup>1</sup> See Prof Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, Vol V above, Appendix, p 85, No. 630

<sup>2</sup> But, the fashion having once been set, *birudas* ending in *tunga* were, like *varsha* appellations, adopted by other families, again probably as the result of intermarriages Thus, we have Mugdhatunga as a *biruda* of the Kalachuri king Prasiddhadhavalâ, father of the Kêyâvarsha Yuvarâja I who has been mentioned in note 5 on page 188 above (see Prof Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, Vol V above, Appendix, p 58, No 407, and p 61, No 429), and elsewhere we have the name of Jayatungasîmha of the Kamâ country (*ibid* p 79, No 575), and, doubtfully, the name of Sidhitunga with the date of A D 1347 (*ibid* p 38, No 267)

<sup>3</sup> And for these reasons, I think, the words *Tungâ itî kshatibhujah prathitâ babhûvuh*, "the kings became known in the world as Tungas," which occur first in the Dêlî grant of A D 940 (above, Vol V p 192, text line 10 f, and see Vol IV p 279), are to be taken, not as implying—(at any rate, correctly)—that the family-name was Tunga, but simply as seeking to draw attention to one of the leading appellations of some of the members of the family. The family name was Râshtrakûta in its Sanskrit form, and Ratta in Prakrit, we have, for instance, *Râshtrakûta dnr-ya* in verse in the Wanî grant of A D 807 (*Ind Ant* Vol XI p 158, text line 17), and *Ratta-vamâ* in prose in the Nilgund inscription of A D 866 (page 103 above, text line 16)

<sup>4</sup> See *Dyn Kan Distrs* p 342 ff The exact references may be given in full on some future occasion, in a separate note on the appellations of the Western Chalukya kings, here it is only necessary to give a few of them in special cases

<sup>5</sup> Respectively, in the Nerûr grant of Mangalêśa (*Ind Ant* Vol VII p 161, text line 5), and in the Nerûr grant of Pulakêśin II himself (*id* Vol VIII p 43, text line 3)

<sup>6</sup> It is also attached after the name of Vijayâditya in the Gudigere inscription of A D 1076 77 (*Ind Ant* Vol XVIII p 39, text line 20)



of A D 739, which speaks of the conferring of the four titles upon the feudatory Chalukya prince Avanijanâsraya-Pulakêśirâja of Gujarât, denotes the paramount sovereign, who conferred them, by the appellation Śrīvallabhanarêndra, "the king Śrīvallabha,"<sup>1</sup> meaning, no doubt, Vikramâditya II, of the main line of Bâdâmi. It may be added that, in the Bagumrâ grant of A D 655 of the Sêndraka prince Prithivivallabha-Nikumbhallaśakti, the name of the *Dûtaka*, or messenger for the conveyance of the grant, is given as Śrīvallabha-Bappa,<sup>2</sup> this, again, is perhaps to be accounted for by an explanation similar to that suggested above for the possession of the *biruda* Prithivivallabha by Nikumbhallasakti himself.

These two special *birudas*, Prithivivallabha and Śrīvallabha, were thus unquestionably taken over by the Râshtrakûtas of Mâlkhêd, with the appellations Vallabha and Vallabharâja, from their predecessors, the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi. How far the amplification of the list of *birudas* ending in vallabha,—of which we have also Kalivallabha in the case of Dhruva, Janavallabha in the case of Gôvinda III, and Lakshmivallabha in the case of Amôghavarsha I,—was a Râshtrakûta idea, will probably become more clear hereafter. But a passage in the Nerûr grant of Mangalîśa can hardly be construed except as establishing for Pulakêśin I the *biruda* of Lôkavallabha,<sup>3</sup> which is of practically the same purport as Janavallabha. And it thus appears not impossible that we may find, on closer scrutiny, that the Western Chalukyas themselves had a more extensive list of *vallabha*-appellations than now seems to have been the case.

The appellations by which the earlier members of the family were remembered  
in later times.

We wind up this study by noting the appellations by which the earlier members of the family were best remembered in later times. For this purpose we have to quote, among the Râshtrakûta records themselves, certain compositions which as already remarked, depart altogether from the early standard drafts, namely, the Nausârî grants of A.D. 915,<sup>4</sup> the Sângli grant of A D 933,<sup>5</sup> the Dêoli grant of A D 940,<sup>6</sup> the Karhâd grant of A D 959,<sup>7</sup> and the Kardâ grant of A D 972,<sup>8</sup> and, among extraneous records, the Bhâdâna Śilâhâra grant of A D 997<sup>9</sup> and the Khârêpâtan Śilâhâra grant of A D 1008.<sup>10</sup>

In the case of the first paramount king, Dantidurga, there is curiously revived in the Bhâdâna grant the variant of his name, Dantivarman, which is presented by the verse at the end of his Sâmângad grant of A D 754, and of which there is at present, in his case, no trace in any of the intervening records. In the other seven records, he is mentioned by only the name of Dantidurga or Dantidurgarâja.

His paternal uncle and successor Krishna I is mentioned, in all the eight records, by only his proper name, as Krishnarâja.

Gôvinda II., the elder son of Krishna I, is not mentioned, or in any way alluded to, in the Nausârî grants. The other six records all mention him as Gôvindarâja.

Dhruva is mentioned by his proper name in only the Bhâdâna grant, which speaks of him as *Dhruv-âṅka adhirâja*, "the king who had the mark, stigma, or brand, of Dhruva," and does not exhibit any of his other appellations. The other seven records all mention him as Nirupama. But the Dêoli and Karhâd grants use also his well established *biruda* Kalivallabha. And the Sângli grant puts forward for him a very questionable new *biruda* in the form of Iddhatêjas.

<sup>1</sup> *Loc cit* (page 191 above, note 6), text line 33-34

<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XVIII p 269, text line 38

<sup>3</sup> *Ird Ant* Vol VII p 161, text line 5

<sup>4</sup> *Jour Bo Br E As Soc* Vol XVIII pp 257, 261

<sup>5</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 247

<sup>6</sup> Above Vol V p 188

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol IV p 278

<sup>8</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 263

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol III p 267

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol III p 292.

Gôvinda III is mentioned, in all the eight records, only as Jagattunga and Jagattunga-dêva, without any allusion to his proper name or to any of his other *birudas*

Amôghavarsha I is mentioned in the Nausârî grants as Śrîvallabha, who then became Viranârâyana. The Sângli, Kardâ, Bhâdâna, and Khârêpâtan grants mention him as Amôghavarsha,—the Bhâdâna record putting forward also a very questionable new *biruda* for him, in the form of Durlabha. The Dêoli and Karhâd grants use only his *biruda* Nripa-tungadêva.

And Krishna II is mentioned by his proper name only, as Krishnarâja, in the Nausârî, Dêoli, Karhâd, and Bhâdâna grants, and by only his *biruda* of Akâlavarsha in the Sângli and Khârêpâtan grants; while the Kardâ grant presents both his proper name and the same *biruda*, mentioning him first as Akâlavarsha, and then supplying his proper name as Krishnanripa, “king Krishna”

It is rather curious that Gôvinda III was thus remembered only as Jagattunga, for, as we shall see further on, this *biruda* was certainly not the appellation by which he was best known in his own time. It appears first in the Torkhêdê grant of A D 813, issued in his time. And all that we know as to the origin of it, is the assertion in the Nilgund inscription of A D 866, of the next reign, that he, Prabhûtavarsha-Gôvindarâja, conquered the whole world and so became known as Jagattunga. It evidently became his leading *biruda*, supplanting the *biruda* that was at first his distinctive appellation, because it was used, most exceptionally, in violation of the custom of using the *biruda* ending in *varsha*, to denote him in the Kanheri inscription of A D 851, in the formal passage which mentions him, as Jagattungadêva, as the predecessor of the then reigning king Amôghavarsha I<sup>1</sup>. His assumption of the *biruda*, and the fact that it eventually became his most well known appellation, are evidently to be attributed to something or other that occurred when his reign was well advanced, and after A D 807 because there is no allusion of any kind to the *biruda* in the Wani and Râdhanpur grants of that year

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#### The use of the *biruda* Śrîvallabha in the Râshtrakûta records

We have now to consider who is most likely to be intended by the *biruda* Śrîvallabha as used to denote the reigning king,—without any other appellation, or any other hint,—in a Râshtrakûta record which, like the Lakshmêshwar inscription, C above, is not dated but is referable to the last quarter of the eighth century A D

We have first to note that from Śrîvallabha, “favourite of Śrî or Fortune,” we have the derivative *srivallabhatâ*, “the condition of being a Śrîvallabha.” In the Râshtrakûta records, this word *srivallabhatâ* is met with as the equivalent of *râjâdhirâjaparamêśvaratâ*, “the condition of being an over-king of kings and a supreme lord.” And these two words were used in the general sense, according to free translation, of “supreme sovereignty,” for instance, a verse in the Sâmhâgad grant of A D 754 describes Dantidurga as acquiring the *râjâdhirâjaparamêśvaratâ* by conquering Vallabha,<sup>2</sup>—which appellation denotes there, and in the passage quoted below, the Western Chalukya king Kîrtavarman II,—while another verse in the inscription at the Dasâvatâra cave at Ellôrâ says that, by defeating the army of Vallabha and subjugating certain other kings, he acquired the *srivallabhatâ*<sup>3</sup>. And, in view of this, the *biruda* Śrîvallabha might, without any objection, be applied to any paramount king without exception

<sup>1</sup> As already said, we may expect to find it used, in the same way, in the formal preambles of the prose passages of copper-plate records of Amôghavarsha I, if we ever obtain any such records

<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 112, text lines 24, 25

<sup>3</sup> *Archæol Surv West Ind* Vol V, p 88, text lines 10, 11.

Jayasimha I.<sup>1</sup> So thoroughly was the appellation Vallabha identified, for that period, with the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi, that we find Vallabharāja and Vallabha used as substitutes for their proper names to denote Pulakēśin II and Vikramāditya I in one of the Pallava records<sup>2</sup> And, by the Rāshtrakūtas themselves, the appellation Vallabha was first used to denote the Western Chalukya king Kīrtivarman II, as is shewn by the verse in the Sāmāngad grant of A D 754, which tells us that Dantidurga acquired the sovereignty by conquering Vallabha.<sup>3</sup> The appellation itself was promptly adopted by the Rāshtrakūtas, and it became, in the same way, thoroughly identified with them As we have seen above, the next record that enters into details, the Paithan grant of A D 794, styles Dantidurga Vallabharāja, and gives to Gōvinda II the appellation Vallabha The Wanī grant of A D 807 gives the same appellation, Vallabha, to Krishna I The Bagumrā grant, of doubtful authenticity, which purports to have been issued in A D 888, mentions a Vallabhanripa, or "king Vallabha," who must be either Amoghavarsha I or Krishna II<sup>4</sup> The Mulgund inscription of A D 902-903 attaches Vallabha after the name of Krishna II The Kāpadwanaj grant of A D 909 or 910 speaks of (probably) Krishna II as Vallabharāja The Sāngli grant of A D 933, the Dēoli and Karhād grants of A D 940 and 959, and the Kardā grant of A D 972, apply the appellation "his majesty the king Vallabha" to Gōvinda IV, Krishna III, and Kakka II And, from the Prākṛit forms Ballaharāja and Ballarāja,<sup>5</sup> the Arab travellers and geographers of the ninth and tenth centuries A D used the name Balharā to denote, generally, the Rāshtrakūta kings of Mālkhēd<sup>6</sup> The Kadaba grant,

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XIX p 16, text line 2 — In the Eastern Chalukya records, sometimes Vallabha is attached to the *viruda* Satyaśraya which in them takes the place of the proper name of Pulakēśin II, and sometimes Vallabendra is used instead of it (see, for instance, *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I pp 41, 48) In that series, Vallabha is sometimes attached after the name of Jayasimha I, son of Kubja-Vishnuvardhana I (see, both ways, the same references), but it is not found with any subsequent names

<sup>2</sup> Namely, in the Udayendiram grant of Pallavamalla Nandivarman (*South-Ind Inscr* Vol II pp 370, 371) This record says that the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I frequently conquered Vallabharāja at Pariyala, M. imangala, Śūramāra, and other places, and that his grandson Paramēśvaravarman I defeated the army of Vallabha in the battle of Peravala Nallūr The identities are established by the Kūram Pallava grant, which tells us (*id* Vol I p 152 ff) that it was Pulakēśin (II) whom Narasimhavarman I conquered at Pariyala, etc, and gives (though without mentioning the name of the place) a very vivid description of a great battle in which Paramēśvaravarman I inflicted a crushing defeat on the army of Vikramāditya (I)

<sup>3</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 114

<sup>4</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XIII p 69, verse 23 — The Baroda grant of A D 866 or 867 says that the feudatory prince Dhārāvārsha Nirupama-Dhruvarāja of Gujārāt (the first of that name) put to flight the army of Vallabha (*Ind Ant* Vol XII p 188, verse 32), and that his son Alālarāsha Śubhatunga quickly recovered his paternal territory that had been attacked or invaded by the army of Vallabha (verse 34), and that the second Dhārāvārsha Nirupama-Dhruvarāja quieted in one direction the army of the Gujārās that hurried up to encounter him, and in another direction the hostile Vallabha (verse 37) These allusions, I think (see *Dyn Kan Distrs* p 408, notes 2, 4),—as also the statement in the Baroda grant of A D 834 or 835, that Suvarnavarsha-Karkarāja, of the same branch of the family, vanquished some tributary Rāshtrakūtas, who, after they had voluntarily promised obedience, dared to rebel with a powerful army, and that he speedily placed Amoghavarsha I on his throne (*Ind Ant* Vol XIV p 261, verse 10),—refer to some persistent attacks on the dynasty of Mālkhēd, in their northern provinces, by descendants of the Kakkarāja II, of the first Gujārāt branch, for whom we have the date of A D 757 If so, these passages would shew that the members of that line, also, were classed among the Vallabhas, to which there is no apparent objection Or, perhaps, these passages containing Vallabha refer to some descendants of one or other of the Gujārāt branches of the Western Chalukya family

<sup>5</sup> The latter may be assumed from Vallarāja, which one document gives as a form of the name of the Anhilwād Chalukya king Vallabharāja, son of Chāmundarāja son of Mālarāja I (see Dr Phandarkar's Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts for the year 1883-84, p 10) — An inscription of A D 866-67 at Soratūr, in the Gadag tāluka, gives one of the *virudas* of Amoghavarsha I in the form of Prithiviballava This perhaps gives us *ballava*, as another Prākṛit form of *vallabha* But it is possible that the writer may have formed *va* by mistake for *bha*, or that he may have carelessly used *ballava*, 'a man who knows,' instead of *ballabha*

<sup>6</sup> See Sir H M Elliot's *History of India*, edited by Prof Dowson, Vol. I pp 3 to 40 In later times, the Arabs used the name Balhara to denote the Chalukya kings of Anhilwād (e.g. Al-Iḍrisī, towards the end of the eleventh century A D, *ibid* pp 85, 86, 87), and, as we have seen in the preceding note (see also *Ind Ant* Vol. VI pp 198, 200, 213), Vallabharāja occurs as the name of a king in that dynasty with the date of A D 1009-10

which purports to have been issued in A D 813, uses the appellation Vallabhêndra, in the place of his proper name or of the *biruda* by which he was most customarily mentioned, to designate Gôvinda III<sup>1</sup> And the Pithâpuram inscription of A.D 1202, which recites the early Eastern Chalukya pedigree and history, uses the same appellation Vallabhêndra, in the same way, to denote either Amôghavarsha I or Krishna II<sup>2</sup>

The *biruda* Prithivîvallabha, "favourite of the earth,"<sup>3</sup> was, similarly, taken over by the Râshtrakûtas from the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi The Aihole inscription of A D 634-35 specially speaks of it as the title of the Chalukyas<sup>4</sup> And, in their records,<sup>5</sup> we find it applied to Kîrtivarman I, Mangalêsa, Pulakêśin II, Âdityavarman, Chandrâditya, Vikramâditya I, and Kîrtivarman II It is mentioned in the Nausârî grant of A D 739, as one of four "other names" or titles which were conferred as a mark of favour by the paramount sovereign upon the feudatory Chalukya prince Avanjanâśraya-Pulakêśirâja of Gujarât<sup>6</sup> And it is, doubtless, under similar circumstances that we find it used before the name of the Sêndraka prince Nikumbhallaśakti in the Bagumrâ grant of A D 655<sup>7</sup> In the Râshtrakûta period, we meet with it at the outset, in the earliest record, the Sâmângad grant of A D 754, which applies it to the first paramount king, Dantidurga, and, in the subsequent records, we find it used in the cases of Gôvinda III, Amôghavarsha I, Gôvinda IV, Krishna III, and Kakka II

And so, also, the *biruda* Śrîvallabha, "favourite of Fortune,"<sup>8</sup> was in the same way taken over by the Râshtrakûtas from the Western Chalukyas of Bâdâmi The origin of this *biruda*, however, is carried back to earlier times, as it appears first, as a general epithet of the Pallavas, in the grant of Simhavarman II, which describes him as "a *Mahârâja* of the Pallavas, who are Śrîvallabhas or favourites of Fortune"<sup>9</sup> It was evidently obtained by the Western Chalukyas from the Pallavas It does not occur often in the Western Chalukya records But we do find it in them In the Aihole inscription of A D 634-35, we are told that, though Pulakêśin I was Śrîvallabha or favourite (here, more exactly, husband) of Fortune, he became also the bridegroom of the city of Vâtâpîpurî<sup>10</sup> In a record of the time of Pulakêśin II, it occurs before the name of his maternal uncle, the Sêndraka prince Sênânandarâja,<sup>11</sup>— probably under circumstances similar to those in which the *biruda* Prithivîvallabha occurs in connection with the feudatory Chalukya prince Avanjanâśraya-Pulakêśirâja of Gujarât<sup>12</sup> And the passage in the Nausârî grant

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol IV p 344, text line 82

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol IV p. 227, and p 239, verses 9, 10

<sup>3</sup> For the rendering of this *biruda*, see page 163 above, note 6

<sup>4</sup> Page 8 above, verse 4 And see note 9 below, about the original idea of this *biruda*

<sup>5</sup> See page 189 above, note 4

<sup>6</sup> Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Orientalists, Âryan Section, p 232, text line 34

<sup>7</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XVIII p 268, text line 15

<sup>8</sup> For the rendering of the *biruda*, see page 168 above, note 6

<sup>9</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol V p 155, text lines 16, 17 The original inception of the idea is perhaps found in the grant of his father Vishnugôpavarman, which speaks of the Pallavas as "the abodes of the Fortune (*śrîmilaya*) of other Kings who have been overcome by their valour" (*ibid* p 51, text lines 15, 16) — The *biruda* Prithivîvallabha has not yet been traced to the Pallavas, actually in that form, but the idea of it, among them, is found in the Kûram grant, which speaks of "the family of the Pallavas who are favourites of the whole world (*sakala bhuvanavallabha*)" (*South Ind Inscr* Vol I p 148, text line 11) this record, however, is later in date than the first use of the *biruda* by the Western Chalukyas.

<sup>10</sup> See page 8 above, verse 7

<sup>11</sup> Above, Vol III p 51, text line 10

<sup>12</sup> See above — In the appellation, Satyâśraya Dhruvarâja Indravarmān, of the governor who is mentioned in the Goa grant of the time of Pulakêśin II (*Jour Bo Br R As Soc* Vol X p 365, regarding the identity of this person, see page 72 above), the *biruda* Satyâśraya is probably to be accounted for in the same way And so also, the first component of the appellation Sembriyan-Mâvali-Ānairâyan, which is applied to the Ganga Bâna prince Hastimalla Prithivîpati II in the Udayendiram grant (*South Ind Inscr* Vol II p 390) Two other instances of feudatories having appellations the first components of which were the *birudas* of their paramount sovereigns, are furnished by the names of Āhavamalla Bhûdêyadêva, an officer of Āhavamalla-Taila II (*Ind Ant* Vol XII p. 98), and of the Sinda prince Jagadêkamalla Permâdi I, a feudatory of Jagadêkamalla II (*Jour Bo Br R As Soc* Vol XI p 256)

But we do not find it used in that general manner, at any rate in the Râshtrakûta records. In those records, as far as they have been considered at present, we perhaps find the *biruda* Śrīvallabha suggested in the case of Krishna I, but, if so, it is put forward for him in verse, in a very unusual and inconclusive fashion, and not in a record of his own time. We have it first apparently established<sup>1</sup> in the case of Gôvinda III, by the formal prose passages of his own records, and it is certainly used to denote him in a verse in the Baroda grant of his time. We next find it put forward, in verse, for his son Amôghavarsha I, but this is done in a late record of A D 915, and under circumstances which suggest that it was used simply as a convenient metrical substitute for his formal *biruda* Lakshmivallabha, which, though synonymous in meaning, is not the same appellation in form. We meet with it next in the case of Indra III, in the formal prose passage of one of the records of his time. We find it last used to denote Krishna III, in a verse which stands in his records of A D 940 and 959. And we thus have it established as a distinctive official appellation,—by formal prose passages, which, as has already been said, are far more decisive in any points of this kind than the verses are,—only in the cases of Gôvinda III (apparently) and Indra III.

From this, we might conclude that, in a Râshtrakûta record referable to about the last quarter of the eighth century A D, the *biruda* Śrīvallabha must denote Gôvinda III, for whom we have the date of A D 794 from his Paithan grant. And, if we accept the indication that is given in the formal prose passage in the Râdhanpur grant of A D 807, it certainly was a well established *biruda* of him, and an important and distinctive one because there, and in the corresponding passage in the Paithan grant of A D 794, it takes the place that is occupied by his proper name in the Wanî grant of A D 807.

Nevertheless, Śrīvallabha was not the principal and most distinctive appellation of Gôvinda III. As we have already seen, in later times he was remembered only as Jagattunga. A verse in the Nausârî grant of A D 817 seems clearly to single out Prithivīvallabha as his special *vallabha*-appellation. But even that was not his most distinctive appellation. His most distinctive *biruda* during the earlier part of his reign was, evidently, Prabhûtavarsha. Even the Nilgund inscription of A D 866 of his successor's reign,—written at a time when there was, plainly, a preference for speaking of him as Jagattunga, tells us that he was Prabhûtavarsha, who became Jagattunga, and the only other of his *birudas* that it mentions, is Kirtinârâyana. In the records of his own time, the *biruda* Prabhûtavarsha occupies a prominent position in the Paithan, Wanî, and Râdhanpur grants, and also in even the Torkhêdê grant, standing, in all of them, before either his proper name or the *biruda* Śrīvallabha, and, in the Torkhêdê grant, also before the introduction of the *biruda* Jagattunga. In the grant of A D 804 from the Kanarese country, the *biruda* Prabhûtavarsha is used, and no other, with his proper name. The same is the case in an undated inscription in the Shimoga district, Mysore, which refers itself to the reign of a Prabhûtavarsha-Gôvindarasa, and is, no doubt, to be referred to his time<sup>2</sup>. And an inscription at Shisavinbâl in the Bankapur tâluka, Dhârwar district,<sup>3</sup> which can only be referred to his time, mentions him, as the reigning king, as “the favourite of Fortune and the Earth, the *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the *Paramésvara*, the *Bhatâra*, Prabhûtavarsha,” without presenting any other *biruda*, and without even finding it necessary to give his proper name.

And there are records in Mysore, which shew unmistakably that Dhruva was distinctively known by the *biruda* of Śrīvallabha, at least as well as was his son Gôvinda III. One of them is an inscription at Matakere in the Heggadadêvankôte taluka, Mysore

<sup>1</sup> See page 173 above, and note 2

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol IV. Intro. p. 10, and note 1

<sup>3</sup> Not published, I quote from an ink-impression. The record is so much damaged that it can hardly be edited, but the first two lines are fortunately quite legible.

district,<sup>1</sup> which refers itself to the time when Dhārāvarsha-Śrīvallabha was reigning over the earth, and Kambharasa was [governing] the (Gangavādi) ninety-six-thousand province here, the immediate collocation of the two *birudas* admits of no interpretation except that they belonged to one and the same person, and that he was both Dhārāvarsha and Śrīvallabha, and Dhārāvarsha, as we have already seen, was Dhruva. And another is an inscription at Śravana-Belgola,<sup>2</sup> which, mentioning the Kambharasa of the preceding record as Ranāvalōka-Kambayya and describing him as reigning over the earth, speaks of him as the son of the *Paramesvara* and *Mahārāja* Śrīvallabha. For these two records we are indebted to Mr Rice. In connection with the second of them, we take another record, also brought to notice by him, namely, a copper-plate grant from Manne, which purports to have been issued in A D 802<sup>3</sup> It expressly mentions Ranāvalōka-Kambhadēva as the elder brother of Prithuvīvallabha-Prabhūta-varsha-Gōvindarājadēva, who, it says, meditated on the feet (i.e. was the successor) of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara* Dhārāvarshadēva. The Gōvindarājadēva of this passage is shewn, by the verses in the genealogical introduction of the record, to be Gōvinda III, son of Nirupama-Kalivallabha-Dhōra, i.e. Dhruva. His elder brother Ranavalōka-Kambhadēva was, therefore, also a son of Dhruva. Accordingly, in the Śravana-Belgola inscription, again, the *biruda* Śrīvallabha denotes Dhruva. And thus we have the *biruda* Śrīvallabha thoroughly well established as a leading and distinctive appellation of Dhruva also, and so pointedly that it is most probably he who is intended by that *biruda* in the Lakshmēshwar inscription, C above

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#### The date of Dhruva.

The importance of the point that Śrīvallabha was a leading and distinctive *biruda* of Dhruva lies in the fact that we are thereby enabled to fix an actual date for him.

That date is supplied by a passage in the Jain *Harivamśa* of Jinasēna, which tells us that that work was finished in Śaka-Samvat 705 (expired), = A.D. 783-84, when there were reigning,—in various directions determined with reference to a town named Vardhamānapura, which is to be identified with the modern Wadhvān in the Jhālāvād division of Kāthiāwār,—in the north, Indrāyudha, in the south, Śrīvallabha, in the east, Vatsarāja, king of Avanti

<sup>1</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol IV, Hg 93 — In answer to a reference, Mr Rice has been kind enough to assure me that the *Śrīvallabha* follows *Dhārāvarsha* without any interval, that line 1 contains less matter than the other lines because the letters are larger, and that there is no doubt whatever about the word *Kambharasar*. There can, of course, be no question about the correctness of supplying *bha* as the *akshara* which is more or less damaged and illegible after *śrī Dhārāvarsha Śrīvallabha*. And the damaged and illegible *akshara* after the *bha* must be a final *n* or *r*.

<sup>2</sup> *Inscr at Śrav-Bel* No 24 — I have to make the following remarks on this record, from an ink-impression. Line 2 ends with *Śrīvallabha*. At the beginning of line 3, five *aksharas* are (judging by the impression) hopelessly damaged and illegible. Then we have, distinctly, *jādhi*. And then, after a space representing three full size square *aksharas* such as *ja*, *dha*, *ma*, etc.,—apparently equally damaged and illegible,—we have *m[ē]śvara mahār[d]jard magandir Ranāvalōka śrī Kambayyan, etc*. The lacunæ may be appropriately and exactly filled in by reading *Śrīvallabha-[Dhruva mahārā]jādhi[rāja para]m[ē]śvara mahār[d]jard*, to which the only objection is the use of both titles, *mahārājādhirāja* and *mahārāja* and I do not see any other way in which they can be appropriately and exactly filled in, unless we should read *Śrīvallabha-[Dhārāvarsha rā]jādhi[rāja para]m[ē]śvara mahār[d]jard*, which is open to a similar objection and, further, does not adapt itself to such marks as are discernible. But, of course, it is by pure conjecture that the actual name Dhruva is supplied here, except that there is a mark, in exactly the proper place, which does look like an *r* attached to an *akshara* consisting of a consonant with its vowel.—On the subject of this record, see also *Dyn Kan Distrs* p 397, note 1, the view suggested there is, of course, now withdrawn.

<sup>3</sup> See *Ep Carn* Vol IV Introd p. 5. I have photographs of this record, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr Rice.

(Ujjain), and, in the west, Varāha or Jayavarāha,<sup>1</sup> in the territory of the Sauryas. It is to be remarked that, of the two kings Indrāyudha and Śrīvallabha, one or the other is specified in the passage as the son of a king Krishna. But we determine the application of the passage without taking that point into account either way.

When this passage was first brought to notice, the translation that was put forward was—"when Indrāyudha was ruling over the North,—when Śrīvallabha, the son of king Krishna, was governing the South," etc.<sup>2</sup> And I suggested that Śrīvallabha was "perhaps the Rāshtrakūta king Gōvinda II., the son of Krishna I."<sup>3</sup>

Subsequently, however, it became plain, in the first place, that the *biruda* Śrīvallabha is not identical with the appellation Vallabha, which is the only name of that kind that we have for Gōvinda II, and in the second place, that Gōvinda II did not actually reign.<sup>4</sup> And then, as the word meaning "son of king Krishna" may be construed at least as well with the word that gives us the name of Indrāyudha as it may with the word that gives us the name of Śrīvallabha,<sup>5</sup> I abandoned that view and transferred the words "son of king Krishna" to Indrāyudha, and took the passage as referring to Gōvinda III, son of Dhruva, and as establishing the date of A D 783-84 for him.<sup>6</sup>

There is nothing inherently impossible, in the way of allotting the date of A D 783-84 to Gōvinda III, except that it would perhaps give him too long a reign,—at least thirty years,—

<sup>1</sup> The original passage has *jaya yutē vīrē Varāhē*, and Dr Peterson considered (Fourth Report on Sanskrit MSS., Index of Authors, p 43, and note), that the meaning is, not "the victorious and brave Varāha," but "the brave Jayavarāha,"—just as the name of Vatsarāja is expressed in the preceding line by *Vats-dāi rajā*. It is not possible to settle that point off hand, either way. But, in support of Dr Peterson's view, we may quote two other names in which *varāha* is found as the termination. One is Ādivarāha, a name of Bhōjadēva of Kanauj, which occurs in verse 22 of the Gwalior inscription of A D 875 or 876 (*Ep Ind* Vol I pp 155, 158). The other is Dharanivarāha, which we meet with most notably in the case of a Chāpa prince, with the date of A D 914, whose residence was Vardhamāna, and who was ruling the territory round Haddālā on the south east of the above-mentioned Wadhvān in the Jhālāvād division of Kāthiāwār (*Ind Ant* Vol. XII pp 194, 195), and it is not impossible that, in this prince, we have a descendant of the Varāha or Jayavarāha of A D 783-84, though his pedigree is not carried back beyond a certain Vikramārka who would have to be placed, roughly, about A D 825.—It may be noted here that the name Dharanivarāha seems to have been rather a favourite one. We meet with it again in the case of a prince referable roughly to about A D 925, in the Bulandshahr plate of A D 1176 or 1177 (see Prof Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, above, Vol V Appendix, p 25, No 170), and again in the case of a prince who was contemporaneous with a Rāshtrakūta king or prince named Dhavala who held the country round Hatōndī in Mārwar just before A D 997 (see *ibid* p 9, No 53). We perhaps have the same name Dharanivarāha in the case of a king or prince, of uncertain date but apparently referable to "a period not long anterior to the Muhammadan invasion," who ruled more to the east, in the Jaunpur district, North-West Provinces (*Jour Beng As Soc* Vol VII pp 635, 636), but, here *dharanī* may be a mistake or misreading for *dharanī* as the accusative with *śantōshayan=nya gunair*, and in that case the name is simply Varāha. We certainly, however, have Dharanivarāha as a *biruda* of some princes, of the sixteenth century A D, who claim descent from the Eastern Chalukya king Kulōttunga I (Report of the Government Epigraphist for 1899-1900, p 16). And apparently we have it again as a *biruda* of one or other of the kings of Vijayanagara in a record of A D 1528 (*Ep Carn* Vol III, Sr 2).

<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XV p 142. For the text, see now, preferentially, Peterson's Fourth Report on Sanskrit MSS., Extracts, p 176.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc cit* note 3.

<sup>4</sup> And, on this point, see now, more fully, page 170 ff above.

<sup>5</sup> The text runs—*uttaram pāt=Indrāyudha-namni Krishna nrīpa jē Śrīvallabhē dākshīnām*. We know that Dhruva was a son of Krishna I. And, now that we know what we did not know until recently,—namely, that Śrīvallabha was one of his leading *birudas*,—it is easy enough to say that the words "son of king Krishna" were meant to qualify the Śrīvallabha of the passage, and not the other person. But it is impossible to say, simply from the text itself, whether *Krishna nrīpa jē* was intended to be in apposition with the locative which immediately precedes it, or with the locative which immediately follows it, and it is fairly arguable that, Śrīvallabha being a complete appellation in itself, whereas Indrāyudhanaman is an adjective rather than a noun, the latter wants something, namely, the next following word, to complete its meaning.

<sup>6</sup> *Dyn Kan Distrs* p 394 f, and see note 1 on p 395.

before so very long a reign as that of his son Amôghavarsha I, who was on the throne for not less than sixty-two years. But we can now recognise a distinct reason for which that date should not be allotted to Gôvinda III. We know, from the Wanî and Râdhanpur grants of A D 807, that the first important event after the death of Dhruva was the formation of a confederacy against Gôvinda III by twelve kings and princes, whom he had to overthrow before his succession to the throne was made secure.<sup>1</sup> We may note that we learn from the Nausârî grant of A D 817 that the confederacy was headed by a certain Stambha,<sup>2</sup> in respect of whom Mr Rice has made the suggestion,<sup>3</sup> quite soundly, that he is to be identified with the Ranâvalôka-Kambayya, Kambharasa, or Kambhadêva of the Mysore records, son of Śrîvallabha-Dhruva and elder brother of Gôvinda III. And we trace the motive for it to the fact, stated in the Paithan grant of A D 794, that Gôvinda III had been selected for the succession from among several sons,—to the exclusion, therefore, of at least Stambha-Kambayya,—because he surpassed his brothers in merit.<sup>4</sup> But, what we have to note in particular, is, that this confederacy was the first important event after the death of Dhruva and the accession of Gôvinda III, and that there is no allusion of any kind to it in the Paithan grant of A D 794. We must understand, then, that that record gives a very early date in the reign of Gôvinda III, before the occurrence of the events connected with the confederacy, and that it is, therefore, not permissible to carry him back ten years earlier, to A D 783-84.

The only other Śrîvallabha of that period, distinctively known by that appellation, was Dhruva. And, irrespective of the question whether the Śrîvallabha of the passage quoted above is described in that passage as "the son of Krishna," or whether he is not so described,<sup>5</sup> we need not hesitate, now, about deciding that it is to Dhruva that the passage refers by the *biruda* Śrîvallabha, and that it is for him that it establishes the date of A.D. 783-84.<sup>6</sup>

As regards another of the kings who are mentioned in that passage, it may be noted that Vatsarâja of Ujjain is mentioned again in connection with Dhruva in the Wanî and Râdhanpur grants of A D 807, in a verse which tells us that Vatsarâja, who had easily seized the kingdom of Gauda (in Bengal), was driven away by Dhruva (from his possessions in Mâlwa, round Ujjain) into the path of misfortune in (the deserts of) Maru (Mârûâr).<sup>7</sup> Varâha or Jayavarâha, who was ruling the territory of the Sauryas,—which apparently means Saurâshtra or Kâthiâwâr,—remains to be exactly identified, but may, as has been suggested above,<sup>8</sup> very possibly have been a Châpa king. Indrâyudha, the king of the north, may be safely referred to the family to which belonged Chakrâyudha, to whom Dharmapâla, after defeating Indrarâja

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 161, and Vol VI p 70, verse 13. The event has been wrongly placed by Paudît Bhagwanlal Indrajî in the life time of Dhruva (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol I Part I p 123). The text of the record distinctly says that Dhruva was then dead.

<sup>2</sup> *Jour Bo Br R As Soc* Vol XX p 145, verse 27.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. III p 107, text line 37 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol IV Introd. p 5.

<sup>5</sup> See page 196 above, note 5.

<sup>6</sup> In following my original proposal as to the application of the passage, and in accepting it as meaning Vallabha Gôvinda II, Dr Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Dekkan*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol II Part I p 197) has overlooked the point that the appellation is, not Vallabha, but Śrîvallabha, which is quite a different thing, and, when he wrote, he was of course not aware that Śrîvallabha was a *biruda* of Dhruva. As regards the hysterical outburst, in connection with this matter, to which Mr K B Pathak has given vent on page 5 f of the Introduction to his edition of the *Kavirâjamârگا* (see also *Jour Bo Br R As Soc* Vol XX p 26), it is sufficient to remark that, in his second-hand and crude dissertation on Dantidurga, Krishna I, Gôvinda II, and Dhruva, he has put forward nothing new of any historical value, and, in re asserting the date of A D 783-84 for Gôvinda II according to my original proposal, he has, from sheer ignorance of the subject and incapability of dealing with it, simply reiterated a mistake and missed the very point on which there was an useful correction to be made. His paroxysmal note 3 on page 5 of the Introduction (see also *Jour Bo Br R As Soc* Vol XX p 25, note 18) is, except in the first line of it as far as the words "A D 750," nothing but an attribution to me of statements that I have not made and views that I have not formed.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 161, and Vol VI p 69, verse 8.

<sup>8</sup> Page 196 above, note 1.



and other unnamed enemies, gave back the sovereignty of Mahôdaya (Kanauj),<sup>1</sup> but we have still to determine what may have been the relations between his family and the family of *Mahârâjas* in which we have Prabhâsa-Bhôja I, Bhâka-Mahêndrapâla, and Harsha-Vinâyakapâla, who issued charters from Mahôdaya (Kanauj) in A D 706, 761, and 794<sup>2</sup>

## NO 17 — TWO BHUVANESVAR INSCRIPTIONS

By F KIELHORN, PH D, LL.D, C I E, GOTTINGEN

The two inscriptions<sup>3</sup> of which I give an account here from excellent impressions, prepared for Dr Hultzsch by Mr Krishna Sastri, are on two slabs of dark stone which are now in the western wall of the court-yard of the temple of Ananta-Vâsudeva<sup>4</sup> at Bhuvanêśvar in the Purî district of Orissa. The stones were taken away from Bhuvanêśvar and presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by General Stewart about 1810, but to please the people, they were returned to their original place in 1837<sup>5</sup>. In the latter year, the inscriptions were both edited, with specimen facsimiles of the characters by Mr Prinsep, in the *Jour Beng As Soc* Vol. VI p 89 ff and p 280 ff, the one here marked A with a translation by the Rev Wm Yates, and the other, marked B, with a translation by Captain G T Marshall, Examiner in the College of Fort William, and the inscription A has been edited again, *ibid* Vol LXVI Part I p 11 ff, by Mr Nagendra Natha Vasu, who was not aware of its having been published sixty years before. A records the foundation of a temple of (Śiva) Mēghêśvara by Svapnêśvara, a connection and general of the (Eastern) Ganga king Aniyankabhima (Anangabhima I) of Trikalînga, and B gives a eulogistic account of a scholar named Bhatta-Bhavadêva Bâlavalabhibhujanga, of whom some literary works are still extant.

### A — INSCRIPTION OF SVAPNÊŚVARA, OF THE TIME OF ANIYANKABHÎMA

This inscription contains 26 lines of writing which cover a space of 3' 6" broad by 1' 6½" high. The writing is well done and carefully engraved, and with the exception of a few letters, in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters is about ½". Many of the characters are the same as those of the ordinary Nâgarî alphabet used in Northern India during about the 12th and 13th centuries A D, but there are some by which this inscription would be undoubtedly referred to the eastern parts of Northern India. To shew this, I would draw the reader's attention, *e g*, to the initial *z* in *z*l, l 1, the initial *ê* in *êhō*, l 1, the *kh* in *śikhri*-, l 1, and *kharuvîkarōti*, l 2, the *n* in *ratnānhura*-, l 10, *pingala*-, l 1, and *vansa*-, l 6, the *ñ* in *śitāñ=cha*, l 21, and *vāñchhita*-, l 13, the *t* in *jatâtavi*-, l 1, *patu*-, l 6, and *-dvi*-, l 15, the *tt* in *paṭṭē*, l 26 (twice), the *n* in *rana*-, l 9, *etc*. One point in which the alphabet differs from that of other eastern inscriptions is, that, while in the latter special signs (without the superscript *r*) are generally used<sup>7</sup> to denote the three conjuncts *rgg*, *rnn* and *rikh*, the present inscription has such a sign only for *rikh*, and employs the superscript *r* in the two other conjuncts. See *e g* the *rikh* of =*ârthatô*, =*ârthibhir*= and =*ârthini* in line 10, as compared with the *th* of *prithivîm* in line 8, on the

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Prof Kielhorn for this point. For the necessary references, see his List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, above, Vol V Appendix, p 86, No 638, and see also *Ind Ant* Vol XX p 187, and *Ep Ind* Vol IV p 245.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol V pp 209, 210, and *Ind Ant* Vol XV p 110.

<sup>3</sup> Government Epigraphist's collection of 1899, Nos 227 and 228. Compare my *List of North Inscr* Nos 669 and 670.

<sup>4</sup> See *Jour Beng As Soc*, Vol LXVI Part I p 11.

<sup>5</sup> See *ibid* Vol VI p 279 f.

<sup>6</sup> The form of the initial *z* here used is identical with one of the two forms of *z*, used in the Kanauhi plates of Vaidyadeva, No 644 of my *List of North Inscr*.

<sup>7</sup> See above, Vol V p 182.

other hand, see the *rgg* in *durgg-ālayō mārggah*, l 22, and the *rnn* of *-ākhirnna-*, l 8, and compare with the latter the *nn*<sup>1</sup> of *kshunna-*, l 8. For the rest, it may suffice to state that *anusāra* is often denoted by a circle with the sign of *varāma* below it, placed after the *akshara* to which it belongs, as in *niribharam*, l 6, and *palabhujām*, l 7, and that the sign of *avagraha* is employed no less than 13 times, as in *bhujā snēna*, l 9, and *vridhō snujam* and *rājyē bhishuktam=*, l 11, etc — The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and with the exception of the introductory *Om om namah Śivāya* the text is in verse. The orthography calls for few remarks. The sign for *ṛ* denotes both *ṛ* and *ṛ*, the dental sibilant is used for the palatal in *rasmī-* and *vans-* (for *ṛamś-*), l 3, *śasāsa*, l 8, *yasasā*, l 12, *sātata-*, l 13, *saśvan=*, l 22, and *saśvad=*, l 24, and the palatal for the dental in *śrōtah-*, l 1, and *surasārit-*, l 21, and instead of *anusāra* the guttural nasal has been employed in *ṛansā-*, l 6, and *-sudhāntū*, l 25, and the dental nasal in *vans-ōttansa-*, l 3. Besides, the rules of *sandhi* have now and then been neglected. The language is not always grammatically correct. The ablative cases in construction with adjectives in the positive (instead of the comparative) degree in verse 28 might of course be justified by analogous constructions in the epics, for the wrong position of the word *mallī* in the compound *mallikīrtivallī* (for *kīrtimallivallī*) at the end of line 3 the Prākṛit of the author might possibly be held responsible, and to account for the employment of the Present participle *hasat* (instead of *hasita*) in the compound at the end of verse 22 one or two similar instances may be quoted from Jaina poetry, but *śrī-Svapnēsvara-nāma* (for *-nāmā*) in line 5 is an offensive blunder that should not have been committed even *chhandō-bhanga-bhayāt*. The poetry of our author strikes me as being poor. His poetical conceptions as a rule are of the tritest, and more attention has been apparently paid by him to the sound of the words than to their exact meanings or effective employment. As a translation would be as tiresome to write as it might be tedious to read, I content myself with giving a short abstract of the contents.

After the words 'Om, om' Adoration to Śiva<sup>1</sup>, verse 1 invokes the protection of the moon which is on Śiva's head, and v 2 glorifies the sage Gautama (Akshapāda). In that sage's family (*gōtra*) was born the king's son (*rāja-putra*) Dvārādēva (v 3). From him Mūladēva was born (v 4), and from him, Ahirama (v 5) who, besides other children, had a son named Svapnēsvara, and a daughter named Suramādēvi (v 6). Verses 7-9 then eulogize a king of the lunar race, named Chōdaganga. When he was dead, his son king Rājarāja victoriously ruled the earth (vv 10-12). He married Suramādēvi, the lady already mentioned (v 13), and in his old age installed in the government his younger brother Aniyankabhima, 'a moon of a Ganga prince,' 'a lord of Trikalīnga' (vv 14-17) — Verses 18-21 then praise (Rājarāja's brother-in-law) Svapnēsvara-dēva, in war 'a divine weapon of the kings of the Ganga lineage,' a man 'more powerful than a complete army' (and apparently therefore a general of the Ganga kings), and verses 22-32 record the acts of piety performed by him which occasioned this *prastāva*. He founded a magnificent temple of the god (Śiva) Mēghēsvara, 'the lord of the clouds' (vv 22-24), gave a number of female attendants to the god (v 25), laid out a garden near the temple (vv 26 and 27), built a tank near it (v 28), and in connection with the tank erected a *maṇḍapa* or open hall (v 29). He also provided wells and tanks on roads and in towns, lights in temples, cloisters for the study of the Vēdas, etc (v 30), and to the pious Brāhmins he gave a *brahmapura* which was superintended by the Śaiva teacher Vishnu (v 31), who also consecrated<sup>2</sup> the Mēghēsvara temple (v 32) — By Vishnu's order this *prastāva* was composed by the poet Udayana (v 33), it was written on the stone at the Mēghēsvara temple by Chandradhavaḷa, the son of Disadhavaḷa (v 35), and engraved by the *sūtradhāra* Śivakara (v 36).

<sup>1</sup> A comparison of the signs for *nn* and *rnn* will show that in the latter the superscript *r* is really superfluous. Even without it, the sign used by the writer would have to be read as *rnn*, and is actually employed in other inscriptions to denote that conjunct.

<sup>2</sup> As *pratishṭhita* is occasionally used for *pratishṭhāpita*, so I would take *pratyatishṭhat* in verse 32 to have been employed in the sense of the causal *pratyatishṭhapat*.

Though the inscription is not dated, the connection of Svapnēśvara with the (Eastern) Ganga kings Rājarāja and Aniyankabhima permits us to fix its age with confidence. From No 367 of my *List of North Inscr* we know that the great king Chōdaganga was succeeded by his son Kāmārṇava, who was anointed king in Śaka-Samvat 1064 = A D 1142-43 and reigned for 10 years, that Kāmārṇava again was succeeded by another son of Chōdaganga, named Rāghava, who reigned for 15 years, he again by Chōdaganga's son Rājarāja [II], who reigned for 25 years, and he by his younger brother Aniyankabhima (or Anangabhima I), who reigned for 10 years. Taking these figures to be approximately correct, it follows that Aniyankabhima, the last king mentioned in the present inscription, ascended the throne about A D 1192, and that this inscription therefore must have been composed about the end of the 12th century A D.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Ōm<sup>2</sup> ōm namah Śivāya || <sup>3</sup>Vidyutpingala-bhālalōchana-<sup>4</sup>kḥi-jvālā-galat<sup>4</sup> svāmṛta-siō(sro)taḥ-spaiśana-jīvitāḥ śavasurāḥ-śiēniḥ Śivē nṛtyati ||(1) ōkō Rāhur=anēkatān=gata ita tāsād=iva prēkshya tāś=Chandrah sāndra-jatātavi-surasarid-dugg-āsritah pātu vah || [1\*]
- 2 <sup>5</sup>Kō=yam lla(la)llā(lā)tatata-nētraputasya garvāt kharvīkarōti jagad=ity=abhudhāya Śambhau | yah sābhyaśyam=akarōch=chacha(ra)nē=ksli-lla(la)kshmiṁ jiyāt=sa Gautama-munir=mmuni-vrinda-vandyaḥ || [2\*] <sup>6</sup>Tad-gōtrē rāja-putrah samajam jagatī-mandanah panditānām mānyah puny-aikadhama prativa(ba)la jaladhī-
- 3 kshōbha-manthāchala-śrīḥ | śīmān=satkīrtivallī-valayita-vasudhāmandalaś=chandra-rasmi(śmi)-sphūṛjāt-tējōbhū=ugra-glapita-rūpyasah-kauravō Dvāradēvah || [3\*] Samajam<sup>7</sup> nija-vans ōttansa-lakshmiṁ=alakshmiḥkṛita-mukhula-virōdhu-sphūṛjāt ambhō-dhir=asmāt | dahita-lalita-mallikīrtiva<sup>8</sup>
- 4 lli-vitāna-prasrita-<sup>9</sup>hasita-chandrō Mūladēvah kṛit-indrah || [4\*] <sup>10</sup>Tasmāt=puny-aikarāsēr=abhavad=Ahīramō nāma dhāma stutānām=āśāmah sāma nīter=aparimita-yaśabpūrachandr-ōdayādriḥ | yasy=odyad-dānadharmm-ōtsava-janita mahōtsāha-kālē trilōka-prāsād-āgrē sphuranti sphurad-a-
- 5 malayaśō-vaijayantyō jayantyaḥ || [5\*] <sup>11</sup>Tasmān=naika-sutād=va(ba)bhūvatur=apān=nāthād=iv=endu-Śrīyan śrī-Svapnēśvara-nāma<sup>12</sup> nāma Suramādēvi cha sārth-āhvayā | ōkah kshimātala-mandanāya sakal-ādharas=tath=ānyā jagad-dāndrajvara-nāsanāya jagatī chintāmani-śīr=abhūt || [6\*] <sup>13</sup>Nata nripati-kṛita-kō-
- 6 ti-ratna-dyuti-patū-<sup>14</sup>pītha śayālu-pādapadmah | ajam Rajanijāni-vanśa-<sup>15</sup>chūdāmanir=anim-ādi-gunēna Chōdagangah || [7\*] <sup>16</sup>Yātā-vāji-khura-prahāra-visarad-dhōli-samudrē sphurattējō bhāskaramandalē kshītabhujām=astangatē nirvba(ībbha)ram | yam sangrāma-grihodarēshu vijaya-śrīḥ sārddham=ā-
- 7 śā-sakhī-vrindar=bhīnna-gajēndra-mauktikavatī bhuyō=bhūkarttun=gatā || [8\*] Ré vā(bā)lāḥ kula vriddha kin=nu bhavatān=durbhiksham=āyāsyati sphītan=kim sa tu sa[t\*]tra-dah palabhujām svarggāya sannahyatē | yasy=ēti

<sup>1</sup> From impressions prepared by Mī Krishna Sastri

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>3</sup> Read *galat svamṛta*

<sup>4</sup> Metro Sragdharā

<sup>5</sup> For the sake of the metre *mallikīrtti* has been put for *kīrtti-mallī*

<sup>6</sup> The *akṣha* a *ta* was originally omitted and is engraved above the line

<sup>7</sup> Metro Sragdharā

<sup>8</sup> For the sake of the metre put for *-nāma*

<sup>9</sup> This word (which has been misread as *pada* and *pata*) is quite clear in the impressions, it is used in the sense of *sphuta*

<sup>10</sup> Read *-vamā*

<sup>11</sup> Metro Śārdūlavikṛita

<sup>12</sup> Metro Vasantatilakā

<sup>13</sup> Metro Mālinī — Read *nija vanś ōttamsa*

<sup>14</sup> Metro Śārdūlavikṛita

<sup>15</sup> Metro Pushpitāgrā

<sup>16</sup> Metro of verses 8 and 9 Śārdūlavikṛita.

- śrutim=ākalayya samarē nirvbbh(rbbh)inna-vira-dvishām=<sup>1</sup>vallūraiḥ paṇipūrayanti  
partaḥ prētāḥ ku-
- 8 śūl-ōtkarān || [9\*] Tasmin<sup>2</sup> Purandarapurī-talakāyamānē dānē samunnata-matis=  
tanayas-tadiyah | sāmrajya-bhāra-vahan-aikadhurina-vā(bā)huḥ śrī-Rājarāja-  
nripatīḥ prithivīm śasā(śā)sa || [10\*] <sup>3</sup>Yasy=ōdyad-vāju-rāji-khura-śikhara-  
bhara-kshunna-bhūchakra-sarppad-dhūli-jāl-āvakinna-tridaśapurasaṇ-
- 9 d-bhūri-pankē vilagnam | nīrakrīdā-nūmajat-surapatikarīnam vyākulāḥ Śakra-  
bhṛtyā dhṛitvā lāṅgūlam=ēkē karatalam=aparē tīram=uttōlayanti || [11\*] <sup>4</sup>Rana-  
bhuvī yadī mītyan=n-āhataḥ śatru-sārthah<sup>5</sup> tulita-Hambhujēna kshamābhujā  
śnēna nūnam | katham=iha kal-kālē kalpit=ānalpa-pāpa-pranayī-
- 10 m sura-sṛṣṭiḥ sṛṣṭur=asyān=divī syāt || [12\*] <sup>6</sup>[Tē]n=ōdhā puruṣhōttamēna  
Suramādevī Ram=aiv=ārthatō nāmā śntahpurasundarījana-śrōratnānkura-śrīr=  
īyam | pratyāruhya tulāḥ priyēna sāha sā yat=<sup>7</sup>svarnna-śailān=dadav=ētai[h]<sup>8</sup>  
sphītatarā dhar=ārthibhur=ahō jāt=ārthini kēyalam || [13\*] <sup>9</sup>Sarvvan=na-
- 11 rēndra-talakāḥ kalikāla-kalpāśākh[<sup>10</sup> sukh-au]gham=annbhūya churam sa rājā |  
vṛddhō śnuyam manujarāja-nat-āmgṛiyugmam rājyē śbhūhuktam=akarōd=Anīyanka-  
bhīmam || [14\*] Sa<sup>11</sup> śrīmān=Anīyankabhīma-nripatīḥ sāmrajyalakṣmī-patīḥ  
pratyarthi-kṣhīpāla-mauli-talakā<sup>12</sup> tyakt-ārīkānt-āla-
- 12 kaḥ | samprāpy=aiva samudra-mudrīta-mahāchakra=karāgra-sphurach=chakram Śakra-  
parākramas=samakarōd=Gangēndra-chandrah kṣhanāt || [15\*] Hē bhōgīndra kim=  
āttha kūrma dharanī-bhārah sa tuchchhō mahān<sup>13</sup> jānāsi Trikalinganātha-  
yasa(śa)sā khyātan=na jānē śrīnu | dēvē śmin=viṣaya-prayāna-rasikē prēm-
- 13 [kha]t-turanga-kshura-kshōbh-ōddh[ū]ta-rajōbhū=amva(mba)ram=agād=arddham kṣhamā-  
mandalam || [16\*] Jātā sangara-nīradhēḥ sphurad-asivyālēndra-bhāsvad-  
bhujamanthādēr=asat=īva vāñchhita-[va(ba)]hu-prītiḥ sadā śrīr=īyam | asminn=  
ēva narā[dhū]nātha-talakē sthairyān=gatā yat=punar=vvījan=tatra kal=āśya  
sā(śā)śvata-
- 14 [m=a]sau jāgrad=yasas-chandramāḥ || [17\*] Udyad-digvijay-ārtha-sādhana-vidhau  
Gangānvaya-kṣhamābhujān=divy-āstram chaturangatō=dhīkatarah sañyāt=sa ōkō=  
bhavat | śrī-Svapnēśvaradēva ēva vilasat<sup>14</sup> śāstra-kṣhat-ārī-kṣharat-kilālaṅgha-  
vīrummit-āṣṭamamahāmābhōdhur=nnay-āmbhōmūdhīḥ || [18\*] Lakṣmīdēvyāḥ<sup>15</sup>  
patr=a-
- 15 jam=adhō=nēna<sup>16</sup> chakrē valī-dvī<sup>17</sup> gōpālasya pr[ya]-suhṛid=ayam sarvva-kāryē=  
chyuto śsau | Viśvaśēnō dharanīr=īyam=apy=uddhṛitā yēna magnā [śō] śmin(ñ)=  
janmany=api sura(cha)ritaur=ēsha<sup>18</sup> Viśvambharō śbhūt || [19\*] <sup>19</sup>Yad-dāna-  
vīgalad-vari-mātrikā bhūtamātrikā | sasya-sampatī-sambhārar=ddina-hīn=ābhavan=mahī
- 16 || [20\*] <sup>20</sup>Kailāśādri-Himāchala-stanatata-vyāsangi-Mandākinī-hāra-śrīr=yadī kīrttir=asya  
talakam chandran=kalan-k-āśyāt | jyōtsnā-hāsa-mukhī payōdhivasanā-kunda-dyuti[r\*]=  
nn=ātyajat kv=āyam syād=iha Chandraśekhara-pad-ārūdhō Mṛidānī-patīḥ || [21\*]  
Bhaktiprahva-surāsurēndra-vilasan-maulīstha-ratnāva-

<sup>1</sup> Read -dvishām<sup>2</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā.<sup>3</sup> Metre Sragdhārā<sup>4</sup> Metre Mālinī.<sup>5</sup> Read -sārthas=<sup>6</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikṛīdita.<sup>7</sup> Read yān=<sup>8</sup> This sign of visarga was originally omitted.<sup>9</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā<sup>10</sup> Read -kalpāśākhī, the sign of visarga in this word seems to have been struck out already in the original<sup>11</sup> Metre of verses 15-18 Śārdūlavikṛīdita<sup>12</sup> Read -talakas=<sup>13</sup> Read mahān=<sup>14</sup> Read vilasach chāstra<sup>15</sup> Metre Mandākrāntā.<sup>16</sup> The akṣara na was originally omitted and is engraved above the line.<sup>17</sup> Read ba(or Ba)li dvīd=<sup>18</sup> Read =ēva (?)<sup>19</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh)<sup>20</sup> Metre of verses 21-23 Śārdūlavikṛīdita.

- 17 li-chchhīyā-śakradhanuḥ-sphurat-pada-lasan-Mēghēśvarasy-āmunaḥ | unnatyā sparaparvvatō va(ba)hutara-dravya-vyayam kurvvatā prāsādō rachitas=sudhā-chchhavihasat-Kailāsa-śailēśvarah<sup>1</sup> || [22\*] Svarnnādrīḥ sa sur-ālayō hari-khura-kshunnaś=cha pūrvvō gurir=vvārunyā parichumvi(mbi)tō śsta-śikharī mānyah sa Gauri-
- 18 [gu]ruh | ity=ady=āpi parāmriṣha(śa)n=nava-nava-sthānam chalan-mandiro Lankēndrēna śil-ōchchayam griham=adah prāptō śnavadyam Śivah || [23\*] Iha<sup>2</sup> vijayinā prākāra-śrīr=mmahōpala-nirmmitā jaladhara-gatir=atyunnatyā niroddhum=iv=ōddhatā | kali-jalanidhēr=mmaryādāli-bhayād=iva tasya vai śarana-
- 19 m=avisad=dharmmō yatra Trinētra-surakshayā || [24\*] <sup>3</sup>Yāsān=nētrāñchala-taralūmā viśvavaśy-aikamantrah pāda-nyāsas=tribhuvana-gati-stambhanam samvidhattē<sup>4</sup> | nrity-ārambhō valaya-manibhūr=nnirmitāśyatna-dīpās=tasmai dattās=Tripura-jayinī tēna tās=tā mrigākshyah || [25\*] <sup>5</sup>Upavanam=atha chakrē tēna Mēghēśva-
- 20 rasya sphurita-kusuma-rēnu-érēni-chandrātapa-śrī | avirata-makaranda-syanda-sandōha-varshair=ddhrita-Ratipati-līlā-yantradhārāgrīhatvam || [26\*] <sup>6</sup>Vanaśrī-muktō-śrak<sup>7</sup> dara-dalita-pushp-ōtkara-mulat-parāgnir=bhṛīng-ālī kalita-sitūmā yatra japanī<sup>8</sup> | munēh Pushpāstrasya sphatika-ghatit-ākshāva-
- 21 hr=iyam=<sup>9</sup>vasant-ōdyan-matta-dvīpa-śirasī nakshatra-vitatih || [27\*] Atyachchham<sup>10</sup> sarad-amva(mba)rāt=suraśa(sa)nt-tōyāch=cha pāp-āpaham gambhīran=naya-sālino=pi hridayāt<sup>11</sup> | śītan=cha chandra-dyutēh | hridya-svādu sudhā-rasād=āpi sarō vārān=nidhēh sōdaran=tēn=ākhāni narēśvara-pranayinā Mēghēśvarasy=ā-
- 22 layē || [28\*] Ānand-aikanikētanam nayanayōh sa(śa)śvan=manahkairava-jyōtsn-aughah khalu Viśvakarmma-nipuna-vyapāra-vaidagdhya-bhūh | grīshma-grāsa-bhay-ātibhīta-janatā-śantirya-durgg-ālayō mārggah kīrtti-vijrimbhanasya jayinā prōttambhitō mandapah || [29\*] Apām<sup>12</sup> sālā-mālāh pathi pathi tadāgāh prati-
- 23 puram pradīpāh sampūrnāh prati-suragriham yasya vimalāh | mathā vēd-ādinām dvijapura-vihārāh prati-disam virājantē sa[t\*]trāny=āpi cha paritas=sētunivahāh || [30\*] <sup>13</sup>Ārād=vra(bra)hmapuram Vri(bri)haspati-pura-sparddhi Smararēh sad=āchāryam Viśhnum=abhisphura[d\*]=dvijavara-grāmāya dharmmātmanē | dattam tēna mudā sad-ōdi-
- 24 ta-makha-prāraydha(bdha)-dhūmadhvaja-sphūrgjad-dhūma-chayōna yatra sa kali-vyālah samutsāryatē || [31\*] Tam<sup>14</sup> pratyatishtha[d\*]=dvijaraja-pūjyah prāsādam=īśasya sa-nandaka-śrīh | sudarśanēn=ānvita ēsha Viśhnur=āchārya-rājah sa prithak<sup>15</sup> na Viśhṇōh || [32\*] <sup>16</sup>Udayana-kavis=tasy=ādēśāt=praśasti-vilāsinīm sulalita-padanyāsarīh sa(śa)śvad=vi-
- 25 [dagdha]-manōharām | dhvanibhūr=anīsam kanthē śhshtām=alamkṛti-hārīnīm=atrasatayā śayy-āyātām prasādhitavān=nmām || [33\*] <sup>17</sup>Yāva[j\*]=jyōtsnā-sudhānsū<sup>18</sup> dharani-phanipatī yāvad=ambhōja-Lakshmyau yāvad=yāvach=cha Gaṅgā-Humadharanidharau yāvad=ēv=ārnav-ōrmmī | vāg-arthan yāvad=asmūś=churam=anuvastatō śdvata-rūpē-
- 26 na lōkē tāvat=prāsāda-kīrtti tribhuvana-kuharē rājatām=asya nityam || [34\*] Śrī || <sup>19</sup>Dīśidhavalā-dhīra-tanayah sa Chandradhavalah praśastim=iha pattē | saral-ākshara-mālābhūr=Ililākha Mēghēśvara dvārē || [35\*] Sūtradhārāh<sup>20</sup> Śivakaras=

<sup>1</sup> This compound (formed with *hasat* instead of *hasita*) is incorrect; compare *-hasita chandō*, l. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Metre Harini

<sup>3</sup> Metre Mandākrantā

<sup>4</sup> Read *samvidhattē*

<sup>5</sup> Metre Malini

<sup>6</sup> Metre Śikharini

<sup>7</sup> Read *śrag*

<sup>8</sup> This word might be (and has been) read *jayani*

<sup>9</sup> Read *=iyam*

<sup>10</sup> Metre of verses 28 and 29, Śārdūlavikṛitā

<sup>11</sup> Read *\*yāch=chhā\**

<sup>12</sup> Metre Śikharini

<sup>13</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikṛitā

<sup>14</sup> Metre Upajāti

<sup>15</sup> Read *prithag=*

<sup>16</sup> Metre Harini

<sup>17</sup> Metre Śragdharā

<sup>18</sup> Read *sudhānsū*

<sup>19</sup> Metre Āryā

<sup>20</sup> Metre, Ślōka (Anushtubh)



- 
- 17 li-chchġ  
parv  
hasat  
cha
- 18 [gu]rul  
Lank  
vijay  
iv=ód
- 19 m=avisġ  
visva  
nrity  
tēna
- 20 rasya  
varah  
dara-  
muné
- 21 hr=iyar  
sarad  
hrīda  
vārār
- 22 layē ||  
augh  
âtibh  
prôtt
- 23 puram  
âdinâ  
nivah  
sad=â  
datta
- 24 ta-makġ  
samu  
sa-na  
Vishġ  
sa(ēa
- 25 [dagdhġ  
atiras  
dhara  
Hims  
anuvġ
- 26 na lôk  
19D1s1  
âksha
- 

<sup>1</sup> This cor

<sup>2</sup> Metre

<sup>3</sup> Metre

<sup>4</sup> This w

<sup>10</sup> Metre o

<sup>12</sup> Metre

<sup>15</sup> Read p

<sup>18</sup> Read -

sadvṛttām=akṣharāvalīm |  
iha || ◎ || [36 ||\*]

nuchakhāna

śilā-pattē

muktāphala-nibhām=

### B—EULOGY OF BHATTA-BHAVADĒVA BĀLAVALABHĪBHUJANGA.

This inscription contains 25 lines of writing which cover a space of about 3' broad by 1' 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ " high. The writing, here too, is carefully executed and, with the exception of about a dozen effaced *akṣaras* at the end of line 24, well preserved. The size of the letters is about  $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The characters are similar to those of the inscription A. Contrary to what is the case in that inscription, *rnn* as well as *rñh*—*rgg* happens not to occur—are here denoted by signs without the superscript *r* (except perhaps in *samartham*, l 7). Moreover, *anusvāra* is written only by the superscript circle, and the sign of *avagraha* is nowhere employed. The language is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the introductory *Om om namō bhagavatē Vāsudēvāya*, the effaced passage at the end of line 24, and the short line 25, the text is in verse. As regards orthography, the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*, the dental nasal is employed instead of *anusvāra* in the word *mīmāṃsā*, ll. 16 and 17, and in *tamāṃsi*, l 16, and *līlāvatans*, l 19, and the word *śrīvatsa* is written *śrīvachchha*, l 20. In a few places the rules of *sandhi* have been neglected by the writer, and in line 6 the author himself has written *sri-Ādīdēva* instead of *śry-Ādīdēva*, which would not have fitted into the verse. Otherwise the text is correct, and, for a *prasasti*, the style generally is simple and unpretending.

The poem in line 25 is described as a eulogy of the *Bhaṭṭa*, the illustrious *Bhavadēva*, surnamed *Bālaivalabhibhujanga*. It was composed by his friend, the Brāhman *Vāchaspati* (v 33). After the words 'Om, om' Adoration to the holy *Vāsudēva*!', the author in verse 1 invokes the blessing of the god *Harī* (*Vishnu*), and in verse 2 appeals to the goddess of speech to favour his task of proclaiming the praises of *Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadēva*'s family. Verses 3-14 give a sketch of *Bhavadēva*'s descent, vv 15-26 eulogize him, chiefly for his scholarly achievements, and vv 27-32 record the pious works which furnished the occasion for writing this *prasasti*. The details are as follows —

Of the villages granted to, and the homes of, Brāhmins learned in the *Vēdas* who are born in the family of the sage *Sāvarṇa*, a hundred may adorn the lands of *Āryāvarta*; but foremost among all is *Siddhala*, which is the ornament of the country of *Rādhā*! (v 3). At that village prospered a family to which belonged a certain *Bhavadēva* (v 5), whose elder and younger brothers were *Mahādēva* and *Attahāsa* (v 6). He, to whom the king of *Gauda* granted (the village of) *Hastinibhitta*, had eight sons, the chief (or eldest) of whom was *Bathāṅga* (v 7). From *Rathāṅga* sprang *Atyanga*, and his son was *Budha*, surnamed *Sphurita* (v 8). From him *Ādīdēva* was born (v 9), who became minister of peace and war (*sandhivigrahaṇ*) of the king of *Vanga* (v 10). His son was *Gōvardhana* (v 11), distinguished as a warrior and a scholar (v 12). He married<sup>2</sup> *Sāṅgokā*, the daughter of a *Vandyaghatiya*<sup>3</sup> Brāhman (v 13), and begat on her the person in whose honour this *prasasti* was composed, *Bhavadēva* (v 14), whom the poet glorifies as a divine being, while he indicates his worldly position by telling us that, aided by his counsel, (the king) *Harivarmadēva* long exercised the government, and that his policy rendered prosperous the reign of that king's son also (v 16). More interesting is the

<sup>1</sup> Generally speaking, that part of Bengal which is west of the Hūgli and south of the Ganges. Like *Vanga*, it belonged to the *Gauda* country. In a *Khajurāhō* inscription it is stated that the wives of the kings of *Kāūchi*, *Andhra*, *Rādhā* and *Anga* were imprisoned by the *Chandēlla*. *Dhangadēva*, see *Ep Ind* Vol I p 138.

<sup>2</sup> From verse 11 it appears that *Gōvardhana*'s mother was *Dēvakī*, and that he himself had another wife named *Sarasvatī*.

<sup>3</sup> A member of that high family or class of *Rādhīya* Brāhmins which *Colebrooke* (*Misc Essays*, Vol II p 189, note) calls '*Bandyagati*, vulgarly *Banoj*'. *Vandyaghatiya* occurs as the surname of *Sarvasanda*, the author of a commentary on the *Amarakōśa*, see *Prof. Aufrecht's Cat Cat* Vol I p 703, and *Dr Burnell's Tanjore Cat* p 46.



account of Bhavadēva's attainments as a scholar (vv 20-25), which as far as possible may be given in the author's own words :—

(V 20) A pattern of those who know the Brahma's non-duality, a creator of wonder to those (even) who are learned themselves, a sage who comprehends the deep meaning of Bhaṭṭa's<sup>1</sup> lays, a very Agastya to the Baudhdha sea, clever in refuting the devices of cavilling heretics, he playfully acts the part of the Omniscient on earth

(V 21) Seeing across the ocean of the *Samhitās*, *Tantras*<sup>2</sup> and computation, causing wonder to all by his knowledge of astrology,<sup>3</sup> himself the author and promulgator of a new work on horoscopy (*hōrā-śāstra*), he clearly has proved another Varāha<sup>4</sup>

(V 22) In the several branches of law he has eclipsed the old expositions by composing suitable treatises of his own, by a good comment elucidating the verses on law of the sages, he has swept away all doubt regarding the rites taught by the *Smritis*.

(V 23) In the *Mīmāṃsā*, by following the lead of Bhaṭṭa, he has composed that well-known guide whose thousand maxims, like the rays of the sun, do not endure darkness What need is there to say more? Proficient in the whole range of sacred hymns, in all the arts of the poets, in every traditional lore, in the works on worldly affairs, in the sciences of medicine and of arms, *etc*, he indeed is without a second

(V 24) By whom, indeed, is his (other) name Bālavālabhibhujanga not honoured—a name, heard and celebrated and chanted with rapture even by the *Mīmāṃsā*?

(V 25) Restoring to life all the world by his magical spells which are like the morning tunes of music to the night of stupefaction caused by the bites of fanged furious serpents, he, a new vanquisher of death, in sporting with poisons has proved (a very) Nīlakaṭha<sup>5</sup>

This Bhavadēva, then, had a reservoir of water constructed in the country of Rādha (v 26) Moreover, at the place where the inscription is, he set up a stone image of the god Nārāyaṇa (Vishnu) (v. 27), and founded a temple of the god (v 28), in which he placed images of his in the forms of Nārāyaṇa, Ananta and Nṛsiṃha (v 29) He also gave to Harimēdhas (Vishnu) a number of female attendants (v 30), and had a tank dug in front of his temple (v 31), and a garden laid out in its neighbourhood (v. 32)

The interest of this inscription lies in the fact that it treats, not of kings and princes, but of a scholar of whom, so far as we know, at least two literary works are still extant From the more definite statements in the verses which have been translated above, it appears that, in astronomy and astrology, Bhaṭṭa Bhavadēva was the author of a *Hōrā-śāstra*, that he wrote one or more treatises and a commentary relating to law or to religious rites, and that, as a student of the *Mīmāṃsā* philosophy, he composed a work connected with the writings of Bhaṭṭa Kumārila His *Hōrā-śāstra* has not been traced yet in the published catalogues But as regards his other works, Prof. Eggeling in his *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* under No 1725 describes a Ms of the '*Prāyaścitta-nirūpana*'<sup>6</sup> (or *prakarana*), 'a treatise on expiatory rites, 'composed by Bhaṭṭa Bhavadēva, surnamed Bālavālabhibhujanga', and under

<sup>1</sup> I.e. Kumārila, the author of the *Mīmāṃsā tantravārttika*, *etc*.

<sup>2</sup> *Samhitā* in its wider sense denotes a complete course of the *jyōtiḥśāstra*, of which *tantra* is the special branch treating of the motions of the heavenly bodies; in a narrower sense the word denotes that branch of astrology which is also called *śākhā* See Dr Thibaut's *Astronomie*, p. 64

<sup>3</sup> *Phala-samhitā* apparently is equivalent to *phala-grantha*, 'a work describing the effects (of celestial phenomena on the destinies of men).'

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the well known writer on astronomy, *etc*, Varāhamihira.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. the god Śiva, on whom the poison which he swallowed at the churning of the ocean, beyond leaving a blue mark on his throat, had no effect whatever

<sup>6</sup> The second of the introductory verses of this work is *Manu ddi-smṛitiṃ-dīkṣya su-viśiṣṭe yathā Pramam | kṛyati Bhavadēva prāyaścitta-nirūpanam |*

No. 2166 a Ms. of the 'Taitātīmatatīlaka, a gloss on Kumārila's *Tantravārttika*,' by the same author — What is the exact meaning of the surname Bālavālabhibhujanga, and why Bhavadēva was so called, is not apparent

Our inscription is not dated It has indeed been stated<sup>1</sup> that line 24, part of which is effaced, ends with *samvat 32*, but this by itself would be of no value, and besides it seems more probable to me that the line really ended with *samkhyā 33*, a statement which I should take to refer to the number of verses of this *prasaṣti*. On palaeographical grounds I do not hesitate to assign this record, like the preceding one, to about A D 1200

The villages Siddhala and Hastinibhatta which are mentioned in the inscription, and the king or chief Harivarmadēva, who was a contemporary of Bhatta Bhavadēva, I am unable to identify

### TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Om<sup>3</sup> om namō bhagavatō Vāsudēv[ā]ya<sup>4</sup> || <sup>5</sup>Gādhōpagūdha-Kamalā-kuchakumbha-pattra-mudr-āṅkitēna<sup>6</sup> vapushā pariripsamāna[h] | mā lupyatām=abhinavā vanamalik=ēti Vāgdēvat-ōpahasitō=stu Hariḥ śrīyē vah || [1\*] Vā(bā)lyāt=prabhṛity=ahar=ahar=yyad=upāsīt=āsi Vāgdē-
- 2 vatē tad=adhunā phalatu prasida | vaktāsmi Bhatta-Bhavadēva-kula-prasaṣta-sūktāksharāpi rasan-āgram=adhīśrayēthāh || [2\*] Sāvarnnasya<sup>7</sup> munēr=mmahiyasi kulō yē jajūrē śrōtriyās=tōshām śāsana-bhūmayō jamgriha-<sup>8</sup>grāmāh śatam santu tē | Āryāvartta-bhuvām=vi.<sup>9</sup>
- 3 bhūshanam=iha khyātas=tu sarvv-āgrīmō grāmāh Siddhala ēva kēvalam=alankārō=stu Rādhdā-śrīyah || [3\*] <sup>10</sup>Sat-pallavah sthitimayō drdhava(ba)ddha-mūlah śākhāgra-lagna-mukhara-dviya-śīlita-srīh | na granthilō na kutilah saralah suparvvā sarvv-ōnnatah sukham=iha prasasāra vamśah || [4\*]
- 4 <sup>11</sup>Tadvamś-ōttamsa-manēh<sup>12</sup> kalāśyadāt=āpi<sup>13</sup> tāpana-pṛatimāh | Bhava iva vidyā-tattva-prabhavah prava(ba)bhūva Bhavadēvah || [5\*] <sup>14</sup>Agraj-ānujayōr=mmadhyē Mahādēv-Āttahāsayōh | sa jajūē Yajūapurushō Virūchi-Harajōr=iva || [6\*] Sa<sup>15</sup> śāsanam Gauda-nripād=avā-
- 5 pa śrī-Hastinibhittam=abhishta-bhūmi<sup>16</sup> | ashtau sūtān=ashta-Mahēśa-mūrtti-prakhyaṇ vijajūē=tha Rathānga-mukhyān || [7\*] <sup>17</sup>Rathāngād=Atyangah samajani janānanda-jananah śās=iva kshirōddād=avikala-kalā-kēli-nīlayah | sphurat-prajūāpyōtah Sphurita ita nāmna di-
- 6 śi diēi prakāśō=bhūt=saumya-graha iva Vu(bu)dhas=tasya tanayah || [8\*] <sup>18</sup>Tasmād=abhūd=abhujan-ābhayuday-aikavijam=avyāja-paurusha-mahātarn-mūlakandah |

<sup>1</sup> See *Jour Beng As Soc* Vol VI p 93, note, where Mr Prinsep says "the missing sentence consists of nothing more than the month (illegible) and the year "Samvat 32" distinctly visible"

<sup>2</sup> From impressions prepared by Mr Krishna Sastri

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>4</sup> Originally <sup>5</sup>dēvaya was engraved.

<sup>6</sup> Metre of verses 1 and 2 Vasantatilakā

<sup>7</sup> Originally <sup>8</sup>āṅkitō and in the place of *na vapushā* something else (*nava vadhm?*) seems to have been engraved

<sup>9</sup> Metre Sārdhāvikrīdita

<sup>10</sup> Originally *jamgriham* was engraved, but the sign of *anura* has been apparently struck out.

<sup>11</sup> Read *dhvdm vi.*

<sup>12</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā.

<sup>13</sup> Metre Āryā.

<sup>14</sup> Read *manih*

<sup>15</sup> The *aksharas dātāpi* are quite clear in the impressions, the three preceding *aksharas*, in which some correction has been made, look like *kalāśya* or *kēlāśya* I can only suggest the reading *kal dātātō=pi*.

<sup>16</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)

<sup>17</sup> Metre: Upajāti

<sup>18</sup> The *editio princeps* reads here *śrī Hastinīśhtamahāśhtabhūmi*, but the reading given by me is perfectly clear in the impressions With the ending *bhitta* of the name *Hastinīśhitta* I would compare *hitti* in the name *Champāhitti*, which occurs in line 44 of the Manahali plate of the Pāla Madanapāla, *Jour. Beng As Soc* Vol LXIX Part I. p 72

<sup>19</sup> Metre Sikkhāpi.

<sup>20</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā.

- śrī-Ādīdēva<sup>1</sup> iti dēva iv=Ādīmōrttir=mma[r]ty-ātmanā bhuvanam=ītat=alamkarishnub || [9\*] Yō<sup>2</sup> Vangarāja-
- 7 rājyaśrī-vīśrāma-sachivah śuchih | mahāmantri mahapātram=avandhyah śandhi-vigrahī || [10\*] Sa<sup>3</sup> Dēvakī-garvbha(rbbha)bhavam bhuvah śhītau samartham=uchchaibpada-lādhā(bdha)-paurusham | Sarasvatī-jānum=ajjanat=sutam jagatsu Gōvarddhanam=Achyut-ōpamam || [11\*] <sup>4</sup>Vīra-sihalishu cha sabhāsu cha ti-
- 8 rthikānām<sup>5</sup> dō[r]-lilayā cha kalayā cha vachavitīyāh | yō varddhayān vasumatīn=cha Sarasvatīn=cha dvīdhā vyadhata nija-nāmapadam sad-artham || [12\*] Vandyām<sup>6</sup> Vandyaghatiyasya vra(bra)hmanah prayatim sutām | Sāngōkām=anganā-ratnam=patnim sa parinitavān || [13\*] Tasyām<sup>7</sup> svapra-[vi]dhā-
- 9 na-vō(bo)dhita-nij-ōtpādah sa dēvō Harir-jatah śrī-Bhavadēva-mūrttir=amutah kshāmāmandali-Kasyapāt | yat-pāni-pranayī dvayēñ=jalajayōr=alakshutam lakshmanā yasy=āntar-nūhītō=stī haustubha iti jūātam prakāś-ōdayāt || [14\*] Lakshmin=dakshina-dōshini mantra-vibhavē viśva-
- 10 mbharā-mandalam jhuv-āgrē cha Sarasvatīm ripu-tanau nāg-āntakam pattnam | chakram=pāda-talē nivēśitavatī divyan=tad=ādhyam=<sup>8</sup>vapur=nihotun=nija-chūhnam=ītat=amunā nūnam=<sup>9</sup>viparyāsitam || [15\*] <sup>10</sup>Yan-mantra-śakti-sachivah suchuram chakāra rājyam sa dharmma-vijayī
- 11 Harivarmmadēvah | tan-nandanē valati yasya cha dandanuti-vartm-ānuga-va(ba)hala-kalpalat=ēva lakshmih || [16\*] <sup>11</sup>Sat-pātrasya mahāśayasya kamal-ādharasya yasya kshamām=vi(bi)bhrānasya gun-āmvu(mbu)dhēr=akalitasy=antā=nna dīn-atmanah | maryyada-mahima-prasā-
- 12 da-śuchitā-gambhīrya-dhairyā-sthiti-prāyāh prāyasa ēva vāk-patham=atīkrāntāh svadantē gunāh || [17\*] <sup>12</sup>Mahāgaurī kūtīb sphuradasi-karilā bhujā-latā rana-kridā chandī ripu-rudhura-charchchā rana-bhuvah || [1\*] mahā-lakshmir=mmurtih prakriti-lali-
- 13 tās=ta gura iti prapañchah śaktinām yam=iba Paramēśam prathayati || [18\*] <sup>13</sup>Yad-vrā(brā)hma-tējasi va(ba)liyasī manda-vīryyah khadyota-pōta-karanīm tarāms=tanōti | uchchair-udañchatī yadiya-yaśah-śarirē jatas=Tushāra-sikharī nann jānudaghnah || [19\*] <sup>14</sup>Vra(bra)hmā-
- 14 dvaita-vidām=udāharana-bhūr=udbhūtavidy-ādbhuta-srashtā Bhatta-gurām gabbhīrma-guna-pratyakshadriśvā kavīh | Vau(bau)ddhāmbhōndhu-Kumbhasambhava-munih pāshanda-vaitandika-prajñā-lhandana-panditō=yam=avanau sarvvajñahīyāt || [20\*] <sup>15</sup>Siddhanta-tantra-gani-
- 15 t-ārnava-pāradriśvā viśv-ādbhuta-prasavitā phala-sambhūtasu | karttā svayam prathayitā cha navina-hōrāsāstrasya yah sphuṭam=abhūd=aparō Varānah || [21\*] Yō dharmmasāstra-padavishu jaran-niva(ba)ndhān=andhichakāra rachit-ōchita-satprava(ba)ndhah | su-vyākhyayā viśada-
- 16 yan=muni-dharmmagathah smārttakrīyā-vishaya-samśayam=unmamārjja || [22\*] <sup>16</sup>Mīmānsāyām=upāyah sa khalu virachitō yēna Bhatt-okta-nityā yatra nyayah

<sup>1</sup> For the sake of the metre put for śrī-Ādīdēva

<sup>2</sup> Metre Vamśastha.

<sup>3</sup> This word is quite clear in the impressions

<sup>7</sup> Metre of verses 14 and 15 Śārdūlavikrīdita.

<sup>9</sup> Read *nūnam*

<sup>12</sup> Metre Śikharini

<sup>15</sup> Metre of verses 21 and 22 Vasantatilakā

<sup>2</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh).

<sup>4</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā.

<sup>6</sup> Metre- Ślōka (Anushtubh).

<sup>8</sup> Read =*ādhyam*.

Vasantatilakā.

Vasantatilakā

<sup>11</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikrīdita

<sup>14</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikrīdita

<sup>16</sup> Metre Sragdhara.— Read *mīmānsayam*—

sahasram ravikrāṇa-samā na kahamantē tamānsi<sup>1</sup> | kim bhūmnā simni  
sāmnām sakala-kavikalāsv=āgamēshv=ārtha-

- 17 sāstrēshv=āyu[ ]vvēd-āstravēda-prabhritishu kṛta-dhīr=advitīyō=yam=ēva || [23\*]  
Yasya<sup>2</sup> khalu Vā(bā)lavalabhibhujanga iti nāma n=ādrītam kēna |  
mīmāṃsay=<sup>3</sup>āpi sapulakam=ākarnnita-vainnīt-ōdgitam || [24\*] <sup>4</sup>Damshtrāla-dushta-  
bhujaga-vraṇa-môharātri-pratyūsha tūyya-nina-
- 18 dair=iva mantravarnnah | yō jīvayan<sup>5</sup> jagad=aśēsham=abhūd=apūrvva-mṛityuñjayō  
garala-kēlishu Nilakapthah || [25\*] <sup>6</sup>Rādhāyām=ajalāsu jāṅgalapatha-  
grāmōpakantha-sthali-simāsu śramamagna-pāntha-parishat-prānāsaya-pīnanah | yēn=  
ākāri jalāśayah pa-
- 19 nisara-snāt-ābhijātānganā-vaktrāvja(bja)-prativī(bi)mva(mba)-mugdha-m a d h u p i - s ū n y -  
āvu(bji)nikānanah || [26\*] Tēn=āyam bhagavān bhavārṇava-samuttārāya  
Nārāyaṇaḥ śailah sētur=iva prasādhita-dharāpīthah pratishthāpitah | yah  
prāchī-vadanēndu-nīlatilakō līlāvatana-<sup>7</sup>ōtpalam bhū-
- 20 mīr=bbhūta-pārjātavitapī samkalpasiddhi-pradaḥ || [27\*] Tēna<sup>8</sup> prāsāda ēsha  
Tripurahara-giri-sparddhayā varddhita-śrīb śrīmān<sup>9</sup> śrīvachchha(tsa)-lakshmā  
Harir=iva vīhūtō visphurach-chakrachihnah | jīvā yō Vajrayantam viyati  
vitanutē vajrayanti-vilāsīn Kailāsō
- 21 n=ābhilāsham kalayati Girīśō yasya samlakshya lakshmīm || [28\*] <sup>10</sup>Nyavivisād=  
vēsmanī tatra Viśhnōḥ sa nirvha(ribha)ram garvha(ribha)grih-āntarēshu |  
Nārāyan-Ānanta-Nṛsimha-mūrttir=vīdhātri-vaktrēshv=iva vēda-vidyāḥ || [29\*]  
Ētasmai<sup>11</sup> Harimēdhasē vasumatīvisrānta-Vidyādhari-vibhrānti-
- 22 n=dadhatih śatam sa hi dādan sūrangasāvi-drīśah | dagdhasy=Ōgradrīsā drīs=iva  
diśatīḥ Kāmasya samjīvanam kārāḥ kāmī-janasya sangama-griham sangīta-kēli-  
śrīyām || [30\*] <sup>12</sup>Prāsād-āgrē sa khalu jagataḥ punyapapy-akavithīm chakrē  
vāpīm marakatamani-sva-
- 23 chchha-suchchhāya-tōyām | madhyō-vārī pratikṛita-mishād=darsayant=iva tādṛig=  
Viśhnōr=ddhām=ādbhutam=ahī-kulasy=ādhikam yā chakāsti || [31\*] Vyadhita<sup>13</sup>  
vivu(bu)dha-dhāmnah simni samsāra-sāram sa khalu nikhila nētr-ānanda mīyanda  
pātram | tribhuvanajaya-khinn-Ānanga-vīśrā-
- 24 ma-dhāma prathita-rati-vibhāva-sthānam=udyāna-ratnam || [32\*] <sup>14</sup>Tasy=iva priya-  
suhṛdā dvij-āgrīmēna śrī-Vāchaspati-kavinā kṛtā prasastih | ā-kalpam suchi-  
suradhāma-mūrtti-kirtitē=adhyāstām jaghanam=iyam suva[rnna]-kāñchi || [33\*]  
<sup>15</sup> . . . [sa]mkh[yā] [33<sup>2</sup>]<sup>16</sup> [||\*]
- 25 Prasastir=iyam Vā(bā)lavalabhibhujang-āparanāmnō Bhatta-śrī-Bhavadēvasya ||

<sup>1</sup> Read *tamānsi*<sup>4</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā<sup>6</sup> Metre of verses 26 and 27<sup>8</sup> Metre Sragdnarā<sup>11</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikṛīḍita<sup>14</sup> Metre Praharshini<sup>2</sup> Metre Āryā<sup>5</sup> Read *jīvayān*,<sup>7</sup> Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.<sup>9</sup> Read *śrīmān*.<sup>12</sup> Metre Mandākrāntā<sup>15</sup> Here about 8 *aksharas* are entirely illegible<sup>3</sup> Read *mīmāmsay*=<sup>7</sup> Read *oṣatams*<sup>10</sup> Metre Upajati<sup>13</sup> Metre Mālīnī

<sup>16</sup> Of the word transcribed by [sa]mkh[yā] the signs of *anusvāra* and *kh* seem to me quite clear in the impressions, and the word is not *samvat* The figures (if they are such) at the end of the line seem to me 33 rather than 32.

No 18 — ALAS PLATES OF THE YUVARAJA GOVINDA II ;  
SAKA-SAMVAT 692

BY DEVADATTA RAMAKRISHNA BHANDARKAR, M.A.

The copper-plates which bear the subjoined grant were found in the village of Alās in the Kurundwād State, Bombay Presidency, while an old earth-buttress was being excavated. The Senior Chief of Kurundwād, to whom the village belongs, sent the plates to my father, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, who made them over to me for publication.

The plates are three in number, each measuring about  $9\frac{1}{2}$ " long by  $5\frac{1}{4}$ " broad at the ends and somewhat less in the middle. The edges are fashioned slightly thicker so as to serve as rims for the protection of the inscription. The grant is engraved on the inner sides of the first and third plates and on both sides of the second plate. They are strung together by a circular ring of about  $3\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and of about  $\frac{3}{8}$ " in thickness, passing through holes on the left sides of the plates. The ends of the ring are joined together by means of a large knob bearing a round seal, which measures  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and has, in relief on a countersunk surface, an image of Garuda above a floral device, seated with the palms of his hands joined close to his breast and with his wings raised. — The engraving is fairly deep but not well executed. The letters *ka* and *ma* have been most indifferently incised. A few other letters, again, have unusual shapes and consequently are scarcely legible. — The characters are of the southern type which came into vogue at the time of the later Chalukyas of Bādāmi. For *kha* two forms are used, one in line 2 and the other in ll. 7 and 44. The letter *la* has been written in three different ways, in ll. 1, 9 and 32. The sign denoting the medial *r* is invariably reversed in the case of *lri*. And lastly, the side-stroke towards the left used to signify *é* is very often attached to the bottom, and not to the top, of the letter, e.g. in ll. 11 and 24. — The language is Sanskrit throughout. The grant commences with the usual word *svasti*. Then follows the curt line *sa vó=vyád=mahá-Vaṣṇuḥ*, and not the verse *sa vó=vyád=Védhasā dhāma*, etc., which we find at the beginning of almost all the Rāshtrakūta grants. Then nearly 20 lines are in verse, and the rest is in prose, excluding the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end. Most of the verses are found in the Sāmāṅgaḍ plates and in the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūta grants, but all of them occur only in the Paithan charter of Góvinda III. — As regards orthography, it is worthy of note (1) that the rules of *samāh* are not unfrequently disregarded, (2) that there is an indifference about the doubling of consonants in conjunction with a preceding *r*. Thus the consonant is doubled in *sarvarāṣṇu* (l. 2), *caru-śrīti-nirmatānē* (l. 20), etc., but not in *gōīramanir=babhāva* (l. 5 f.) etc., (3) that there is a tendency to the substitution of *la* for *la*, e.g. in *sakala* (l. 22) and *Mānāvalōka* (l. 27); (4) that the final *m* of a word has been twice changed to *ñ* before *cha* of the following word, in ll. 16 and 38, and (5) that the *visarga* followed by *sa*, *sha* or *sa* is almost invariably changed to that letter, e.g. in *bhūpat=śatāmka*° (l. 2), *vash=shaṭ*° (l. 29), and *yas=śahasā* (l. 12).

This grant was made by Góvindarāja (II), — the son of Krishnarāja (I.) (vv. 7, 8) of the Rāshtrakūta family (v. 3), surnamed Śubhatunga (v. 9), Akālavarsha (v. 10) and Śrīprithivīvalabha (l. 20 f). Góvindarāja was Yuvārāja or crown-prince at the time (l. 24). He had the special *brudās* of Prabhūtavarsha and Vikramāvalōka (l. 23 f). Of the time of Krishna I we have no record, and this is the first hitherto discovered that refers itself to his reign. The charter was issued by Góvindarāja from his camp located near the confluence of the Krishnavernā and the Musi (l. 26), after he had humbled the lord of Vēngi. It is dated, in words, in the six-hundred-and-ninety-second year of the Śaka era, on the seventh *tithi* of the bright half of Āshādhā, Saumya being the Jovian year (ll. 29-31), i.e. in A.D. 769. The grant was made, we are told, at the request of one Vijayāditya, also styled Mānāvalōka Ratnavarsha, son of Dantivarman and grandson of Dhruvarāja (ll. 26-28). The grantee was a Brahmana of the name of Jaggu, son of Śrīdhara and grandson of Kēśava, of the Bhārad-vāja gōtra (l. 31 f).

Wars frequently took place between the Râshtrakûtas and the Eastern Chalukyas who were the kings of Vêngi. The Râdhanpur plates<sup>1</sup> of Gôvinda III inform us that, in obedience to his message, the lord of Vêngi attended upon him as a servant. The Śrîr inscription<sup>2</sup> states that worship was done to Amôghavarsha I by the ruler of Vêngi. Again, Krishna II is represented to have overrun the territory of the king of Vêngi.<sup>3</sup> One record<sup>4</sup> also mentions that Gôvinda IV waged war with the lord of Vêngi. But from these plates it appears that hostilities had sprung up between the two rival dynasties long before the time of Gôvinda III. For, Gôvinda-râja, son of Krishna I, is herein represented, while he was prince royal, to have reduced the king of Vêngi, and this event came off as early as the Śaka year 692 which is the date of our grant.

The verses descriptive of the genealogy teach us nothing new. It, however, deserves to be noticed that our grant mentions Dantivarman as the name of the predecessor of Krishna I, instead of Dantidurga as we find in all the Râshtrakûta records except the Sârnâgad plates of this king, where both the names occur. Again, the early date of our grant settles a point regarding which there is a little divergence of opinion. A copper-plate charter from Kardâ<sup>5</sup> dated A D 972 states that Dantidurga, having left no issue, was succeeded by his paternal uncle Krishna I. The Bagumrâ grant<sup>6</sup> of A D 867 simply says that, after the death of Dantidurga, Krishna I came to the throne. But the Baroda charter<sup>7</sup> of A D 812 omits the name of Dantidurga and asserts that Krishna I ascended the throne by ousting a relative of his who had taken to vicious courses. Since this last charter is a much earlier record and passes over Dantidurga, it has led some to suppose that Dantidurga was the relative whom Krishna I ousted, and that the statements of the remaining two grants mentioned above must be discredited on the ground that they bear a later date.<sup>8</sup> But against this it may be urged that the verse in the Bagumrâ plates which says that, after Dantidurga had gone to heaven, Krishna I became king, is also found in the Paithan grant<sup>9</sup> of Gôvinda III, dated in A D 794. This surely is an earlier record than the Baroda charter of A D 812 just referred to. Nay further, the same verse also occurs in our grant, which was issued in the reign of Krishna I himself. The assertion, therefore, that Dantidurga was the relative whose throne Krishna I usurped, has no grounds to stand upon, and the omission of the name of Dantidurga in the Baroda charter may be explained away on the ground that the object of the writer was only to trace the genealogy of the reigning prince, with reference to whom Dantidurga was but a collateral.

As regards the rivers mentioned in the inscription, the Krishnavernâ, it need scarcely be said, is the river Krishnâ. The Musi has preserved its name unaltered to the present day, it is the last important feeder of the Krishnâ and joins it on the confines of the modern Kistna district of the Madras Presidency. Alaktakâ, the name of the province (*vishaya*, l 32), a village of which was granted, corresponds to the present Âlatâ, the name of a division in the Kôlhâpur State. Arasiyavâda (l 34), the first part of which can be recognised in Alâs, the place where the plates were found, is perhaps now represented by that village.

#### TEXT.<sup>10</sup>

##### First Plate.

- 1 स्वस्ति [॥\*] स वोव्याद्वावि[ष्णु]रासीद्विपत्तिमिरमुख्यतमण्डलायो<sup>11</sup>
- 2 <sup>12</sup>ध्वस्तन्नयन्नभिमुखो रणशर्जरीषु [॥\*] भूपशशाक्तवदवास-<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol VI p 71

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid* p 270

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid* p 162

<sup>9</sup> *Above*, Vol III p 106

<sup>11</sup> Read °विष्णु ॥ आसीद्विप°.

<sup>12</sup> In other Râshtrakûta grants the reading is भूपः शुचिर्विधुर्वास°

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* Vol XII p 219

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid* Vol XII p 267

<sup>8</sup> See Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p 391

<sup>10</sup> From the original plates

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid* Vol XX p 103

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid* p 187

<sup>13</sup> Read ध्वस्ति नय°.

- 3 दिगन्तकीर्त्ति<sup>1</sup> गोविन्दराज इति राजसु राजसिंहः [॥ १\*] तस्यात्म-  
 4 [जी]<sup>2</sup> जगति विद्युतदीप्तकीर्त्ति<sup>3</sup> आर्त्तार्त्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधामधारि<sup>4</sup> [॥ \*]  
 5 भूपस्त्रिविष्टपट्टपानुकृतिः कृतज्ञः श्रीककराज इति गोत्रम-  
 6 णिर्वभूव । [२\*] तस्य प्र[भि]न्नकरटच्युत[दा]नदन्तिदन्तप्रहा-  
 7 र[रु]चिरोल्लिखितांसपीठः[\*] । क्षापः क्षितौ क्षपित[श]त्रुरभू-  
 8 तनूजः स[द्रा]ङ्कूटक[नका]द्विरिवेन्द्रराजः [॥ ३\*] तस्योपार्जितयशसः(:)-  
 9 स्तनय[ञ्च]तुरदधिवलयमालिन्याः [॥ \*] भो[क्ता] भुवश्शत[क्र]तुसदृशः[\*] श्री-  
 10 'दद्विवर्माभूत् । [४\*] का[ञ्ची]शक्तेरुन्नराधिपचोळपाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवज्रट[वि]-  
 11 मेदविधा[न]दत्तं [॥ \*] कर्वाटकं<sup>6</sup> वलंमनन्तमलेय[म]नैः<sup>7</sup> स्रष्टै. कि-  
 12 य[ङ्गि]रपि यस्सह[सा] जिगाय । [५\*] अभूविभगमगृहितनिशातशस्तं

*Second Plate ; First Side*

- 13 अज्ञात[म]प्रणिहिताज्ञ[मं]पेतयत्न<sup>9</sup> [॥ \*] [यो] वल्लभं सपदि दण्ड[वले]न  
 14 जिह्वा<sup>10</sup> राजाधिराजपर[मे]श्वरतामवाप [॥ ६\*] तस्मि[न्दि]वं प्रयाते  
 वल्लभराजे पि-<sup>11</sup>  
 15 तौ प्रजापालः [॥ \*] श्रीककर[॥ \*]ज[स्त्र]तुर्महीपति<sup>12</sup> क्षणराजोभूत<sup>13</sup> ॥ [७\*]  
 यस्य स्वभुज-  
 16 पराक्रमनिश्चेषोत्सारितारिदिक्कक्रः<sup>14</sup> [॥ \*] क्षणस्येवाक्षणञ्च[रि]त<sup>15</sup> श्रीक्षणस्य<sup>16</sup> ।  
 [८\*] शु-  
 17 भतुंगतुगतुरगप्रह्वरे[णू]र्ध्वरुद्धरविकिरणं ॥ श्रीक्षेपि<sup>17</sup> नभो [निखि]-  
 18 ल<sup>18</sup> प्राहृष्टालायते स्पष्टं [॥ ९\*] दीनानाथप्रणयिषु  
 19 य[धिष्ट]वेष्टं समीहितमजस्रं [॥ \*] तत्क्षणमकाल-  
 20 व[र्षी] वर्षति सर्वार्त्तिनिर्मायने । [१०\*] तस्याकालवर्ष<sup>19</sup> श्रीप्रियि-  
 21 वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभट्टारकस्य(१) प्रिया-  
 22 [त्त]जः<sup>20</sup> सकळभुवनाभिष्टुतयौवराज्याभिषेकपवित्रीकृतोत्तमां<sup>21</sup>  
 23 ग. समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दः प्रभूतवर्षविक्रमा-  
 24 वलोकश्रीगोविन्दराजो युवराजः<sup>22</sup> वेंगिमण्डलोपर्या-

<sup>1</sup> Read 'कीर्त्तिर्गोविन्द'

<sup>2</sup> Read 'जीर्त्तिराजार्त्ति'

<sup>3</sup> Read 'कर्वाटक वलनं'.

<sup>4</sup> Read 'मपेत'

<sup>5</sup> Read 'पति'.

<sup>6</sup> Read 'रुद्ध' चरित

<sup>7</sup> Read 'निखिल'

<sup>8</sup> The letter *rs* in *rs* is unfinished and stands at an unusual distance from the other component of the group

<sup>9</sup> Read 'दीवराज्या'.

<sup>2</sup> The letter- जी is very badly engraved.

<sup>4</sup> Read 'धारी'.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'नैर्भलै'

<sup>10</sup> Read 'जिह्वा'

<sup>12</sup> Read 'भूत्'

<sup>15</sup> Read 'श्रीक्षणराजस्य'.

<sup>18</sup> Read 'वर्षश्रीपु'.

<sup>22</sup> Read 'युवराजो'

<sup>5</sup> Read 'दनि'.

<sup>8</sup> Read 'गृहीतनिशातशस्तमज्ञात'.

<sup>11</sup> Read 'क्षितौ'

<sup>14</sup> Read 'दिक्कक्र'

<sup>17</sup> Read 'श्रीक्षेपि'

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Handwritten text in a script, likely Tamil, on a palm leaf. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the leaf, used for binding.

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Handwritten text in a script, likely Tamil, on a palm leaf. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the leaf, used for binding.

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*Second Plate, Second Side.*

- 25 यातविजयस्कन्धावारे कोशदण्डात्मभूमिसमर्पणे-  
 26 नानते वेगीशे क्षणवेणुसु[मी]मंगने ध्रुवराज-  
 27 पौत्रेण दन्ति[व]र्धपुत्रेण साणावळोकरवर्षयोविज-  
 28 यादित्येनाभ्यर्थितो <sup>1</sup>विक्रमावळोकरसर्वानाम-  
 29 न्वयति स्मः [1\*] विदिन[म]स्तु वप्पट्कते द्विनवत्यधिके शक-  
 30 वर्षे सौम्यसंव[त्]र्<sup>2</sup> आषाढशुक्लपक्षे मस-  
 31 म्यां भारद्वाजगोत्राय केशवपौत्राय श्रीधरपुत्राय  
 32 जगुनास्ते ब्राह्मणाय अन्नतृकाविषये हरिय-  
 33 गिरेर्दक्षिणदिग्भागे प्रसादिनीतटे <sup>3</sup>उत्तरद<sup>4</sup>

*Third Plate*

- 34 ना[मा अर]सियवाडग्राम[वाने]न नह सभोगो दत्तः [1\*]  
 35 [प्रव]च्या दिशि <sup>5</sup>परदुरगीजामग्रामः दक्षिणस्या नीवीवा-  
 36 ड[त्रा]ह्मणग्राम. पश्चिमस्या मज्झिमग्राम. उत्तरस्या प-  
 37 व्वेत एव [1\*] इति चतुराष्टादशदः [1\*] एव विदित्वास्मद्वश्यैर-  
 38 न्यैश्च स्वदत्तिनिर्विगेषं परिपालनीयः [1\*] उक्तञ्च  
 39 भ[ग]वता वेदव्यासेन (वेद)व्यासेन । बहु[भि]र्व्वसुधा  
 40 दत्ता (I) राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः<sup>6</sup>  
 41 तस्य तस्य तदा पलं<sup>7</sup> । [११\*] पटिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति  
 42 भूमदः<sup>8</sup> [1\*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च (I) तान्येव नर[क]<sup>9</sup> वसेत् ॥  
 [१२\*]  
 43 विम्व्याटविष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन [1\*] [क्षणा]ह[यो] हि  
 44 जायन्ते <sup>10</sup>ब्रह्मदेयापहारकाः [॥ १३\*] श्रीसेनेन लिखितमिदं . ति<sup>11</sup> [॥\*]

<sup>1</sup> This epithet is repeated unnecessarily, as we have already had it in l 23 24

<sup>2</sup> The letters ति अ are omitted in the text, but supplied at the foot of the plate, this omission has been indicated by a cross after य

<sup>3</sup> First वी was engraved, and then it was corrected into व by erasure

<sup>4</sup> Here and in the following the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed

<sup>5</sup> I am not certain of the reading of the text from उत्तरद to सह in the next line

<sup>6</sup> After उ two letters had originally been engraved, but were afterwards erased For these the three letter नरद are to be substituted as is indicated by the cross

<sup>7</sup> परदुरगी<sup>10</sup> is also possible

<sup>8</sup> Read भूमिद

<sup>9</sup> Read पल.

<sup>10</sup> Read भूमिद

<sup>11</sup> Read नरके

<sup>12</sup> Read ब्रह्म<sup>10</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The letter before ति looks like श्री, which perhaps is a mistake for इ

## TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Hail ! May the great Vishnu protect you !

(Verse 1) There was a king named Gôvindarâja (I), a royal lion among kings, whose fame reached the ends of the quarters, (and) who, raising his scimitar (and) facing (them), destroyed his enemies in battles, just as the moon, whose lustre spreads to the ends of the quarters, raising the tip of her disc (above the horizon), (and transmitting her rays) straight forward, dispels darkness at night

(V 2) His son, known as the glorious Kakkarâja (I.), a king whose brilliant fame was heard of throughout the world, who relieved the sufferings of the distressed, who possessed the spirit and valour of Hari,<sup>1</sup> who rivalled (Indra) the king of heaven, (and) who was grateful (for services rendered), became a jewel of (his) race

(V 3) His son, king Indrarâja (II.), whose expansive shoulders were full of graceful scratches consequent upon the strokes of the tusks of (hostile) elephants from whose cleft temples ichor trickled down,<sup>2</sup> (and) who destroyed (all his) enemies on earth, became, as it were, the golden mountain (Mêru) of the excellent Râshtrakûtas.

(V. 4) The son of him who had acquired fame, the glorious Dantivarman (II), who resembled Indra, enjoyed the earth whose garland is the circle of the four oceans

(V 5) With a handful of followers he suddenly vanquished the countless forces of Karnâtaka, which were invincible to others, (and) which had proved their efficacy by inflicting crushing defeats on the lord of Kâñchi, the king of Kêrala, the Chôla, the Pândya, Sriharsha and Vajrata

(V 6) Without knitting his brow, without using any sharp weapon, without (anybody's) knowledge, without giving orders, without effort, he suddenly conquered Vallabha by the (mere) force of (his) royal sceptre (i.e. majesty) and attained to the state of 'king of kings' and 'supreme lord'<sup>3</sup>

(V 7) When that Vallabharâja had gone to heaven, king Krishnarâja (I.), the son of the glorious Kakkarâja (I.), became the protector of (his) subjects on earth

(V 8) The career of that glorious Krishnarâja (I.), during which the multitude of enemies in (all) directions was completely driven away by the prowess of his arms, was spotless like that of Krishna

(V 9) The whole sky, wherein the rays of the sun above were obstructed by the dust raised by the lofty steeds of Subhatunga (Krishnarâja I), looked clearly like (the sky in) the rainy season, though it was summer

(V. 10) Akâlavarsha (i.e. 'the untimely rainer,' viz Krishnarâja I) instantly rains (i.e. fulfills) unceasingly the desired objects of the miserable and the helpless, and of (his) favourites, in any way he likes, so as to remove all (their) distress

<sup>1</sup> The second line of this verse is one long compound which we should split up, as Dr Bühler has done, into two parts, either of which should be taken as an attribute of Kakkarâja. But Dr Bühler's rendering of the second part of the line is based on the etymological sense of the words *vikrama* and *dâdman*, and is therefore not likely to be the correct one

<sup>2</sup> Both Dr Bühler and Dr Fleet connect *prabhîna karata chryta dâna* with *ruohira*, and *danti-danta prahdra* with *ullikhsita*, but this course is objectionable because the word *dantîn* occurring after *dâna* shows the preceding expression to be a *Bahuvrîhi* compound and an attribute of *dantîn*

<sup>3</sup> Dr Bühler and Dr Fleet adopt *abhrâvibhangam* for their Kâvî and Sârngad inscriptions respectively. Further, these plates read *dandalakêna* instead of *dandabalêna*, the reading of our grant, which is identical with that of the Paithan plates. This is a very knotty verse. First, it is very difficult to determine whether *abhrâvibhangam* etc. are to be taken as adjectives or adverbs. Dr Bühler supposes all of them to be adjectives except *abhrâvibhangam*. Dr Fleet takes them all to be adverbs. This mode of interpretation is, I think, the correct one. Secondly, the meaning of *dandalakêna* is not clear

(L 20) Of this Akālavārsha, the favourite of Fortune and of the Earth, the *Mahārājā-dhīrāja Paramēśvara Bhaṣṣāraka*,—the favourite son, *Prabhūtavarsha Vikramāvalōka*, the glorious Gōvīndarāja (II.), the heir-apparent, whose head was sanctified at (*his*) anointment as heir apparent, which was hailed with delight by the whole world, (*and*) who had acquired the five great sounds,—from (*the camp of*) the victorious army that invaded the Vēngi-maṇḍala, when the lord of Vēngi was humbled by the cession of (*his*) treasury, (*his*) forces, and his own country, at the confluence of the Kṛishnavernā and the Musi,—being requested by Mānāvalōka Ratnavarsha, the glorious Vijayāditya, son of Dantivarman (*and*) grandson of Dhruvarāja,—(*this*) Vikramāvalōka notifies to all —

(L 29) “Be it known to you (*that*), in the Śaka year six-hundred increased by ninety-two, in the (*cyclic*) year Saumya, in the bright half of Āshādha, on the seventh *tithi*, (*I*) have granted, with (*all*) enjoyments (*bhōga*), (the village) named Uttarāi,—(*situated*) on the bank of the Prasādinī (*river*), on the southern side of the Hariyagiri (*hill*), in the Alaktakā-vishaya, together with the groves of trees (*vāna*)<sup>1</sup> of the village of Arasiyavāda,—to a Brāhmana of the name of Jaggu, of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, son of Śrīdhara (*and*) grandson of Kēśava

(L 35) “(*The village is*) thus defined by the four boundaries — To the east (*is*) the village named Parachurage; to the south the Brāhmana village of Nivivāda, to the west the village of Majjhima; to the north the mountain only.

(L 37) “Knowing this, (*the village*) should be preserved by our descendants and others just as they would their own grants

(L 38.) “And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the compiler of the Vēdas —

[Here follow three of the customary verses]

(L 44) “This has been written by Śrīsēna.”

## NO 19 — BELATURU INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF RAJENDRADEVA, SAKA-SAMVAT 979

By REV F KITTEL, PH D, TUBINGEN

This inscription is engraved on a stone lying in the field called Addakatte-hola on the eastern side of the village of Belatūru in the Heggadadēvankōte tāluka of the Mysore district. It has been published before by Mr Rice in his *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol IV, Pg 18. I re-edit it from inked estampages prepared by Mr H Krishna Sastri and transmitted to me by Dr Hultzsch.

The alphabet and language of the inscription are Kannada. There are 23 verses in various metres, and short passages of prose in lines 33 f. and 36. Mr Krishna Sastri contributes the following note: “Of the many metres used in the inscription two are particularly interesting, *viz* Akkaram and Lalitavrittam. On examination, these two are found to correspond to the Priyakkara and Lalitapada which are described, respectively, in verses 302 and 233 of Nāgavarma's *Canarese Prosody*. Of the first it may be remarked that either the description given in the *Prosody* is transgressed in the inscription, or else the verse describing it has been misinterpreted, for while, according to Dr Kittel's translation, verse 302 says that in Priyakkara there ought to be, in the first line, one *aja*, five *vishnus* and one *rudra*, in the second line, one *aja*, four *vishnus*, one *aja* (again) in the sixth place, and then a *rudra*, and that in the third and fourth lines the same should be repeated as in lines 1 and 2,—the Akkara of the inscription has one *aja*, five *vishnus* and one *rudra* throughout (*i.e.* in all the four feet). It is difficult to

<sup>1</sup> [Or correct *grāmagrāsēna* and compare above, Vol V p 69, note 2 —E H]

understand how Malla who calls himself "the friend of eminent poets," could deviate from the rule laid down by Nāgavarma. Accordingly verse 302 of the *Prosody* will have to be interpreted differently. I would translate it thus: '*Ajagara* comes in the beginning without fail; then come the *ajagara* which are *rishnu* in the place called the end (i.e. at the end), the *rudragara* will remain permanently everywhere (i.e. in all the feet); in the foot counted the second,— if in the sixth (place) the *ajagara* occurs in intimate connection, at the choice of the author,— we (then) have the wonderful (i.e. rarely used metre) Piriakkara, O moon-faced one!" Thus we see that the occurrence of the *ajagara* in the sixth place being left to the option of the author, Malla adopted the *rishnugara* throughout. As regards Lalitavṛtta, it may be noticed that the name given to it by Dr Kittel's manuscripts, viz. Lalitapada over verse 233 of the *Prosody*, is rather misleading. The name occurs as Lalitavṛtta in the very verse which describes it, as well as in the subjoined inscription. If this name is not given to the metre it is likely to be confounded with other Sanskrit metres of the same name. It may be noted also that, according to a few manuscripts, Nāgavarma claims to have been the inventor of these two metres, see Dr Kittel's introduction to Nāgavarma's *Canarese Prosody*, p. xix." To this I would add that there is one verse in the Pūrvaśākhā metre in Arjalaḍeḍa's *Chandraprabhakarāra* (1189 A.D.), śloka iv, 18.<sup>1</sup> Other Piriakkaras occur in the *Paṇḍabhārata* edited by Mr Rice, pp. 112, 116, 153, 143 and Arjuna's on pp. 331, 343.

Verse 1 of the inscription contains the date,— a specified week-day and *tithi* in the Śaka year 970 (in words) the cycle year Hīmalambin and the sixth year of the reign of the Chōla king Rājēndradēva. Professor Kielhorn has calculated the details of the date and found that it corresponds to Monday, the 27th October A.D. 1057.<sup>2</sup> A reference to Rājēndradēva's predecessor Rājādhirāja is found in Jayangonda-Chōla-Permādi-Gāvanda, a surname of Raviga of Nugunādu (v. 7), which is derived from Jayangonda-Chōla, one of the names of Rājādhirāja.<sup>3</sup> The same verse of the inscription mentions, among other kings Śilāmēgha who seems to be identical with one of the two Ceylon kings named Vira-Śilāmēgaṇ. The first of them was killed by Rājādhirāja,<sup>4</sup> and the second by Rājēndradēva.<sup>5</sup>

Two families of Kudiyaṣ (Śūdras) (vv. 6, 8, 9 and 22) are named in the inscription, viz. the Avacha family of Nugunādu (vv. 2, 6, 17, 19 and 22) and the Kuruvanda family of Pervayal in Navalenādu (vv. 13 and 17). To the first one belonged Raviga (v. 4), who was raised by the Chōla king to the rank of superintendent of a province (v. 8). Raviga's principal seat became Belatūru (v. 11), and he married Ponnakka the daughter of the headman of Nālgōdu in Edenādu (v. 10), whose name is not mentioned. Raviga's daughter Dēkabbe was given in marriage to Ēcha of the Kuruvanda family (v. 13). When the king killed Ēcha at Talekādu (v. 14), his widow committed herself to the flames (vv. 15 to 20). Before her end she granted to Śiva a garden for a perpetual lamp and a paddy-field for oblations (v. 18 f. and l. 33 f.). Dēkabbe's father, Raviga, set up the stone which bears the inscription, as a memorial of his daughter (v. 22).

Of the localities mentioned in this inscription, Belatūru (v. 11) is identical with the village where the inscription exists. Talekādu (v. 14) is the old capital of the Western Gangas<sup>6</sup> at which the Chōla king seems to have been staying at the time of the inscription. Nugunādu is, perhaps, named after the river Nugu (also called Bhṛgu), a tributary of the

<sup>1</sup> In my manuscript the verse reads thus —

Toreyal=end=irddā rajyaman enirddom mareval=end= dūrddā bandhu-samuhamam  
narepal=end=irddā sat-tarō-vrttiyam marad=aṣṭāga-vihvala'eyindam |  
toreyade mareyade nareyad=ayubhyam pare padavāgale berchenid an'e  
maregava marularg=aayvand=i bhavam maru bhavam rādeyam vyartham al'e :

<sup>2</sup> Above, p. 23, No. 36

<sup>3</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III p. 51

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 53 and 56

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 59 and 63.

<sup>6</sup> See Dr Fleet's *Dyn. Kas. Distr.* p. 239 and note 2.

Kabbani, in the Nañjangūd táluka of the Mysore district. Both Nugunādu and Navalenādu are mentioned in 'a Western Ganga record<sup>1</sup>

This is perhaps the first inscription that has been discovered, concerning the self-immolation of a Śūdra's wife after her husband's death. This self-immolation is not identical with the so-called suttee (*satī*) of Biāhmaical usage, according to which a wife, on being widowed, burned herself with the corpse of her deceased husband upon the funeral pile. In this instance there is no pyre (*chitā*, *chiti*, *chityā*, the *tadbhava*-form of which is *sidige* in Kannada), but a *konda* (*tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *kunda*), a hole in the ground for any fire, especially one for the fire of a burnt oblation.

The Śūdras at the time of the present inscription worshippers of Śiva, probably in most instances disposed of their dead by cremation (instead of which the Lingavantas introduced burying), and thus the body of Êcha may have been burned at Talekādu. That *sahagamana* was customary among Śūdras, does not follow from the inscription, the contrary seems to be proved, as the parents and relations of Dêkabbe strongly oppose her burning herself, she herself however (who may have been influenced at the time somehow by Biāhmaical notions), seeks to justify her act by pointing out the dishonour that would be brought upon the families by her surviving as a widow.

The *konda* into which Dêkabbe threw herself was obviously neither at Talekādu nor at Pervayal, but at her native place Belatûru (where she had gone in the absence of her husband and heard the report of his death), near the house of her own people, and had been filled with kindled charcoal, etc., for presenting funeral oblations.

Malla, the poet who composed the inscription, uses two epithets of a peculiar kind regarding Raviga, the father of Dêkabbe, who had the monument erected, viz., "a lion to the angry" and "powerful over the envious" (v 22), and at the end (l 36) the engraver quotes the very same two epithets. Malla also calls himself "a discus to those among Biāhmanas who fret" (v 23). It is highly probable that these epithets are directed against Biāhmanas who might find fault with the erection of a monument that praised a Śūdra widow as, so to say, a suttee.

#### TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 [Ôm]<sup>3</sup> [||\*] Svasti<sup>4</sup> śi-Chôla-râjam sakala-vasudheyam kondu Râjêndradêva[m]  
<sup>5</sup>d[r]st-âri-vrâta-ghâtam negale barisam=âr=âge mattam Sak-âbdam vi[stâ]-
- 2 ra[m\*] tombhat-êl-ombhatum=ene barisam Hêmalambî prasuddham svastam  
 mâsam gadam Kâ[r\*]ttikam=asi[ta]-dinam dvâdasi Sôma-vâram | [1\*]  
 Kandam | Svasti śrîma-
- 3 tu sakala-jaga-[stu]tar=Avach-âgraganyar=ûrjita-punya<sup>6</sup> vistâra-châru-vîra-rasa-  
 stitar=<sup>7</sup>iriv=îva [kâ]va Nugunâd=adhipar | [2\*] Enipa kula[da]lî puttî[da]-
- 4 n=anupaman=Ereyamgan=avana nija-sutan=Êcham Manu-nibhan=avamge puttîda  
 tanûbhavam Javanî[ya][r\*]mman=arivimg=ârmam | [3\*] Ant=â  
 Javanayyammam
- 5 kântâjana-talakam=enipa Jâkabbe-gam=olpan=taleye puttîdam ripu-santâna-nagêndra-  
 vilaya-pa[v]igam Ravigam | [4\*] Ravigam puttîdad=odan=udbhava-
- 6 m-âyt=ariv=arivin=odane puttîdad=âyam sa[va]-sand=âyadodam sambhavam-âdudu  
 châgam=untut=a[nyâ]rol=umtê | [5\*] Vrittam | Kudiyara<sup>8</sup> vallabham ku-

<sup>1</sup> See page 69 above

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>3</sup> The r of -punyar is written above the line

<sup>4</sup> Metre Champakamâle

<sup>5</sup> From inked estampages supplied by Dr Hultzsch

<sup>6</sup> Metre Sragdhare

<sup>7</sup> Read *drept-*

<sup>8</sup> Read *sthtar=*

- 7 diyar=abharanam Nugunâda Râman=endade Kalikâla-Karnnana vinôdada chûgâda  
birad=ârppan=i gadîna nikrishta-nirgguna-nikritya-nirâchâra-[nô]tavitarâm<sup>1</sup> kadu-
- 8 jadar=entu poliparo dhanyan=enipp=Avach-âgraganyana<sup>2</sup> | [6\*] Akkaram | Chôla  
Pallava Pândya Sil[â]m[é]gha Kêrala Sôratar=Gôva<sup>3</sup> Bhôja Lâla Gajapati  
Hayapati
- 9 Narapaty=enipa mahipâlar=âstânadal<sup>4</sup> kêla tannane naṭa-vandi-mâgadhâr<sup>5</sup> kar-  
kond[u] pogalâlke negalê ballam mîla-mânîkav=e-
- 10 nipa Jayamgonda-Chôla-Permmâdi-Gâvundam takkam | [7\*] Kandam |  
Pallava-sattige samkam jhallali jayamamgalamgala[m] Chôla-mahivallabhan=ittade
- 11 kudi-yara vallabhan=uṅe mandalika-padamam padedam | [8\*] Kadala kade-varam=  
Aj-ândada kudi-varam=âsâ-gajêndrad=antu varam talt=o-
- 12 dan=[o]dane parvv[1] baledudu kudi-yara vallabhana kî[r\*]tti-late kômaladim |  
[9\*] Manu-nibhan=Edenâd=adhîpati vineya-nidhi[m sa]-
- 13 tya-vâkya Nâlgôdîna mukhyana kula-vadhu Bûtabbego janîyisi <sup>6</sup>Kâlikâla-Sîte-  
vesaram psdedal | [10\*] Vanitâ-rannam Ponnakkana-
- 14 n=alṭiye maduve-gondu Belatûr=adhîpam Manu-nibhan=ene negalv-îṭana vanitcege  
bhû-vamṭey-olage perar[e]ney=olarê | [11\*] Vri-
- 15 tta[m] | <sup>7</sup>Nirupama-sîladim<sup>8</sup> gunadin=uttama-danadin=âtma-bhaktiyim Gî[rîsute]  
Rambe Mînaki<sup>9</sup> Sarasvatî Rugmîni Satyabhâmeyol dore-
- 16 y=enal=allad=i gadîna dushta-kamṣhta-duṣîla-durggun-âdhareyaran=entu pôliparo  
nirmala-chittada Ponnakabbeyam | [12\*] Akkaram | Châr[u]-
- 17 chântre naya-vinay-âkare gôtra-pavitre <sup>10</sup>[usila-yukte nârijana-rannam=enipa  
Ponnabegam Ravigamgam puttida Dêkabbeya[m]
- 18 [vi\*]ram Navalênâd=adhîpati Kuruvanda-gulada Pervvayal-âtan=Êchamg-iye  
vârj-ânane <sup>11</sup>vinâya-chintâmani pau-hṭey=oda-gû-
- 19 di sukhadin=îlḍu | [13\*] Kandam | Jettigan=ene negal=ahita-gharattam sukham=  
îlḍu tanna dâygaram talt=ottajiyin=îṭḍad=avanam netta-
- 20 ne Talekâdal=uydu kondam narapam | [14\*] Kalikâla-Vêlan=enisida kalî-  
châgyan=îṭḍu kondar=embadu mâtam lalṭ-âmgî kê[îlḍu] Ravî-
- 21 gana kula-dîpaki sâyal=endu kondake nadedal | [15\*] Tandeyum=abbeyum=  
odaneya bandugalum bandu magale sâyade mân=nîn=e-
- 22 (ne)nd=ellam kâl-vidîdad=anindite Dêkabbe munidu baggasî nudîdal | [16\*]  
Nugunâd=adhîpati Ravigana magal=âgyum=ante Navale-
- 23 nâd=adhîpatig=âm negale satiy=âgî bâl[p[u]ḍu bagedappene kotta konda mane yasam=  
alḥyal | [17\*] Endu parichchêḍisî nayadindam dâvarge
- 24 tômta-khandada mannam nandâ-divigeg=itt-aravind-ânane sale nivêdyak=end=anu-  
nayadim | [18\*] Madida sale gôli-galḍ[e]ya paduvana kadeya-
- 25 lh temkal=ay-gola-bedeyam kadugû[r]ttu<sup>12</sup> kottu Nugunâd=[o]ḍeyana kula-putre  
pêlchî<sup>13</sup> mattam mattam | [19\*] Vrittam | Nered=ellam<sup>14</sup> bêda mân=enda-
- 26 de nudiyadim pôgiv=âm mânên=end=âdaradindam bhûmî pom-puttage pasu  
dhanamam dânamam nidutum dâvara dâvamg=alṭi-
- 27 yim kay-mugid=uriv=urîyam pokku Dêkabbe tannam dharey=ellam mechchi  
nichcham [po]gale negalutut dâra-lôk[a]kke vôdal | [20\*] Lalṭavrittam |

<sup>1</sup> Nôtavitarâm is a compound of *nôta* and *mitaram*, and represents *notâlke mitaram*

<sup>2</sup> Read *ganyana*.

<sup>3</sup> Or = *Gâra*?

<sup>4</sup> Read = *asthanadal*

<sup>5</sup> The *r* of *-magadhâr* is written above the line

<sup>6</sup> Read *Kalikâla*.

<sup>7</sup> The *ma* of *nirupama* is written above the line

<sup>8</sup> Metre Champakamâlê

<sup>9</sup> Read *Mêrâre*

<sup>10</sup> Read *susila*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *vinaya*

<sup>12</sup> *Kadugarttu* is a compound of *kadu* and *kurtu*, 'having greatly desired'

<sup>13</sup> Read *pêlḍu*.

<sup>14</sup> Metre Mahâragdhare







- 25 Śrī-ramanī Gaurī Sachī Dhārmīya putī Ratī Bhū-ramany-andada sarūpav-  
 āriṣ-<sup>1</sup>oḷp audāre-jaya-dhāre jasa-dhāre naya-dhā-  
 26 r[e] bhaya-hāre pati-bhakte dhṛita-śaktey=ene samnd=[i]<sup>2</sup> vīra-nidhiyam chalada  
 vari-nidhiyam gunada chāru-nidhiyam n[e]galda Dēkaleya-  
 30 n=nt=i narijana-rannamain-<sup>3</sup>ad=aro marevai <sup>4</sup>sakala-dhārmīyol=ntu vara-kāntc-  
 dorey=ava[1] | [21\*] Akkarī[m] | Pandit-āśrayam Nug[u]nā-  
 31 da Raghavam munivara singa māchakadav ilam chanda-vikīamam kudiyala  
 vallabham Kalikāla-Kaṣṇa machcharipavira gundam vandi-  
 32 chintama[ni\*] Śīva-pāda-sōkharam nija-suteg=anurāgadam mandalak=ellam  
 padī[cha]ndam=āge sila stam[bha]m sāsnam=age nittam || [22\*] ◎  
 33 Śī Mahābbē Mahādēva[r\*]gge bitta pum-bolam tomta-khandamumam  
 Nirmmanamaṭi-keriya t[em]kaur kadeyal aydu-kolagam gāḍoyu-  
 34 mam ī vamsada[1\*] puttīdavaī ka[da]lisuge<sup>5</sup> saḥsad[n]var nara[ka]-bhujanar=appar |  
 Kandam | Maṇipara cakram dvijarol kare-mar[c]y-i-  
 35 il=cnipra kuṇṇipin=ādityam sand=arīkeyavagada<sup>6</sup> Mallam jaruchada kavirāju-  
 bindhav am bardan=idam | [23\*] ◎  
 36 Kaṇḍuṣidam<sup>7</sup> munichara <sup>8</sup>sing-achariyam machcharipara-gand-āchāriyu[m] ||\*

## TRANSLATION.

Om (Verse 1) Hail <sup>1</sup> When the glorious Chōla king had taken possession of the whole earth — (he) Rājendradēva, the slayer of crowds of proud enemies,—(and) was renowned, when six years (of his reign) had passed, and when one said “the Śaka year in (its) extent (is) ninety-seven and nine,” (and when) the (cyclic) year (was) the well known Hēmaṣambī, the auspicious month indeed Kārttika, (and) the day of the dark (half) the twelfth (tithi) a Monday,<sup>2</sup>—

(V 2) Hail <sup>1</sup> Glorious, praised by the whole world, the best of the Avachas, rich in virtue, firm in extensive and beautiful heroism, piercing (enemies), giving (alms), (and) protecting (the subjects)—(such were) the chiefs of Nugunādu

(V 3) In the said family the matchless Eroyanga was born, his own son (was) Êcha, resembling Manu, the son born to him (was) Javanīyarma,<sup>10</sup> excelling in knowledge

(V 4) Now to that Javanīyya and to Jākabbe who was called an ornament of women, so that they obtained (great) good (by his birth), was born Raviga,<sup>11</sup> (who resembled) a thunderbolt of destruction to the great mountains—hostile races

(V 5) When Raviga was born, knowledge was produced along (with him), along with knowledge (proper) income (or revenue) was born, along with proper income liberality was generated does so much exist among other people?

<sup>1</sup> Read -ariv

<sup>2</sup> Read sand=i

<sup>3</sup> Cancel the anusvāra.

<sup>4</sup> Read sakala-

<sup>5</sup> Kadaḥisuge is kḍu and aḥisuge, this aḥisuge being in meaning equal to alavadiṣuge, see alavadiṣu under aḥa, 2, in my Dictionary

<sup>6</sup> Read =arīkeyavan=āda.

<sup>7</sup> Regarding the verb kandarīsu (which appears also as khandarīsu), ‘to engrave,’ it may be remarked that it is a tadbhava-form of khandīsu, ‘to cut,’ from the Sanskrit khandana, ‘cutting,’ which noun appears also in the tadbhava-form of khandarane, ‘engraving,’ as Dr Hultzsch informs me. Compare the corresponding formation of chētarīsu and chētarane from chēlana (see my Dictionary). For the use of khandarīsu, with the aspirated kh, see above, Vol V p 214, p 231, notes 3 and 13, and for khandarane see p 234, note 7

<sup>8</sup> Read munivara

<sup>9</sup> This date must be connected with verse 15

<sup>10</sup> Or Javanīyya, v 4 Javanīyarma stands for Javanīyarmā, “the noble or strong Javanī” (=Javanīyarmā)

<sup>11</sup> arivim=ārmam the rēpha represents an r (ie arimam), as it does also in drppan (ie arppan) in v 6

<sup>12</sup> He was surnamed “the Rama (or Rāghava) of Nugunādu,” vv 6 and 22

(V 6) When one says "the Râma of Nugunâdu, the chief of Kudiyas (Śûdras), (and) the ornament of Kudiyas" (*it refers to*) one who in (*this*) age of sin is fully equal in happiness liberality (and) heroism to Karna how can foolish people compare the base, the bad, the dishonest, the lawless the men of a mere appearance of greatness at the present period, with the best one of the Avachas, who is called a blessed man?

(V 7) So that the kings who were called Chôla, Pallava, Pândya, Silâméggha, Kérala, Sôrata, Gôva, Bhôja, Lâla, Gajapati, Hayapati, Narapati, heard (*of it*) in (*their*) courts, (and) so that actors, bards (and) minstrels fixed their thoughts on him and were zealously active to praise (*him*),—(*so*) great was Jayangonda-Chôla-Permâdi-Gâvunda,<sup>1</sup> who was a ruby of assemblies, (*he*) the very worthy man

(V 8) When the Chôla king<sup>2</sup> presented (*him*) with a pearl umbrella, a conch, cymbals (and) a royal elephant, (*he*) the chief of Kudiyas (Śûdras) got indeed the rank of a *Mandalâka* i.e. of a superintendent of a province)

(V 9) To the further shore of the sea, to the end of the world, (and) also to the great elephants of the points of the compass, there approached and quickly spread and nicely grew the creeper of the fame of the chief of Kudiyas (Śûdras)

(V 10) To Bûtabbe, the virtuous wife of the headman (*of the village*) of Nâlgôdu, who resembled Manu, (and *who was*) the chief of (*the district of*) Edenadu, a mine of refinement (and) a veracious man, was born one who got the name of 'the Sita of the age of sin'<sup>3</sup>

(V 11) (*Her*), Ponnakka,<sup>4</sup> a pearl of women, the chief of Belatûru, from love, took in marriage,—he who was so renowned that he was called an equal of Manu are others of the wives on earth equal to his wife?

(V 12) How could one compare Ponnakabbe of pure mind with the vicious, worthless, reprobate, ill-natured, low women of the present day, who are unfit to be called equal to Parvatî, Rambhâ, Mênaka, Sarasvatî Rukminî (and) Satyabhâmâ in matchless character, virtue, excellent liberality (and) innate devotion?

(V 13) When (*they*) gave Dêkabbe,<sup>5</sup>—who was born to Ponnabbe that was of pleasing conduct and decorous behaviour, a purifier of (*her*) family, of an admirable disposition, (and) a pearl of women, and to Raviga,—(*in marriage*) to the brave Êcha, (*the headman*) of Pervayal, the chief of Navalênâdu, (and) of the Kuruvanda family he lived happily with the lotus-eyed one, the gem of good conduct, who was devoted to (*her*) husband

(V 14) When (*he*) the grinding-stone of (*his*) enemies, who was renowned as a wrestler, (*thus*) lived happily, (*but in course of time*) grappled with his kinsmen<sup>6</sup> and by (*his*) superiority pierced (and killed them), the king took him off straight to Talekâdu and killed (*him*)

(V 15) When the beautiful woman, the light of the family of Raviga, heard the report that they had pierced and killed the strong hero who was called "the Vêla (Skanda) in the age of sin," she walked to the (*fire*)-pit in order to die

(V 16) When (*her*) father, mother and near relatives came, said "Daughter, do not die!, desist!", and all embraced (*her*) feet, the blameless Dêkabbe became angry and loudly spoke—

(V 17) "As I am known as the daughter of Raviga, the chief of Nugunâdu, and as the wife of the chief of Navalênâdu, can I wish to live while the house which gave (*me and that*) which took (*me*) loses (*its*) good name?"

<sup>1</sup> I.e. "the village-chief of His Majesty Jayangonda Chôla" viz. of Râjadhîrâja, see above, p. 214 and note 3

<sup>2</sup> Probably Râjadhîrâja, the predecessor of Rajendradêva

<sup>3</sup> I.e. Ponnakka v. 11

<sup>4</sup> Or Ponnakabbe, v. 12, or Ponnabbe, v. 13

<sup>5</sup> Or Dêkale, v. 21

<sup>6</sup> "His kinsmen" might be grammatically applied either to the kinsmen of the Chôla king or to those of Êcha

(V 18f) Thus the lotus-faced one spake, made a final decision, presented with propriety the soil of a garden-plot to the god for a perpetual lamp, and gave, with reverential deportment (and) with great desire, for oblations regularly repeated, after (she) would have died, the Goli-paddy field on the south-western side (which requires) five *lolas* (i.e. *lolagas*) of seed, and (she) the noble daughter of the lord of Nugunādu ordered (thus) again and again

(V 20) Then all united said "Do not (die)!, desist!", (but) Dēkabbe said "Speak not but go', I will not desist," and respectfully giving land, gold(-embroidered) clothes, cows and money as a present, she piously put the palms of (her) hands together (in obeisance) to the god of gods, entered the blazing flames, and went with glory to the world of gods, so that the whole earth will be pleased (with her) and continually praise her

(V 21) She who is known as possessing the beauty, knowledge, goodness, liberality and victory of the goddess Śrī. Gaurī, Śāchī, the daughter of the earth (Sītā), Ratī, (and) the goddess of the earth, (and) as being rich in renown, intelligent, dispelling fear, devoted to (her) husband, (and) firm in strength,—this mine of heroism, (this) ocean of resoluteness, (this) beautiful mine of good qualities, (viz) the renowned Dēkale, this pearl of women,—who can forget her?, what woman on the whole earth (is) therefore equal to (this) excellent woman?

(V 22) The Raghava (Rāma) of Nugunādu, the refuge of the learned, a lion to the angry, a chastiser of knaves,<sup>1</sup> ardent in prowess, the chief of Kūṭiyas (Śūdras), a Karna in the age of man, powerful over the envious, a wishing stone to the bards, (and carrying) Śiva's feet on (his) head,<sup>2</sup> erected for his daughter from affection (this) stone-monument for the whole province, as a document (and) as a representation (of what his daughter had done)

(Line 33) Hail! May those who are born in this family, protect and keep up the garden-plot (that is) a flower field, and on the southern side of the Nirmanamālī-tank the paddy-field (requiring) five *lolagas* (of seed), which Dēkabbe left to Mahādēva! Those who do not fulfil (this), will become victims to hell

(V 23) A discus to those among Brahmanas who fret, a sun the (distinguishing) mark of which is that it has neither spot nor veiling, Malla, who has recognised knowledge, who is never (excessively) verbose, and who is a friend of eminent poets, wrote this

(L 36) The Āchārī<sup>3</sup> of "the lion to the angry," the Āchārī of "him who is powerful over the envious,"<sup>4</sup> engraved (this)

No 20 — BHIMAVARAM INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGA I,  
SAKA-SAMVAT 1037

By E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

This inscription (No 473 of 1893) is engraved on a pillar in the *mandapa* in front of the Nārāyaṇasvamin temple at Bhimavaram in the Cocanada division of the Gōdavarī district. It consists of two Sanskrit verses and a passage in Telugu prose

<sup>1</sup> This is a translation of the compound *māchakadāvaḥam*. *Māchaka* stands for *mājaka* and *dāvaḥam* is a *tadbhava* of *dāpana*, *v* having taken the place of *p* (compare *karada* for *kapata*, *kavile* for *kapile*, etc.) and *l* that of *n* (compare *chandaḥa* for *chandana*, *lambaḥa* for *lambana*)

<sup>2</sup> I.e. 'a worshipper of Śiva,' see *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II, p. 388, note 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Āchārī* may be translated 'artificer'.

<sup>4</sup> According to verse 22 'a lion to the angry' and 'powerful over the envious' were surnames of Ravi-ga.

The date is Śaka-Samvat 1037 (l 14 f) and the 45th year of the reign (l 13 f) of a Chālukya king who bore the surnames Parāntaka<sup>1</sup> (l 1), Sarvalōkāśraya and Vishnuvardhana-mahārāja (l 11 f) If the regnal year is deducted from the Śaka year, the result is Śaka-Samvat 992 = A D 1070 as the date of the king's accession to the throne Consequently he must be identical with the Chālukya-Chōla king Rājendra-Chōla II *alias* Kulōttunga-Chōla I whose reign is known to have commenced in A D 1070<sup>2</sup>

The purpose of the inscription is to record the gift of a lamp to Nārāyaṇa<sup>3</sup> (l. 18), the deity of the temple in which it is still found and which is stated to have been built by a Vaisya named Mandaya<sup>4</sup> (ll 7 and 18) Bhimavaram bore the name of Chālukyabhimāpura<sup>5</sup> or *vara* (ll 6 f and 17) and belonged to the district of Sakatamantam-nāṇdu (l 16 f) The date of the grant was the vernal equinox (l 15 f) The donor of the lamp was a minister of the king, named Mādhava (l 3) and surnamed Rājavallabha (l 2) He was a native of the Chōla country (l 19), and his full Tamil name was Vēlān Mādhavan, *alias* Rājavallabha-Pallavaraiyan (l 21 f) The small Leyden grant (ll. 11 f and 49), which was issued in the 20th year of the reign of Kulōttunga I, contains the name of a minister (*śāmdhuigrahaṇ*) Rājavallabha-Pallavaraiyan, who is perhaps identical with the donor of the subjoined inscription

The following is a list of other inscriptions of Kulōttunga I which contain both a Śaka date and a regnal year All are in the Bhimēśvara temple at Drākshārāma,<sup>6</sup> with the exception of No 1 which is near the Nāgēśvara temple at Chēbrōlu<sup>7</sup>

A — Inscriptions in which the king is designated only by his titles *Sarvalōkāśraya-śrī-Vishnu-ardhana-mahārāja*<sup>8</sup>

1 — No 151 of 1897.

- 1 Svasti <sup>9</sup>Śakha-varshambhu 998 n-ēmti Nala-śamvatsa-<sup>10</sup>
- 2 ra srahu svastu Sarvalōkāśraya-śrī-
- 3 <sup>11</sup>Vishnuvarddhana-mahārājula pravarddhamā-
- 4 na-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara[mblu]<sup>12</sup> 7 n-ēndu . . .
- 6 . . . . Māḡa-māsamuna
- 7 punnamayu <sup>13</sup>Sukravaramuna sōmagrahana-
- 8 nimittamunan= . .

2 — No 180 of 1893.

- 1 <sup>14</sup>Saka-var[sha]mbulu 1006 svasti [Sa]rvalōkāśraya-śrī-Vishnuvarddhana-mahārājula pravarddhamā-
- 2 na-vijaya-rājya-samvatsaramu 15 gu [śrā\*]hu dina 307 ndum . . . .

3. — No 374 of 1893.

- 1 [Sra]stu Śaka-va[r\*]shambulu 1036 svasti Sarvalōkāśraya-śrī-Vishnuvarddhana-mahārājula<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This had been the name of two Chola kings; see *South Ind Inscr* Vol I p 112.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol IV. p 266

<sup>3</sup> According to other inscriptions the name of the temple was Rājanārayana-Vinnagara, see above, Vol IV. p 280 and note 8

<sup>4</sup> In the Donepūndi grant the temple is referred to as Maṇḍe Nāravana, above, Vol IV p. 358

<sup>5</sup> This name is derived from that of Chālukya-Bhīma I, see above, Vol IV p 227

<sup>6</sup> See above, Vol IV p 37, note 3

<sup>7</sup> See above, Vol V. p 142, and Vol VI p 35

<sup>8</sup> Prof Kielhorn's calculations of the dates 1 and 3 will be published shortly

<sup>9</sup> Read *Śāla-*

<sup>10</sup> Read *-samvatsa°*

<sup>11</sup> Read *Viśṇu°*

<sup>12</sup> The syllable *ra* is engraved below the line, read *-samvatsa°*

<sup>13</sup> Read *Śakra°*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *Śaka-*

<sup>15</sup> Read *rajarājula*

2 [pra]varddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-divya-samvatsa 45 Dhanu-māsamuna śukla-  
pa[kshamu]na śkāda-

3 [ś]iyu Budhavāramu-nāndu Uttarāyana-vyatyipāta-nimittamuna . . . . .

B—Inscriptions in which the full titles and names of the king are given as follows —  
*Samastabhuvanāśraya Śriprihvivallabha mahārājādhirāja rājaparamēśvara paramabhaṭṭ[ā\*]-  
raka Rāṣikulatīlaka Chōdakulaśekhara Pāndyakulāmtaka Samastarājāśraya Rājarājēndra  
Vīramahēndra Vīramachōḍa Vijayābharana Rājakēsarivarmma-permmanadigala<sup>3</sup> Gamggā-  
Kārcīri-paryyamta-dharitri-patī<sup>3</sup> saptamō Viṣṇuvarddhanul=ama<sup>4</sup> tribhuvanachakravartti<sup>5</sup>  
sri-Kulōttumga-Chōdadīa*

4.—No 365 of 1893.

7 . . . Śāk-ābdē nayana-āksu-kh-ēndu-ganitō<sup>6</sup> . . .  
12 vat[sa]<sup>7</sup> 31 ndagu śr[ā]hi dina 300 nda . . . .

5.—No. 389 of 1893.

3 . . . Śāk-ābdā[nām pra]-  
4 minē nidhi-nayana-viyach-chandra-gē<sup>8</sup> . . [sa]m[k]rāmtiām Vaishu-  
vatiām= . . .  
11 . . . . . rājya-sam[va]tsarambulu [3]7 dina 289 nda Viṣṇuvu-samkr[ā\*]m-  
12 ti-[ni]mittamuna .

6—No 386 of 1893.

4 . . . . . Śāk-ābdē nidhi-nē[tra]-kh-ēndu-[gan]itō<sup>9</sup> . . . .  
8 [rā]jya-samvatsarambulu [3]7 dina 289 nda . . . . Viṣṇuvu-sam[krāmti-  
nmi]ttamuna . . . .

7—No. 402 of 1893

4 . . . . . Śaka-va[rusha]mbulu 1034 . . . . .  
8 . . . . . rā-  
9 jya-samvatsa [4]2 śrāhi dina 220 ndan=Uttarāyana-samkr[ā\*]mti-nimitya-  
munam . . . . .

8—No 415 of 1893.

1 Svasti Śaka-varusha[m]bulu [10]37 . . . . .  
4 . . . . . rājya-divya-samva-  
5 tsa 45 śr[ā]hi . . . . .

9—No 194 of 1893.

3 . . . . . Śāk[k]-ābdē vyōma-vēd-āmba[ra-śaśi]-ga[ni]tā<sup>10</sup> . . . . .  
4 . . . . . Śaka-va[r\*]shambulu 104[0] nda . . . . .  
7 jya-divya-samvatsa 49 yagu śr[ā\*]hi dinamulu 250 . . . . . =Uttarāyana-  
samkr[ā\*]m[ti-ni]-  
8 mtittamuna<sup>12</sup> . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Read -ryatipāta

<sup>2</sup> No 386 of 1893 omits this compound and inserts *naya bhuj-ōpārjyeta* before *Gamggā*.

<sup>3</sup> Nos 194, 365, 402 and 415 of 1893 omit *dharitri pati*.

<sup>4</sup> No 365 of 1893 reads °nund=aina (singular instead of plural)

<sup>5</sup> No 365 of 1893 inserts *śrīmat* before *tribhuvana*<sup>6</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Read *rājya samvatsara*

<sup>10</sup> I.e. Śaka-Samvat 1040

<sup>8</sup> I.e. Śaka Samvat 1029

<sup>11</sup> Read *rājya*

<sup>6</sup> I.e. Śaka Samvat 1022

<sup>9</sup> I.e. Śaka Samvat 1029

<sup>12</sup> Read °mittamuna.

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

## A — West Face

- 1 स्वस्ति [श्री]शसमे परांतकनृपे चालुक्यराज्य-
- 2 त्रिय प्राप्ता रक्षति राजवल्लभ इति [स्त्र्या]-
- 3 त' कृतो माधवः [1<sup>2</sup>] तन्मन्त्रिप्रवर[\*] स्ववन्धुस-
- 4 दृ[शो] लोक[स्य] लो[को]त्तर[श्रीको]त्ति[\*] अत्रतरक्षणे-
- 5 कनिपुणो लक्ष्मीपतिप्रीतिमान् [॥ १\*] श्रीचा-
- 6 लुक्यधरासरोवृजसमे<sup>2</sup> चालुक्यभी-
- 7 मापुरे श्रीमन्मण्डयवैश्ववर्धर-
- 8 चिते लक्ष्मीपतेर्दामनि [1\*] दत्तादाम-
- 9 हिषोस्तु विशतिमतिस्त्राघ्या ३बभुक्षो-
- 10 रिणीराचंद्रार्कमनश्चरं स्थिरयशा
- 11 दीप प्रदीपो भुवः [॥ २<sup>2</sup>] स्वस्ति सर्व्वलो-
- 12 काश्रयश्रीविष्णुवर्द्धनमहाराजु-
- 13 ल प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यस-
- 14 वत्सरवुलु ४५ गु आहि सक-<sup>4</sup>

## B — South Face

- 15 वषवुलु<sup>5</sup> १०३७ गुनेण्डि<sup>6</sup> चै-
- 16 त्रविषुवसंक्रांतिनि[मित्त]मुन सक-
- 17 टमत्तनिनाण्डि चालुक्यभीमावुरमुन
- 18 मण्डयगुडि नारायणदेवरकुं
- 19 [जो]डमण्डलमुन बिरुदराजभय-<sup>7</sup>
- 20 करवलनाण्डि मन्निनाण्डि कडवगुडय-
- 21 [ण्ड] वेलाण्डु माधवुण्डैन राजवल्लभप-
- 22 लवरयण्डु आचद्रार्कमुन[कु]नखण्ड-
- 23 वत्तिगा वेष्टिन दीप[सु]न[कु] गुण्डि[य]-
- 24 [वो]युनि कोडकु पापन[वो]युनियु गो-
- 25 मनवोयुनि कोडकु गु[ण्डि]यवोयुनि-
- 26 [यु] वसमुनं वेष्टि[न] एनुमुलु २० [1\*] वीनि-

<sup>1</sup> From an inked estampage prepared by Mr H Krishna Sastri, B A<sup>2</sup> Read °सरोवृज°<sup>3</sup> Read वहु°<sup>4</sup> Read शक°<sup>5</sup> Read °वषवुलु<sup>6</sup> Read °नेण्डि<sup>7</sup> The *anustara* stands at the beginning of the next line

27 कि नित्यपडिं [वीय]गल निति राज-

28 राजमानयोक्कु[ण्डु] [॥\*]

### TRANSLATION.

#### A — Sanskrit portion.

Hail ! While king Parāntaka, who resembled (Vishnu) the lord of Śrī, was protecting the fortune, acquired (*by him*), of the Chālukya kingdom,— the best of his ministers, the pious Mādhava, who was renowned by the name of Rājavallabha, who seemed to be a near relative of (*all*) men, whose prosperity and fame were extraordinary, who was excessively skilled in protecting refugees, who was devoted to (Vishnu) the lord of Lakshmi, whose fame was constant, (*and who was*) the light of the earth,— having given a lamp, which was not to cease (*burning*) as long as the moon and the sun shall exist, to the temple of the lord of Lakshmi, which had been built by the illustrious Mandaya, the best of Vaiśyas, in Chālukyabhimāpura, which resembles a lotus in the tank (*that is*) the prosperous Chālukya country,— gave twenty most excellent buffalo cows which supplied much milk

#### B — Telugu portion.

Hail ! In the 45th year of the increasing and victorious reign of the asylum of the whole world (*Sarvalōkāśraya*), the glorious Vishnuvardhana-mahārāja, (*and*) in the Śaka year 1037, on the occasion of the Vishuva-samkrānti in Chaitra,— Vēlāndu Mādhavundu, *alias* Rājavallabha-Pallavarayandu,<sup>1</sup> the lord of Kadambangu[di]<sup>2</sup> in Manni-nāndu,<sup>3</sup> (*a subdivision*) of Brudarājabhayamkara-valanāndu,<sup>4</sup> (*a district*) of Chōḍa-mandala, gave a lamp, whose wick must not cease (*burning*) as long as the moon and the sun shall exist, to Nārāyanadeva, (*the god*) of the Mandaya temple at Chālukyabhimāvura in Sakatamantani-nāndu For (*this lamp he*) gave 20 buffalo-cows into the possession of Pāpana-Bōya, the son of Gundiya-Bōya, and of Gundiya-Bōya, the son of Gōsana-Bōya From these (*buffalo-cows*) one Rājārāja-measure<sup>5</sup> of ghee has to be supplied daily (*for feeding the lamp*)

### No 21 — TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF VIKRAMA-CHOLA

By E HULTZSCH, PH D

#### A — Chébrôlu Inscription of Śaka-Samvat 1049.

This inscription (No 153 of 1897) is engraved on a slab in the Kēsavasvāmīn temple at Chébrôlu in the Bāpatla taluka of the Kistna district The alphabet is Telugu, and the language is likewise Telugu, with the exception of one corrupt Sanskrit ślōka at the end of the inscription

<sup>1</sup> The Telugu nominatives Vēlāndu and Pallavarayandu represent the Tamil Vēlān and Pallavaraiyan Mādhavundu is the Telugu nominative of Mādhava

<sup>2</sup> Kadambangudayandu corresponds to the Tamil Kadambangudayān, an abbreviated form of Kadamban gudi vādayān

<sup>3</sup> The district of Manni nādu is mentioned in Tamil inscriptions, *South-Ind Inscr* Vol II pp 125, 324, 336, and Vol III p 162

<sup>4</sup> This territorial designation is derived from a surname of Kulottunga-Chōla I, which occurs in the *Kalingattu Parani*, *South Ind Inscr* Vol III p 152

<sup>5</sup> This measure may have been named after the Eastern Chālukya king Rājārāja I.



The date is the day of a lunar eclipse in the month of Jyaishta in the cyclic year Plava, which corresponded to the Śaka year 1049 and to the 9th year of the reign of Vikrama-Chôladêva (l 11 ff) <sup>1</sup> Śaka Samvat 1049 (expired) corresponds to the cyclic year Plavanga (not to Plava as the inscription has it) and to A.D. 1127-28. As this was the 9th year of the king's reign, he must have ascended the throne about A.D. 1119. This result is in accordance with the fact that his father Kulôttunga-Chôla I ascended the throne in A.D. 1070<sup>2</sup> and reigned for 49 or 50 years<sup>3</sup> to about A.D. 1119. According to Professor Kielhorn's calculations, the inscriptions of Vikrama Chôla in the Tamil country seem to show that his reign began on the 18th July A.D. 1108.<sup>4</sup> This discrepancy may be explained by assuming that 1108 was the year in which he was appointed *yuvarâja*, while his actual accession to the throne took place after his father's death in A.D. 1119.

The name of the king is preceded by a list of his *birudas*. These are identical with the surnames borne by his father Kulôttunga-Chôla I <sup>5</sup> Among them we find Vikrama-Chôla (l 7 f), which was one of the *birudas* of his father, but is rather out of place here because it is identical with the name of the king himself, and Râjakêsarivarman (l 8 f), which is known to have been a surname of the former, while Vikrama-Chôla in his Tamil inscriptions bears the title Parakêsarivarman.<sup>6</sup>

The inscription records the grant of a lamp to the temple of Kumârasvâmin (l 18 f) or Mahâsêna (l 33) at Chembrôlu (l 18), the modern Chêbrôlu. Hence it appears that the slab containing the inscription, which is now in the Kêsavasvâmin temple, was originally set up in the temple of Kumârasvâmin, which is now called Nâgêśvara.<sup>7</sup>

The donor was a feudatory of Vikrama-Chôla,—the *mahâmandalêśvara* Nambaya (l 30 f) of the Durjaya family (l 23 f). Among his surnames are 'the lord of the city of Kollipâkâ' (l 22 f), 'the lord of the country of six-thousand (villages) on the southern bank of the Krishnavennâ river' (ll 25-27), and 'the scent-elephant of Malla' (l 28). Kollipâkâ is mentioned as Kollipâke in an inscription of the Western Chalukya king Jayasîmha II <sup>8</sup> and as Kollippâkka in the inscriptions of Râjêndra-Chôla I <sup>9</sup> and of Râjâdhirâja <sup>10</sup>. The second surname of Nambaya was borne later on by the chiefs of Amarâvatî <sup>11</sup>.

From another inscription of the same chief in the Bhimêśvara temple at Drâkshârâma (No 266 of 1893)<sup>12</sup> we learn that he ruled over the district of Ongêrumârga.—[Svasti] sa[madhi]gata-pamechchamah[â]śabda-mahâmandalêśvara Kollipâkâ-puravarêśvara Durjjayakula-kumuda-chandra upuga[ja]-mri(mri)gêmdra mallikâ-vallabha [pa]râmgganâ-durllabha vilâsa-Vidyâdhara bhôga-Puramdara Kri(kri)shn[a]vennânâdi-tradaksina-<sup>13</sup> shat[s]ahasra-vishay-âdi(dhî)śvara vira-Mahêśvara kirtti-sudhâkara guna-ratnâkara Vêmggi-Châlukya-râjya-mu(mû)lastambha <sup>14</sup>ripudalitakumbhikumbha Jayâmgganâ-grî(gri)ha-tôrana Mallana-gamn[dh]avârâna nâm-âdi-samasta-prâsasti-sah[1]tamb[u]na śrîman mahâmandalêśvaray=Ongêrumârggamuna Nambirâju Śaka-[va][1\*]shamulu 1052 nd=agun=êmti Vaisâkha-punnamayû Sôma-vâramu Vyatipâta-m[m]ittamunamdu . . . "On the

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Kielhorn's calculation of this date will be published shortly.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 220, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV p. 55, and above, Vol. IV p. 227. <sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. IV p. 266.

<sup>5</sup> See page 221 above. The only *biruda* which was not taken over by Vikrama Chôla, is *saptamô Vishnu-vardhanah*.

<sup>6</sup> See *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II No. 68, and above, Vol. IV pp. 73 and 263 f.

<sup>7</sup> See above, Vol. V p. 143.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. III p. 231.

<sup>9</sup> *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I Nos. 67 and 68, and Vol. II Nos. 9 and 20.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. III p. 52.

<sup>11</sup> See above, p. 147 and note 4.

<sup>12</sup> This inscription is noticed by Dr. Fleet from Sir Walter Elliot's transcript. *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 437 f, note 6.

<sup>13</sup> Read *dakshinatra*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *dalitaripu*?

occasion of Vyatipāta on Monday, the full-moon *tithi* of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 1052," etc

The same slab bears an inscription of Trailōkyamalla, the son of Nambhīrāja (No. 267 of 1893) — Svasti samadī(dhī)gata-pamchehamahāsha(śa)bda-mahāmandalēśvara Kollipākā-puravar-ādhiśvara Durjjayakula-kumud[a]-chandra ripugaja-mri(mri)gēmdra mal[l]ikā-vallabha pa[r]āmgganā-rdullabha<sup>1</sup> [vilā]sa-V[i]dyādharma bhōga-Puram[da]ra Kr[ī](kri)shnavernnānādī-tīradakshina-shatsahasra-vishay-ādhiśvara vīra-Mahēśvara kī[r]tti[-suda(dhā)kara gunaratna-ratnākara V[ē]m[gg]i[-Chālukya-[rā] . . . . . [r]pa[da]htaku[m]bhikumbha Ja[y]ā[m]gganā-gr[ī](grī)ha-tōrana [sat]ya-Harīś[ch]andra dīnānādhā(tha)jāna-sasya-pramēghavarsha Nambbhana-gamdda(dha)vārana nām-ādī-samastī-prasasti-sah[ī]tambuna śrīman-[m]ah[ā]mānda . . . . . r[gg]amuna Nambh[ī]rā[ju] ko[du]ku Trailōkyamalleraju svasti [Śa]ka [va][r\*]shambulu 1081 n=ēmtti Vaiśākha-bh[ī]lapaksha ashtamiyu Śa[ni]v[ā]ramuna . . . . . "On Saturday, the eighth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 1081," etc

It will be noticed that in this inscription Trailōkyamalla is called 'the scent-elephant of Nambha,' i.e. of his father Nambaya or Nambhīrāja. Consequently it may be assumed that the latter, who bore the surname 'the scent-elephant of Malla,' was the son of Malla. In this way we obtain three generations of the chiefs of Ongērumārga — Malla; his son Nambha, Nambaya or Nambhīrāja, and his son Trailōkyamalla.

Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks "The date of No 266 of 1893 would correspond, for Śaka-Samvat 1052 current, to Sunday, 5th May A.D. 1129, and for Śaka-Samvat 1052 expired, to Friday, 25th April A.D. 1130. In Śaka-Samvat 1053 expired, the full moon *tithi* of Vaiśākha commenced 7 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 13th April A.D. 1131, when the *yōga* was Vyatipāta for about the last quarter of the day. I believe this to be the day intended, but can give no reason why the writer should not have quoted Tuesday (the 14th April) on which the full-moon *tithi* ended. The date of No 267 of 1893 would correspond, for Śaka-Samvat 1081 current, to Wednesday, 23rd April A.D. 1158, for Śaka-Samvat 1081 expired, to Tuesday, 12th May A.D. 1159, and for Śaka-Samvat 1082 expired, to Saturday, the 30th April A.D. 1160, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 18 hours after mean sunrise. In both dates the given Śaka year is short by 1 of the year of our Tables. This is not uncommon in dates from the eastern part of Eastern India."<sup>2</sup>

### TEXT.<sup>3</sup>

#### A — Front of Slab

- 1 स्वस्ति समस्तभुवनाय्य
- 2 श्रीप्रद्योतनम सह[ī\*]राजा-
- 3 धिराज राजपरमेश्वर प-
- 4 रमभट्ट[ī\*]रक रविकुलतिलक चो-
- 5 लकुलसेखर<sup>5</sup> पाण्ड्यकुलां<sup>6</sup>
- 6 त्तक समस्तराजाय्य राजरा-
- 7 जेंद्र वीरमहेंद्र विक्रमचो-

<sup>1</sup> Read -*durllabha*

<sup>2</sup> From two inked estampages

<sup>3</sup> The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>4</sup> "See e.g. my *List of North. Inscr.* Nos 867 and 970

<sup>5</sup> Read श्रीपुष्टी

<sup>6</sup> Read श्रीश्वर.

- 8 ७७ विजया[भ]रन<sup>1</sup> श्रीराजके-
- 9 <sup>2</sup>सरिवम्पपेर्मनडिगलु गंगा-
- 10 कावेरीपय्यांत(क)<sup>3</sup> श्रीम[त्\*]त्रि[भु]-
- 11 वनचक्रवर्त्ति<sup>4</sup> विक्रमचो-
- 12 ७७देवर 'प्रवर्द्धमानवि-
- 13 जयराज्यसंवत्सरंबु-
- 14 लु ८ अगुने[रिट] 'सक[व]-
- 15 रुषंबुलु १०४८ अ-
- 16 गु 'प्रवसंवत्सर जेष्ट<sup>7</sup>
- 17 मास सोमग्रह्ननिमित्य<sup>8</sup>
- 18 मुन चेलोलि श्रीकुमा-
- 19 [रस्ता]मिदेवरकुनख-
- 20 [गुडव]त्तिदिवियकु स्वस्ति
- 21 समधिगतपंचमह[र]श-
- 22 ब्दमहामण्डलेश्वर कोलिपा-
- 23 कापुरवरेश्वर दुर्ज[य]-
- 24 कुलकुलाचलन्निगेद्र<sup>9</sup> स-
- 25 त्यहरिचंद्र <sup>10</sup>क्रिष्णवेन्नान-
- 26 <sup>11</sup>दीदक्षिनतीरषट्सहस्र<sup>12</sup>
- 27 महीवल्लभ मल्लिका-

*B — Back of Slab*

- 28 वल्लभ मल्लनगंधवारन<sup>13</sup>
- 29 नामादिसमस्तप्रसस्तसहि<sup>14</sup>
- 30 तं <sup>15</sup>श्रीमनुमह[र\*]मण्डलेश्व-
- 31 र नंबय यिच्चिन गोळिय
- 32 ५० [र\*] वीनि चेलोनि संत्तानक्र-
- 33 मंबुन गाचि मह[र\*]सेन-

<sup>1</sup> Read 'भरण

<sup>2</sup> Read 'वर्म'

<sup>3</sup> Read 'पर्यंत' and add 'धरिचोपति' in accordance with some inscriptions of Kulōttunga Chōla I, see above, p 221

<sup>4</sup> Read 'प्रवर्द्धमान'.

<sup>5</sup> Read 'शक'.

<sup>6</sup> Read 'प्रव'

<sup>7</sup> Read 'जेष्ट' or, more correctly, 'जेष्ट'

<sup>8</sup> Read 'ग्रहण'.

<sup>9</sup> Read 'सर्गेद्र'.

<sup>10</sup> Read 'कृष्णवेण्या'

<sup>11</sup> Read 'दक्षिण'

<sup>12</sup> Read 'सहस्र'

<sup>13</sup> Read 'वारण'.

<sup>14</sup> Read 'प्रशस्ति'

<sup>15</sup> Read 'श्रीमन्'

[illegible]

28  
29  
30  
32  
34  
36  
38  
40  
42



- 34 मुन नित्य मानेणु नेयि  
 35 वीयगलवाण्डु सूरवी-  
 36 युनि कोमय [1\*] इंदुल  
 37 स्थानपतुलु मुन्नूर्वुरु  
 38 सानुलु मुन्नूर्वरुयलु व्र-  
 39 तियालिपंगलवारु । स्रदत्त<sup>1</sup> प-  
 40 रदत्तं ग्वा यो हरितु स्व-  
 41 सुदर [1\*] पपि वरुपश-  
 42 ह्यनि मिष्टयां जा-  
 43 यते क्रिमि ॥

## TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Hail! In the 9th year of the increasing and victorious reign of the asylum of the whole world, the favourite of Fortune and of the Earth, *Mahārājādhirāja, Rājaparamēśvara, Paramabhāṣāraka*, the front-ornament of the race of the Sun, the crest-jewel of the Chōla family, the destroyer of the Pāndya family, the asylum of all kings, *Rājārājendra, Vira-Mahendra, Vikrama-Chōla*, he whose ornament is victory, the glorious *Rājakesari-varma-Permanad*, [the lord of the earth] as far as the Gangā and the Kāvēri, the glorious emperor of the three worlds, *Vikrama-Chōlādēva*,—

(L 14) On the occasion of an eclipse of the moon in the month of Jyēsthā in the *Plava-samvatsara* which was the Śaka year 1049,—

(L 20) Hail! the glorious *Mahāmandalēśvara Nambaya*, who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahāmandalēśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds, the lord of *Kollipākā*, the best of cities, the lion of the principal mountain—the *Durjaya* family; a *Hariśchandra* in truthfulness; the lord of the country of six-thousand (*villages*) on the southern bank of the *Krishnavennā* river, the lover of the jasmine flower, (*and*) the scent-elephant of *Malla*,—

(Ll 18-20 and l 31 f) gave 50 sheep to the temple of the god *Kumārasvāmin* at *Chembrōlu* for a perpetual lamp

(L 32) Having received these (*sheep*), *Kommaya*, (*the son*) of *Sūra-Bōya*, with (*his*) descendants in succession, has to tend (*them*) and to supply daily to the *Mahāsēna* (*temple*) one *māna*<sup>2</sup> of ghee

(L 36) The three-hundred temple servants (*sthānapati*) (*and*) the three-hundred dancing-girls of this place have to protect (*this grant*)

[Ll. 39-43 contain one of the usual minatory verses]

B.—*Śevilmēdu* Inscription of the Sixteenth Year.

This inscription (No 43 of 1900) is engraved on the west wall of the *Kailāsanātha* temple at *Śevilmēdu*, a village on the northern bank of the *Pālāru* and about 2 miles south-west of *Conjeeveram*

\* This well known Sanskrit verse is here full of mistakes

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 156, note 3

The inscription consists of eight verses in quaint Sanskrit. The alphabet is Grantha. The Tamil letter *r* is used in *Kômpura* (vv 4 and 7) Final *m* is employed instead of *anustāra* in *chiram*, *vidushām* (v 2) and *labdham* (v. 5) Instead of *prôdghrīṣṭa* and *udbhava* we find *prôdghrīṣṭa* (v 1) and *utbhava* (v. 3) *Āmhiaya* occurs twice (vv. 1 and 2) instead of *āhvaya*, and *sā[r\*]ddha* (v 5) instead of *sārttha* The Tamil names *Kirāñji*, *Ōṭimūḷḷi*, *Koṭi*, *Ponnambi* and *Kômbura* are spelt *Kirāñchi* (v 8), *Ōṭimūḷḷi* (v 4), *Koṭi* (v 5), *Ponnampi* (v 6) and *Kômpura* (vv 4 and 7), with *ch*, *t* and *p* instead of *j*, *d* and *b*

The date is Monday, the day of Uttara in the second fortnight of Vaiśākha during the sixteenth year of the reign of Vikrama-Chôladêva (v 3)<sup>1</sup> This king bore the surnames Akalanka and Tyāgavārākara (v 1) According to Mr Venkayya, the former is applied to Vikrama-Chôla in the *Kulôttunga-Śôḷan-ulā*, an unpublished Tamil poem composed in honour of Kulôttunga II., and Tyāgasamudra, with which Tyāgavārākara is synonymous, occurs in the *Vikrama-Śôḷan-ulā*<sup>2</sup> and in the Pithāpuram pillar inscription of Mallapadêva<sup>3</sup>

The inscription records that three persons assigned to the Śiva temple in the village of Râjasundari (v 2) or Nripasundari (v 3) some land (v 3) and a garden (v. 5). The village of Râjasundari is evidently identical with Śevilimêdu, and the temple of Śiva, to which the grant was made, is the Kailāsanātha temple<sup>4</sup> on which the inscription is engraved

Besides the subjoined inscription, six Tamil inscriptions have been copied in the same temple, the ancient name of which was Mûlasthāna In three of them (Nos 40-42 of 1900) the village is named Śevānamêdu. It belonged to Virpêdu-nādu<sup>5</sup> or Virpêttu-nādu, a subdivision of Kāliyûr-kôttam,<sup>6</sup> a district of Jayangonda-Chôla-mandalam, and bore the surname Nagarīśvara-chaturvêdimangalam.

#### TEXT 7

1 स्वस्ति श्री ॥— राजा विक्रमचोळ एष ज[य]ति प्राणेश्वरो भूयि-  
योर्भ्यस्सन्नतराजमीलिमकुटप्रोत्पृष्टपादाम्बुजः<sup>8</sup> [१\*] दूरोत्सारि[त]पापराशिरतुल-  
श्रीस्त्यागवाराकरस्सत्सम्पत्तिविवृद्धिहेतुरनिशन्देवोक्तकाङ्क्षय.<sup>9</sup> ॥— [१\*]

2 पुण्यपण्यविपणिस्रस्वतीवासभूमिरमला मुनीन्द्रधीः<sup>10</sup> [१\*] राजसुन्दरि-  
समाह्वयचिरम्<sup>11</sup> ग्राम एष विदुषाम्<sup>12</sup> विराजते ॥— [२\*] <sup>13</sup>श्रीमद्विक्र[म]चोळदेव-  
नृपतेर्व्वर्षि शुभे षोडशे ग्रामे श्रीनृपसुन्दरीति विदिते वैशाखमासेपरे [१\*] पञ्चे  
सीत्तरचन्द्रवारविदिते काले शिवा-

3 यादिशन् <sup>14</sup>कुण्डूरुत्वक्कणभट्टनिखिल[ल]शब्देन लब्धाम् महीम् ॥— [३\*]  
कम्पत्तिप्रभवः कृष्णपुरदेवोरुळाळकः [१\*] आत्[त]कीम्पु[ळ]जो भट्टावोतिमू[क्कि]-

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Kielhorn's calculation of this date will be published shortly

<sup>2</sup> *South-Ind Inscr* Vol II p 309 and note 1

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol IV p 228

<sup>4</sup> The present name of the temple is perhaps alluded to in verse 5 by the words "the ancient (god) who resides on the Kailāsa (mountain)"

<sup>5</sup> The same *nādu* is mentioned also in *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I p 117, and Corrigenda on p 184 Virpêdu is the modern Vippêdu, 2 miles west of Śevilimêdu

<sup>6</sup> The same district is referred to in *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I Nos 84, 85, 147, 148, and Vol. III pp 2, 138, 142

<sup>7</sup> From three inked estampages

<sup>8</sup> Read °प्रोदृष्ट°

<sup>9</sup> Read °काङ्क्षय

<sup>10</sup> Read °धि

<sup>11</sup> Read °समाह्वयचिर

<sup>12</sup> Read विदुषा

<sup>13</sup> The म of °द्विक्र[म]° is engraved below the line

<sup>14</sup> Read °रुद्रव°.

2  
4

புலகுமாரன் பார்த்தவர்களுள்  
புலகுமாரன் பார்த்தவர்களுள்  
புலகுமாரன் பார்த்தவர்களுள்  
புலகுமாரன் பார்த்தவர்களுள்  
புலகுமாரன் பார்த்தவர்களுள்

2  
4

புலகுமாரன் பார்த்தவர்களுள்  
புலகுமாரன் பார்த்தவர்களுள்  
புலகுமாரன் பார்த்தவர்களுள்  
புலகுமாரன் பார்த்தவர்களுள்  
புலகுமாரன் பார்த்தவர்களுள்

2  
4

புலகுமாரன் பார்த்தவர்களுள்  
புலகுமாரன் பார்த்தவர்களுள்  
புலகுமாரன் பார்த்தவர்களுள்  
புலகுமாரன் பார்த்தவர்களுள்  
புலகுமாரன் பார்த்தவர்களுள்

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புலகுமாரன் பார்த்தவர்களுள்  
புலகுமாரன் பார்த்தவர்களுள்  
புலகுமாரன் பார்த்தவர்களுள்  
புலகுமாரன் பார்த்தவர்களுள்  
புலகுமாரன் பார்த்தவர்களுள்

2  
4

புலகுமாரன் பார்த்தவர்களுள்  
புலகுமாரன் பார்த்தவர்களுள்  
புலகுமாரன் பார்த்தவர்களுள்  
புலகுமாரன் பார்த்தவர்களுள்  
புலகுமாரன் பார்த்தவர்களுள்





तुसवेकटौ<sup>1</sup> ॥— [४\*] प्रादुस्तयोपि त्रितय स्वप्र कैलासवासाय चिर[न्त]नाय  
[1\*] आदेन लक्षम् कोतिवीरवत्योः कृष्णाश्रया-

4 म सतुरीयसाहम्<sup>2</sup> ॥— [५\*] पोन्नम्पि[न]ाम्ना ग्रामोणमङ्गलस्थेन मया  
त्वदम् [1\*] साधुप्रियेण लिखितम् प्रमा[ण] साक्षिणः परे ॥— [६\*] 'दक्षि-  
णामूर्तिभट्टोयमङ्गलूहिजवरम्बुधिः [1\*] कृष्णवैपायनो यच्चा वेदकोम्पुजन्नय  
[॥ ७\*] त्वत्वि' किराच्चिजनितावरुळाळसन्नी तौ ताणकप्रभव-

5 रामयुतावितोमे [1\*] लेख्यं ग[त]ास्मुक्तसाक्षिण एव धम्मं<sup>3</sup> रक्ष-  
न्त्विमन्त्रपवराशिवभक्तकाच्च ॥— [८\*]

#### TRANSLATION

Hail 'Prosperity' (Verse 1) Victorious is this king Vikrama-Chôla, the husband of the Earth and of Fortune, whose lotus-feet are frequently rubbed by the diadems on the heads of bowing kings, who has driven far away all sins, whose glory is matchless, the ocean of liberality (*Tyāgavārālara*) who continually causes the increase of the prosperity of good men, the king named Akalanaka.

(V 2) Resplendent for a long time is this village of learned men, named Râjasundari, a market for the trade in good deeds, the pure place of residence of the goddess of learning, (and) the seat of lords of sages

(V 3 f) In the auspicious sixteenth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Vikrama-Chôladêva, in the month of Vaiśākha, in the second fortnight, at the time known as Monday combined with Uttara,<sup>7</sup>—the two *Bhāṭṭas* Krishnapuradêva Arulâlaka, born at Kammatti, and Ôdimôkki,<sup>8</sup> born at Âttan-Kômbura, together with Vênkata, assigned to Śiva, at the village known as the prosperous Nripasundari, land which (they) had received through the great piety<sup>9</sup> of Krishnabhata, born at Kundûr<sup>10</sup>

(V 5) The same three persons gave to the ancient (god) who resides on the Kailâsa (mountain) their three-fold garden,<sup>11</sup> which (they) had received through the piety of Kodî and Viravali,<sup>12</sup> in which *kôhîlas* (krishna) lived on mango-trees, (and) which possessed a number of men of the fourth (caste) (as attendants)

(V. 6) By me, the village arbitrator (*madhyastha*)<sup>13</sup> named Ponnambi, the friend of good men, this document (*pramāna*) was written Witnesses (are) the following

<sup>1</sup> Read °स्वेकटौ

<sup>2</sup> Read °सार्थम्

<sup>3</sup> Read °रक्षिक्

<sup>4</sup> Read लक्ष

<sup>5</sup> Read °मूर्ति

<sup>6</sup> Read धम्म

<sup>7</sup> *Uttaram* is the usual Tamîl form of *Uttara-Phalgunî* The Tamîl form of *Uttara-Bhādrapadda* is *Uttirattādi*, and that of *Uttarāshādhā* is *Uttirādam*

<sup>8</sup> The same name, which seems to mean 'narrow nosed,' occurs in an inscription at Ukkal, *South-Ind Inscr Vol III p 6*

<sup>9</sup> *Śrāddha* seems to be used incorrectly for *śrāddhā*

<sup>10</sup> A village of the same name is mentioned in two inscriptions at Manimangalam, *South-Ind Inscr Vol III pp 73 and 75*

<sup>11</sup> I take this meaning of *vapra* from Dr Kittel's *Kannada English Dictionary* The meaning 'field' does not fit here because mango trees are stated to have grown in the *vapra*

<sup>12</sup> The same name occurs in *South Ind Inscr Vol III pp 73 and 74*

<sup>13</sup> See *South Ind Inscr Vol. III p 2*

(V. 7 f) Dakshināmūrti-Bhatta, a wise Brāhmana of Allūr,<sup>1</sup> Krishna-Dvaipāyana Yajvan, Jannaya Ritviṃ of Vēda-Kōmbura,<sup>2</sup> (and) the two persons named Arulāla, who were born at Kīrāñji,<sup>3</sup> together with Rāma, born at Tānaka. These were written down as the only witnesses of (this) pious gift. Let the best of kings and the devotees of Śiva protect this grant!

No 22 — KONDAVIDU PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF  
KRISHNARAYA OF VIJAYANAGARA,  
SAKA-SAMVAT 1442

By H LÜDERS, PH D, GOTTINGEN

Inked estampages of this inscription<sup>4</sup> were sent to me by Dr Hultzsch through Prof Kielhorn with the following note: "On four faces of a pillar near the *agrahāra* at Kondavidu. The pillar is supported on two sides (north and south) by stones which made it impossible to copy and ink the top lines of the inscription in full."<sup>5</sup>

The inscription contains 166 lines of writing. The average size of the letters is  $\frac{3}{4}$ " — The alphabet is Telugu and, with few exceptions, resembles that of the Mangalagiri inscription<sup>6</sup>. Several times *ka* appears here in the old form, see e.g. ll. 3, 6, 15, 16, 30, 43, 118, 145 (*ka*), 27, 111 (*kā*), 142, 146 (*ka*), 11 (*kā*), 17, 157 (*ku*), 7 (*kr*), 11 (*kā*), 142 (*khu*), while such forms as *ka* in ll. 7, 64, *ku* in l. 46, *kā* in l. 92, *kau* in l. 39, may be called transitional. The *sha* occasionally shows the younger form occurring also in the Vānapalli plates, see ll. 69 (*sha*), 24 (*shṭha*), 33 (*kshṃā*). *La* appears throughout in the form of the Bitragunta grant and the Vānapalli plates. In *dha* the *ottu* is used only in *dhi* in l. 19 (*vārām nīdhir*), *dhi* in l. 72, and in the subscript *dh* of *dhdha* in l. 34. But in *gha* and *dha* it is used quite regularly, and in *bha* it is only missing in *bhū*, *bhu*, *bhō* in l. 163, and in *bhr* in ll. 5, 59 and *bhyā* in l. 7 on account of the subscript sign. In the groups *rma*, *rya* and *rva* the full sign of *r* is generally used, but in *ryā* in l. 20 and *rmmyar* in ll. 28, 92 it appears in the secondary form, as in all other combinations, and in *rvē* in l. 163 and *rma* in l. 165 it is expressed both by the full and the secondary sign. — The language is Sanskrit from the beginning to l. 108, and again from the middle of l. 162 to the end. The rest is in Telugu<sup>7</sup>. With exception of the concluding words *śrī śrī śrī* in l. 108, the Sanskrit portion is in verse, whereas the Telugu portion is in prose throughout. — The orthography calls for few remarks. In the interior of a word *k*, *g*, *ch*, *t*, *d* and *v*, if followed by a vowel, are generally doubled after *anusvāra*, exceptions are *śamkur* (l. 20), *-āmkurak* (l. 21), *-āmkā* (l. 34), *saptāmgō-* (l. 29), *pamchā-* (l. 107), *mamdāra* (l. 12), *Mamdavōlum* (l. 102), and several words in the Telugu portion (see for *mā* ll. 127, 145, *mg* ll. 113, 115, 130, 141, 156, 158, *mch* ll. 117, 118, 119, 145, 153, 157, *md* ll. 111, 121, 135) *d* also is doubled in *śrīkhamdda* (l. 76), *Kōṃḍavāṇī* (l. 98, 111), and *dh* in *bamdhdhushu* (l. 40), *-ārumdhhatī* (l. 41), compare also *chimttapamdhdhu* for *ṣpamdu* in l. 134. *tr* is written *tr*

<sup>1</sup> A village of the same name is mentioned in two inscriptions at Manimangalam, *South Ind Inscr* Vol III pp 73 and 74. It may be identical with 'Allur' in the Madurāntakam tāluḥa between the 'Perumbair' and 'Olakur' railway stations.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Dvēdai Kōmburaṃ in *South-Ind Inscr* Vol II p. 259 and note 3.

<sup>3</sup> The same place is mentioned in an inscription at Tirukkalukunṇam, *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. III p. 168.

<sup>4</sup> No 242 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for the year 1892.

<sup>5</sup> This defect is not very serious, as the few missing *alsharas* in ll. 87-89 can easily be replaced from other inscriptions.

<sup>6</sup> See my remarks, above, p. 108 f.

<sup>7</sup> The text and translation of the Telugu portion have been contributed by Mr H. Krishna Sastri.

after *anusvāra* in the word *mantrin* in ll 30, 85, 103, but with a single *t* in ll 40, 92. Final *anusvāra* has caused the doubling of *g* in *-ākaratvaṃ ggaṭāh* (l 17). As first letters of a group *t* and *d* are doubled in *tiritaya* (l 29), *puttrā-* (l 35), *kalattri* (l 43), *puttrāv* (l 44), *ddrumam* (l 7), *pāyādd=raghū-* (l 8), *kalpaddrum* (l 72), *ddyō-* (l 80), whereas a double mute is represented by a single mute in *tatva* (l 89) and *ujvalataram* (l 98). After *r* a consonant is doubled in *-ārkhā* (l 78), *mārggayamttē* (l 33), *mārggam* (l 80), *mūrchchhan* (l 78), *-ātivartti* (l 38), *kirttiḥ* (l 50), *kirtti* (ll 54, 106), *harmmyair* (ll 28, 92), and in the Telugu *samarppinchechi* (l 121) *ddh* is always written *dhdh*. A superfluous *anusvāra* has been inserted in *prapamnnāh* (l 68), *-ātikhimmnnāh* (l 32) and some Telugu words in ll 119, 125, 161. In *amritapallakunnu* (l. 119 f) and *kārāmallu* (l 133), the double *l* is expressed by *l+l*. In accordance with the pronunciation of Sanskrit in the Telugu country we find a nasal inserted before *h*, followed by a consonant, in *pramhū ēmdrā-* (l 3) and *grāmhyā* (l 164), and even with the complete loss of the *v* in *jimhālā-* (for *jihvālā-*, l 58). On the other hand this pronunciation has led to the erroneous insertion of a *v* after an original *m* in *simhāsanā-* (l 14). The words *maṇḍapa* and *pradhāna* are always written *maṇṭapa* and *prathāna*, compare ll 95, 116, 23, 88, 113, 153.

The object of this inscription is to record some grants by Nāṇḍila-Gōpa, the governor of Kondavidu, during the reign of Krishnarāya of Vijayanagara. The inscription has much in common with the Mangalagiri and Kāzā pillar inscriptions edited above, p 108 ff. Up to v 26, it contains only 3 verses not found in those inscriptions (vv 1, 3 and 7),<sup>1</sup> among which only v 7 deserves to be noticed, as Krishnarāya is styled here a descendant of Yadu. This is apparently a mistake of the author, for, though Yadu was actually the reputed ancestor of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara, the second dynasty, to which Krishnarāya belonged, traced their origin back to Yadu's younger brother Turvasu.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless the inscription is of some importance because it clearly shows that in Śaka 1442 Gōpa was governor of Kondavidu, the verses about Appa's dignities<sup>3</sup> being omitted here altogether.

With v. 26 begins a list of some gifts made by Nāṇḍila Gōpa. V 26 is identical with v. 29 of the Mangalagiri inscription and refers to the same gift as that mentioned in the next verse. Vv 27-28 record that in the Śaka year counted by the eyes (2), the yugas (4), the oceans (4), and the moon (1), in the year Vikrama (i.e. Śaka Samvat 1442 expired), he presented, by order of Sālva-Timma, the minister of king Krishnarāya, an exceedingly high temple (*prāsāda*) furnished with nine gilt domes (*kalaśa*), a gate-tower (*gōpura*), a wall (*prākāra*), and a festive hall (*utsava-maṇḍapa*), to the holy Rāmabhadra, and images for processions (*utsava-vigraha*), golden ornaments, two pearl necklaces, a great quantity of excellent beautiful ornaments, and the performance of *nyōga*, exceeding seventy two,<sup>4</sup> to Rāma in the town of Kondaviti for the benefit of Sālva-Timma, the husband of Lakshmi.<sup>5</sup> V 29 adds that, by order of Sālva-Timma, he assigned to the temple of the holy Rāghava, the lord of the town of Yajñavāti, the customs<sup>6</sup> on all the roads in the country of Kondaviti and the village of Mandavōlu, at the same time keeping up the former donation of the village of Lemballe.

The Sanskrit part of the inscription concludes with a verse in praise of Sālva-Timma (30) found also in the Mangalagiri inscription, and another (31) stating that the *mahōpādhyāya*, who

<sup>1</sup> Vv 1 and 3 are in praise of Rāma. V 1 alludes to the legend quoted above, Vol III p 251, note 9.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. Hampe inscription of Krishnarāya, above, Vol I p 361 ff., Sankalāpura inscription of the same, *ibid* Vol IV p 266 ff., British Museum plates of Sadāśivarāya, *ibid* Vol IV p. 1 ff., Ūnamāñjērī plates of Achyutarāya, *ibid* Vol III p. 147 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Vv 21 and 35 of the Mangalagiri inscription.

<sup>4</sup> Regarding this term see note 1 on p 113 above.

<sup>5</sup> Regarding this term see note 3 on p 114 above.

<sup>6</sup> *Mālacisa* is a Telugu word about which see below, p 232, note 6.

was acquainted with the doctrine of the five fires, the performer of the *dvādaśāha* ceremony, Lōlla-Lakshmidhara Yajvan,<sup>1</sup> was the author of the record

In the Telugu portion (l. 109 ff.) the date given above is further specified, and a more detailed account of Gōpa's donation is given, especially as regards the establishment of the customs. It may also be noted that Nāḍindla-Timma is incidentally said here (l. 114) to have been a follower of the Yajuhśākhā and the Āpastambasūtra, and that Sālva-Timma's wife is called here Lakshmamamma (l. 155). Mr. H. Krishna Sastri contributes the following translation of the Telugu portion —

(L. 109.) "Hail! Prosperity! On the auspicious occasion of a lunar eclipse, on Wednesday the 15th (*utthi*) of the bright (half) of Vaiśākha in the (cyclic) year Vikrama which corresponded to 1442 of the years of the victorious and increasing Śālivāhana-Śaka,— Gōparsayyangāru,<sup>2</sup>— the son of Nāḍindla-Timmarāja who belonged to the Kauśika-gōtra, followed the Āpastambasūtra, and was a student of the Yajuhśākhā,— and the nephew of Sājuva-Timmarsayyangāru, the glorious chief minister who bore the burden of the empire of the glorious Krishnadēva-mahārāja,— built a spire for the sacred (temple) of the god Raghunāyaka of Yajñavātikā in Kondavidu, carried out the whitewashing (in connection with other) spires, *mandapas* and towers, set up golden pinnacles, built the hall surrounding the temple,<sup>3</sup> and the enclosure (*prākāra*), presented idols (to be carried) in processions (*utsava-vigraha*), restored the village of Lemballe which had previously been granted (to the temple), and bestowed the village of Maindavōlu for all enjoyments,<sup>4</sup> rice<sup>5</sup> and festivals, [and assigned] *mālarīsas*<sup>6</sup> at all places in the country (*śīma*) of Kondavidu where tolls were paid, (*viz.*) at *vasantagaruvus*<sup>7</sup> in (the town of) Kondavidu, at water-sheds,<sup>8</sup> at salt beds and market-towns,<sup>9</sup> and at roads frequented (by people), such as (those to) the Tirumala hills<sup>10</sup>

(L. 125.) . . . . . "at the rate of half a *paikamu*<sup>11</sup> on every bag of the following (articles) great millet, millet, . . . , salt, mangoes, myrobolan fruits, brinjals, clearing-nuts, and *māvena*,<sup>12</sup> at one *paikamu* on every bag of the following: green gram, black gram, Bengal gram, horse-gram, red gram, wheat, sesamum seeds, oil seeds, black pulse, pulse, cotton, tamarinds, gall-nuts, myrobolan seeds, yam, *chāma*, (and) *chirugadam*

<sup>1</sup> [In the colophon of his commentary on Śamkarābhāṣya's *Saundaryalaharī* (Dr Hultzsch's *Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts*, No I p 73, No 333), Lakshmidhara Deśika calls himself the seventh in descent from the mahōpādhyāya Mahādēvāchārya, who was 'the founder of the doctrine of the Lōlla kula' and 'the commentator on the Lōllagrantha'. The author of the inscription, Lōlla Lakshmidhara Yajvan, who also calls himself a mahōpādhyāya, may have belonged to the same school or sect.— H. Krishna Sastri.]

<sup>2</sup> The affix *ayyangāru* or *ayyagāru* is the plural of *ayya*, a *tadbhava* of *ārya*. The appellation *ayyangār* is now monopolised by a class of Śī Vaiṣṇava Brāhmanas, while *ayya*, *ayyagāru* and its Tamil equivalent *aiyar* are restricted to non-Vaiṣṇava Brahmanas. That *ayyangāru* and *ayyagāru* are both used in the inscription for the same person, shows that in the 16th century these two appellations bore no religious or sectarian significance.

<sup>3</sup> *Tiruchuttumāle* or *tiruchuttumālīka* (above, Vol IV p 380, text line 14) are corruptions of the Tamil *tiruchchurumālīgar*, which occurs in the Tanjore inscriptions, see *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol II. p. 139.

<sup>4</sup> Regarding *angarangavāsbhava* see above, Vol IV. p. 269 and note 2.

<sup>5</sup> For *amṛitapadi* see *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I p. 82, note 5.

<sup>6</sup> For the fiscal term *visa* see above, Vol V p. 23 and note 6.

<sup>7</sup> This word is not found in Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*. Perhaps it denotes a rest house somewhat like the modern *vasantamantapa*, which, according to Dr Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, means 'a shed erected in gardens, near roads and temples, used during the hot weather for recreation's sake etc.'

<sup>8</sup> *Āruvantiya* is apparently the same as the Kanarese *aravattige*, *aravattige* or *aravantiye*, which means 'a water shed'. Another Kanarese word which occurs in this inscription is *haddi* (l. 125).

<sup>9</sup> *Karavata* is the same as the Sanskrit *kharvata*, 'a market-town.'

<sup>10</sup> This refers to the hill of Tirupati in the Chandragiri tāluks of the North Arcot district.

<sup>11</sup> According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, *paikamu* means 'a small copper coin, a farthing, a half penny.'

<sup>12</sup> This is perhaps the same as *māmennu*, which means 'a fragrant root like sarsaparilla.'

(roots), at one *damma*<sup>1</sup> on every bag of the following onions, turmeric, dammer, fenugreek, cumin, mustard, *salagas*<sup>2</sup> of new gunny bags, green ginger, lime fruits, (and) cocoa-nuts, at two *dammās* on every bag of the following jaggery, cleaned cotton, ghee, castor oil, *sangadī*,<sup>3</sup> flowers of the *Bassia Latifolia* (tree), dry ginger, iron, and steel chisels, at three *dammās* on every bag of mango jelly, at four *dammās* on every bag of the following sugar, areca-nuts cotton thread, and betel leaves, at six *dammās* on every bag of the following long pepper pepper, sandal, cloves,<sup>4</sup> nutmeg, mace, lead, tin, (and) copper, and at one *chavela*<sup>5</sup> on a double bullock-load of women's garments — the *mūlavīśas* levied at this rate from many (people) were granted (to the temple) by Nāḍindla-Gōparsayyagāru for the merit of the glorious chief minister Sāluva-Timmarsayyagāru and his wife Lakshamma

(L 157) "If (any) Odda kings<sup>6</sup> and Telungu kings shall violate this charity, they shall incur the sin of killing cows on (the banks of) the Gangā, if (any) Turuka (i.e. Musalmān) kings shall violate (this charity), they shall incur the sin of eating pigs"

The inscription ends with one of the usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit and the first half of another. Although the Śaka year is called a current year, the addition of the cyclic year leaves no doubt that really the expired year was intended. For Śaka 1442 expired = Vikrama the date corresponds, according to Prof Kielhorn's calculation, to Wednesday, the 2nd May A.D. 1520, when a partial eclipse of the moon, visible at Vijayanagara, took place 18 h 14 m after mean sunrise.

The village of Maindavōlu is the modern Mayīdavōlu,<sup>7</sup> 12 miles east-south-east of Narasārāṇpita. The village of Lēmballe I am unable to identify. Yajñavātipura seems to have been the name of a quarter or a suburb of the town of Kondavidu.

#### TEXT.<sup>8</sup>

##### North Face

- 1 श्रीरामचंद्र[\*] श्रियमातनोतु सीता-
- 2 सहायो मुनिधर्मपत्न्याः । यस्यांघ्रिपंक्तेरुहरे-
- 3 गुरासीदाश्मव्रतोद्यापनकर्महेतु<sup>9</sup> ॥ [१\*] <sup>10</sup>प्रह्वेंद्रादिशिरो-
- 4 मणिच्छविरविप्रातर्मयूखारुण भूपावृत्रभिदश्मरश्मिलह-
- 5 रोभृगाळिन्टगारित । मजीरक्कणितैर्मराळ्वनितामंजुख-
- 6 नैरच्चित वहे रामपदारविंदमनघ वहारकल्प-

<sup>1</sup> This is apparently the same as *dramma*, see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I Part II p 21, notes 1 and 6, *Ep Ind* Vol I p 163 f, *ibid* Vol II p 130, and *Ep Carn* Vol I Intro p 8

<sup>2</sup> According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, *śalaga* or *selaga* is 'a word used in measuring grain etc, one lot from which a new reckoning begins'

<sup>3</sup> This term is now intelligible. It occurs in the obscure *biruda Sangadīrakṣhapālaka* of a Reddī king, in an unpublished Amarāvati inscription (No 258 of 1897)

<sup>4</sup> *Karāmbhū* is probably the Tamil *karāmbu* or *kirāmbu*, 'cloves.'

<sup>5</sup> *I.e. chavalamu*, 'the fraction  $\frac{1}{2}$  (of a pagoda etc)'. According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary* this is about one shilling

<sup>6</sup> *I* Kings of Orissa. The special mention of these kings and of the Muhammadans in the imprecation shows that they were continually disturbing the peace of Krishnarāya's dominions

<sup>7</sup> See above, p 84 and note 4

<sup>8</sup> From inked estampages supplied by Dr Hultzsch

<sup>9</sup> The last *akṣhara* has been corrected

<sup>10</sup> Read प्रह्वेंद्रा?

- 7 द्रुमं ॥ [२<sup>\*</sup>] यत्कटाक्षश्च करुणक्रीवाभ्यां शबलीकृतः । विभी-<sup>1</sup>  
 8 षणे रावणे च स वः पायाद्ब्रूहहः ॥ [३<sup>\*</sup>] अव्यादादिवरा-  
 9 हो वत्सरसामुद्वहन्महीं । निजांगसगसंजात-  
 10 सांद्रखेदोदयादिव ॥ [४<sup>\*</sup>] उरसि निहितलक्ष्मीवाहुवन्नीयु-  
 11 गेन स्वकरयुगळेमेकीकृत्य केळीविनोदे । कुवलयदळदामा-  
 12 <sup>2</sup>नध्वमंदारमालां दधदिव वितनोतु श्रीकळां काकुळेशः ॥ [५<sup>\*</sup>]  
 13 अस्ति श्रीकृष्णरायाख्यो नरनाथशिरोमणिः । राजन्यचूळिकारत्न-  
 14 नीराजितपदावुजः ॥ [६<sup>\*</sup>] <sup>3</sup>सिंहासनानर्हताया द्वापरे लज्ज-  
 15 या हलिः<sup>4</sup> । कलौ सिंहासनासीनः कृष्णरायो यद्वह-  
 16 हः ॥ [७<sup>\*</sup>] श्रीकृष्णक्षितिपालदत्तमणिभिर्विद्वत्कवीनां गृहा नाना-  
 17 रत्नविचित्रकुट्टिमभुवो रत्नाकरत्वं गताः । अद्भिः<sup>5</sup> केवलनीर-  
 18 पूरनिलयस्तभाव्यते सज्जनैरभोविर्जलधिः पयोधि-  
 19 रुदधिर्वारां निधिर्वारिधिः ॥ [८<sup>\*</sup>] आलान रिपुदंतिनामरिप-  
 20 शौर्यपूष्यमीकाध्वरे वैरिस्वात्तनिखातशंकुरुदितो  
 21 दीप्रः प्रतापांकुरः । पाताळाध्वरणीं<sup>6</sup> वराहवपुषो दद्रा  
 22 विभिद्योद्गता श्रीकृष्णक्षितिपस्य भाति विजयस्तभः कळिङ्गागणे ॥ [९<sup>\*</sup>]  
 23 महाप्रधानः<sup>7</sup> श्रीसाळ्वतिन्मसचिवशेखरः । श्रीकृष्णरायनृ-  
 24 पतेस्त्रास्त्रान्यमधितिष्ठति ॥ [१०<sup>\*</sup>] श्रीसाळ्वतिन्मसचिवः कौडिन्यकु-  
 25 लशेखरः । वेमयामाल्यतनयराचयामाल्यनहनः ॥ [११<sup>\*</sup>] वि-  
 26 श्वो नैक विशेष वितरणविभवैर्विद्वद्वेसराणां पद्मावाणी-  
 27 विलासैः प्रगुणमणिगणैः पद्मलाक्षीसहस्रैः । रम्यप्राका-  
 28 रहर्म्यैरतुलपरिकरैरश्वहस्त्यादियानैस्तम्यक्तेभ्यो विभेदः<sup>8</sup>  
 29 समरविजयतस्माळ्वतिन्मस्य जाने ॥ [१२<sup>\*</sup>] सप्तांगोपेतशक्तित्वि-  
 30 तयचतुरपायैकमंक्षीशसाळ्वे तिम्राख्ये कौडवीव्यां  
 31 गजपतिनिहितान् राजहंसान् गृहीत्वा । धाटीमाटीक-  
 32 माने परनृपतिखगाः क्षुत्पिपासातिखिन्नाः शाकाब्दान् मा-  
 33 र्गयन्ते गिरिपुरजलधिस्तमासु गूढ प्रलीनाः ॥ [१३<sup>\*</sup>] साळु-  
 34 वांकशकवत्सरगस्थामाढशुभ्रहरिवासरसौरौ<sup>9</sup> । साळ्व-  
 35 तिम्रसचिवेन गृहीत कौडवीटिनगरं नगराजं ॥ [१४<sup>\*</sup>] युक्ता-

<sup>1</sup> After विभी a superfluous प has been effaced

<sup>2</sup> Read नह<sup>०</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Read सिंहा<sup>०</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Read वलि<sup>०</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Read अद्भि

<sup>6</sup> Read <sup>०</sup>व्याधरणी

<sup>7</sup> Read प्रधान

<sup>8</sup> The *asura*-a stands at the beginning of the next line

<sup>9</sup> Read शृङ्ग<sup>०</sup>

- 36 रामतटाकदेवसदनब्रह्मप्रतिष्ठानिधिः<sup>1</sup> काव्य चे[ह परत्र]  
 37 [सौख्य]जनकास्त्रत्तानकास्त्रत तान् । आ<sup>2</sup>त्तान् ग[णनातिव]-  
 38 र्त्तिं कृतवानासेतुशीताचलं श्रीकृष्णचित्तिपालमौक्तिसचि-  
 39 व[ः\*] श्रीसाङ्गवतिमप्रभु. ॥ [१५\*] कौशिकान्वयसंभूतो नादिङ्गु-  
 40 कुलशेखरः । अस्ति तिमयमन्त्रोशस्त्रममतस्वर्ववंधुषु<sup>3</sup> ॥ [१६\*]  
 41 कृष्णांवारुध्वती<sup>4</sup> नून भर्तृवाक्यमरुधती । अनसूया  
 42 हि सर्वत्र ह्यनसूयेति गण्यते ॥ [१७\*] नादिङ्गुतिमयामात्यः

*West Face.*

- 43 कळ्को कृष्णमांवया ।  
 44 तत्पुत्रावप्ययामात्य-  
 45 गोपयामात्यशेखरौ ॥ [१८\*]  
 46 जंभद्विक्तुंभिकुंभद्व-  
 47 यसचिवशचीचारुवक्षी-  
 48 जकुंभव्यक्तव्याप्तानुलि-  
 49 सप्रसृमरमसृणक्षीद-  
 50 कर्पूरपूरः । यत्कीर्त्तिः  
 51 कार्त्तिकेण्डं परिहसति नि-  
 52 जै[ः\*] श्वेतिमाद्वैतवादैस्सोय  
 53 नादिङ्गुयप्पप्रभुमणि-  
 54 रखिलस्तुत्यकीर्त्तिप्रतापः ॥ [१९\*]  
 55 'यध्वाटीघोटकोटीखरखु-  
 56 रदळितत्त्मातलोध्वूतधूलि-<sup>5</sup>  
 57 पाळीपाताळकेळीकृतधरणित-  
 58 ले खड्गयुग्यस्य बाहुः । जिं-<sup>6</sup>  
 59 हालाभीलभूभृजगप-  
 60 रिवृढो लक्ष्यते 'सिध्धसंघैस्सो-  
 61 यं नादिङ्गुयप्पप्रभुर-  
 62 वनिभराधारबाहुप्रतिष्ठः ॥ [२०\*]  
 63 गोपो नादिङ्गुगोपश्च तुल्या-

<sup>1</sup> Read °निधि<sup>4</sup> Read यद्धाटी°<sup>6</sup> The *anusvara* stands at the beginning of the next line, read जिह्वाला°<sup>7</sup> Read सिद्ध°<sup>2</sup> Read °यधुषु.<sup>5</sup> Read °लीङ्गूत°<sup>3</sup> Read °रुधती.



- 64 विति कथ ब्रुवे । एकसंतान-  
 65 वान्पूर्वस्मत्संतानवान्परः ॥ [२१\*]  
 66 एके चाध्यापिता ये वितरण-  
 67 निगमान्वेधसा सिंधुचंद्र-  
 68 [प्रा]या जाब्जं प्रपन्नाः कति  
 69 च पशुदृषद्द्वारजात्यातिमू-  
 70 ढाः । धत्ते चाध्यापयस्तान् वि-  
 71 तरणनिगमान् गोपयार्यः क-  
 72 रेव्धिं कल्पद्रुं कामधेनुं ह-  
 73 दि वदनदृशोश्चंद्रचिंताम-  
 74 णी च ॥ [२२\*] यद्वैरिचोणिपालप्र-  
 75 करपुरमहाचंद्रशालाग-  
 76 हांतःश्रीखंडूस्तभशुं-  
 77 भद्रजगपरिवृढालीढदेहा-  
 78 र्कवाहाः । मूर्च्छन्मोहा[ः\*] स्व-  
 79 लंतस्त्रपदि गतविषा वैनते-  
 80 येन सद्यो द्योमार्गं यां-  
 81 त्ति सोयं दिनमणि[वि]नुतो  
 82 भाति नादिङ्गुगोपः ॥ [२३\*] श्रीकृष्ण-  
 83 क्षितिपालमौळिसचिवः श्रीसाळ्व-  
 84 तिमप्रभुर्जामातर्यवरे धु-  
 85 रधरवरे श्रीगोपमन्त्रीश्वरे ।  
 86 प्रादत्ताखिलकोडवीटिनगरी-

*South Face.*

- 87 साम्राज्य[धीरेयतां मत्तेभाष्यप]दातिसैन्यकलिता प-  
 88 ल्लंक्रिका<sup>१</sup> चा[मरे ॥] [२४\*] [श्रीकृष्णरायन]रनाथशिरःप्रधानः<sup>२</sup> श्रीसाळ्व-  
 89 तिमसचिवेश्वर[रभागिनेयः । नादिङ्गु]गोपसचिवो नयतत्व-<sup>३</sup>  
 90 वेदी श्रीकोडवीटिनगरैकधुरंधरोभूत् ॥ [२५\*] राघवाय १४४२  
 91 गणिते शकवर्षे राघवाय रचिताचलपुर्या । वप्रगोप-  
 92 रयुतेर्नवहर्म्यैर्गोपमंचितिलकेन सपर्या ॥ [२६\*] शाका-  
 93 द्देक्षियुगाब्धिचद्रगणिते संवत्सरे विक्रमे श्रीकृष्णक्षिति-

<sup>१</sup> Read क्लिका

<sup>२</sup> Read प्रधानश्रीसाळ्व-

<sup>३</sup> Read तत्त्व-

- 94 पालमौळिसचिव,<sup>1</sup> श्रीसाळ्वतिम्माज्ञया । प्रासादं नव-  
 95 भिद्य हेमकलशैरत्युन्नत गोपुरप्राकारोत्सवमट-  
 96 पैरुपचितं श्रीरामभद्राय च ॥ [२७\*] ॥ रामायोत्सवविग्र-  
 97 हाद्य कनकाकल्पांश्च सुक्तावळी मुख्य चाभरणौघ-  
 98 मुज्जलतरं<sup>2</sup> श्रीकोडुवीटीपुरे । दाससत्यधिकां नियोग-  
 99 रचना नादिंडुगोपप्रभुर्लक्ष्मीनायकसाळ्वतिम्मावि-  
 100 भवे पुण्याय कृत्वादिशत् ॥ [२८\*] ॥ श्रीयज्ञवाटिपुरनायक-  
 101 राघवाय श्रीकोडवीटिसकलाध्वसु मूलवीसान् ।  
 102 लेंवळेमाद्यमनुपाल्य च मैदवोलुं श्रीसाळ्वतिम्मा-  
 103 वचसादित गोपमत्तो ॥ [२९\*] यावज्जङ्गसुतान्नियव-  
 104 कसुताश्रीकृष्णवेण्णापयःपूरास्ते पुनते भुवं च विपुला<sup>3</sup>  
 105 श्रीकोडवीटीपुरीं । यावत्काव्यसुधावुराशिलहरी-  
 106 हेला विधत्ते कविस्तावत्साळ्वतिम्माकीर्त्तिलतिका पुष्पात्त्वज-  
 107 स्र भुवि ॥ [३०\*] महोपाध्यायपंचाग्निदीक्षितो द्वादशाहकृत् [1\*]  
 108 लोल्ललक्ष्मीधरो यज्वा 'प्राज्ञैतध्वर्मशासन ॥ [३१\*] श्री श्री श्री।[1\*]  
 109 स्वस्ति श्री [11\*] जयाभ्युदयशालिवाहनशकवर्षबुलु १४४२  
 110 अगुनेंति विक्रमसंवत्सर वैशाख शुभ<sup>4</sup> १५ बु<sup>5</sup> । सोमग्रहण-  
 111 पुण्यकालमदु कौडुवीटि श्रीयज्ञवाटिकारघुनायकुलकु  
 112 श्रीकृष्णदेवमहारायल साम्राज्यधुरधर श्रीम-  
 113 न्महाप्रधान<sup>6</sup> साळ्वतिम्मासंख्यगारि मेनलुडेन कौशिक-  
 114 गोत्र आपस्तंबसूत्र यजुःशाखाध्यायुलैन नादिंडु-  
 115 तिमिराजुंगारि कुमारुडेन गोपसंख्यगारु दे-  
 116 वुनिकि शिखरमु गट्टिचि शिखरमटपगोपुरालु सुन्न-  
 117 वनुलु चेरिंचि प[यि]डिकुंडलु वेत्तिचि तिरु-  
 118 चुट्टुमालेनु प्राकारमुनु कट्टिचि उत्सवविग्रह[1]-  
 119 ल समर्पिचि अंगरंगवैभवालकुनु अमृतपळल-  
 120 [कु]नु उत्सवालकुनु पूर्वान सागि वच्चि[न\*] लेंवळेग्रामसु  
 121 सागिचि मैदवोलि ग्रामसु समर्पिचि कौडवीटि  
 122 सीमलोनु सुंखसु<sup>7</sup> सागिन चोटनल्लानु मूलवीसालु  
 123 [को]ड[वी]डु[वु]डु वसत्तगरुल्लानु आरुवंद्यालानु

<sup>1</sup> Read 'सचिवश्रीसाळ्व'<sup>4</sup> Read प्राज्ञैतध्वर्म

e. l. प्रधान.

<sup>2</sup> Read मुज्जलतर.<sup>5</sup> Read शुभ<sup>8</sup> Read सुकसु.<sup>3</sup> Read विपुला.<sup>6</sup> i. e. बुधवार.

- 124 [उप्प]ल[ल्लु]कर[वट]ल्लानु तिरुमलपर्वतालु मोद[लै]न वच्चि [पो]-  
 125 [इ]<sup>1</sup> हादि [म]र . . . . . [न नि]र्न[य] . . . जो[न्न]लु को[ळ]लु आ . .

*East Face*

- 126 उप्पु मामिडिकायलु उशि[रि]-  
 127 केकायलु वोंकायलु इ-<sup>2</sup>  
 128 हुपुकायलु मावेन वीनिकि  
 129 [गो]ने १ कि अरपैकं लेखनु<sup>3</sup> । पेस-  
 130 लु मिनुमुलु सनंगलु उलुव-  
 131 लु कट्टुलु गोधुम-  
 132 लु नुवुलु आमदालु  
 133 कारामळु अनुमुलु प्रत्ति  
 134 चित्तपंभु<sup>4</sup> करकाय उशिरि-  
 135 केपप्पु कंद चाम चिरुगड  
 136 वीनिकि गोने १ कि 'पडकमुनु [१\*] उल्लि प-  
 137 सपु गुगिल मँत्ति जिलकळ आ-  
 138 वालु कोत्तगोनेल सलग अल्ल नि-  
 139 म्मपंडलु टेक्कायलु वीनि[कि] गो-  
 140 ने १ कि दम्मामुनु [१\*] बैल्लमु दूदि [ने]-  
 141 इ<sup>5</sup> आमुद सगडि इप्पू शों-  
 142 ठि इनुमु उक्कुटुलुलु वीनिकि  
 143 गोने १ कि दम्मालु रेडुनु [१\*] मा[मि]-  
 144 [डि]तांङ्ग गोने १ [कि] दम्मा[१\*]लु मुडु<sup>7</sup> [१\*]  
 145 पचधार पोंकलु नूलु तम-  
 146 लपाकुलु वीनि गोने १ कि दम्मालु  
 147 नालुगु [१\*] पिप्पलि मिरियालु गं-  
 148 धमु करांभुड जाजिकाय  
 149 जाजिपत्ति सोसमु तगरमु रा-  
 150 गि वीनि गोने १ कि दम्मालु आरु [१\*] को-  
 151 कल मलगकु चवेल [१\*] ई मर्याद-

<sup>1</sup> Read पोये<sup>2</sup> Read लेक्क<sup>3</sup> Read नेयि<sup>4</sup> The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line<sup>5</sup> Read 'पडु<sup>7</sup> Read मूडु<sup>6</sup> Read पैक°

- 152 नु पेक्कंङ्कात मूलवीसासु  
 153 [इ]प्पिचि श्रीमन्महाप्रधान<sup>1</sup> सा-  
 154 ऋवतिम्मसंयगारिकिन्नि वारि दे-  
 155 वुलु लक्ष्मम्मगारिकिन्नि पुण्यसु-  
 156 [ग]ानु नादिङ्गुगोपसंयगा-  
 157 रु समर्पिचनु<sup>2</sup> । ई धर्मानकु श्री-  
 158 उडिराजुलु तेलुंगुराजुलु  
 159 त[पि]रा<sup>4</sup> गगालीनु गोवूत्य<sup>5</sup> चेशि-  
 160 न दोषान वोवुवारु [1\*] तुरुकरा-  
 161 जुलु तप्पिरा पद्दि दिं[न] दोषा-  
 162 न 'वोडवारु ॥ ए[कैव] भगिनी लोके  
 163 सर्वेषामे[व]<sup>7</sup> भूभुजां [1\*] न भोज्य[त]  
 164 [न] करग्राह्या<sup>8</sup> देवदत्ता वसुंध-  
 165 रा ॥ [३२\*] दानपालनयोर्मध्ये<sup>9</sup> दाना-  
 166 च्छेयीनुपालनं ॥

No 23—RADHANPUR PLATES OF GOVINDA III ,  
 SAKA-SAMVAT 730

By F KIELHORN, PH D, LL D, C I E , GOTTINGEN

This inscription has already been edited, with a translation and a photo-lithograph, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol VI p 59 ff, by the late Professor Buhler, to whom the original plates were lent by the authorities of Rādhānpur, a Native State under the supervision of the Political Superintendent of Palanpur, in the Bombay Presidency. As it is considered desirable to issue a true facsimile of this record, I now re-edit it from ink-impressions placed at my disposal by Dr Fleet, who obtained the original plates on loan from the Political Superintendent of Pālanpur in 1884. There is no information as to whom the plates may actually belong to.

The inscription is on two copper-plates the first of which is engraved on one side only. It is incomplete, the third plate that would have completed it is lost, and so are the ring and seal which probably accompanied the plates. Either plate measures about 11½" by 7½". Their edges were fashioned thicker than the inscribed surfaces, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing, but the surfaces are a good deal corroded by rust—a fact which was altogether obscured by the manipulated photo-lithograph issued with Professor Buhler's paper in 1877—and some letters, in

<sup>1</sup> Read °प्रधान

<sup>2</sup> Read °चेनु

<sup>3</sup> Read श्रीडड°.

<sup>4</sup> Read तप्पिरा.

<sup>5</sup> Read गोवूत्य

<sup>6</sup> Read वीवु°.

<sup>7</sup> The r of सर्वेषा° is expressed both by the full and the secondary sign

<sup>8</sup> Read करग्राह्या

<sup>9</sup> The r of °पालनयोर्मध्ये is expressed both by the full and the secondary sign

consequence, are more or less illegible. The weight of the two plates is 4 lbs 6½ oz. The letters shew through faintly on the back of the first plate, they bear the usual marks of the working of the engraver's tool, throughout. Their size is between about  $\frac{1}{16}$ " and  $\frac{1}{8}$ " —The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. For some of the forms of individual letters attention may perhaps be drawn to the initial *ā* in *ā chandr-*, l 51, to *n* in *Ṭṇṅ-īśīarō*, l 34, *ja, e g* in *Krishnarājūh* l 3, *jā* in *jātu*, l 8, *ñ* in *kin=n=āṇ=āa*, l 21, and *pañcha°*, l 54, *śū* in *bhaśōdīhatīna* l 11, *ḍa* in *ṇigada*, l 24, *dha* in *upagādha* l 2, the subscript *n* in *Krishna°*, l 3, and *larna°*, l 7, *pha* in *phalakē*, l 25, and to the final *t, e q* in *bhrājūtāt*, l 3. The very rare letter *gh*, which occurs in *urjjhara*, l 11, and probably in *duējha*, l 47, unfortunately in either case is not very distinct. —The language is Sanskrit, but some proper names from the southern vernaculars occur in the formal part of the grant, in lines 44-48. In respect of orthography the following points may be mentioned. The sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*, *j* is used for *y* in *jātū*, l 22, *chchha* for *tṣa* in *ādīchchhayā*, l 22, and the vowel *ri* is seven times employed for *ri e g* in *-bhay-urita*, l 3 and *sriyam=*, l 15. An original final *n* before *a* following consonant is generally (altogether 14 times) wrongly changed to *anvīāra*, *e g* in *am* (for *san*) l 7, *sprishatām*, l 12, and *tasmim*, l 21. *Visarga* is everywhere (permissibly) omitted before following *sth, sp* and *sph*, *e g* in *urasthala-*, l 1, *ya sprishatām*, l 12, and *‘bhū hitā sphutām=*, l 19. The rules of *sandhi* have been frequently neglected, and occasionally an *akṣhara* has been omitted by the writer.

The inscription records a grant by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvindarāja [III], or, as he is called in lines 39-41, the *Paramabhaddārāla Mahārājādhirāja Paramēsvara* and *Prathivallabha*, the glorious *Prabhūtavārsha*, the glorious *Śrīvallabhanarīndradēva*, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaddārāla Mahārājādhirāja Paramēsvara*, the glorious *Dhārāvārshadēva*. After the word *ōm*, and the well-known verse *Sa sa-nyād=Vēdhasā dhāma*, it has nineteen verses glorifying the kings *Krishnarāja* [I], his son *Dhōra* (*Dhruva*) *Nirupama* *Kalivallabha*, and his son *Gōvindarāja* [III], the donor of the grant. With the exception of verses 7, 15 and 19, the first half of verse 12, and part of verse 13 of the present inscription, the same verses also occur in the Wani grant, edited by Dr Fleet in *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 157 ff, and all the nineteen verses are found—generally in a very corrupt form, yet with one or two more correct readings—in the Manne grant mentioned in *Ep Carn* Vol IV. Introduction, p 5, of which a photograph, received from Mr Rice, has been lent to me by Dr Fleet. Verse 9 also occurs in the Śrīrū inscription, *Ind Ant* Vol. XII p 218, lines 2 and 3 of the text. An examination of the language and general style of most of these verses can leave no doubt that their author or authors<sup>1</sup> for their expressions and poetical devices are greatly indebted to such works as *Subandhu's Vāsavadattā* and *Bāna's Kādambari* and *Harshacharita*, and to shew this, I have quoted in the notes on my translation some of the parallel passages which I have collected from those literary works. Regarding the facts recorded in the verses and their historical bearing, I could not add anything of value to what other scholars already have stated, but, concerned as I am with the proper interpretation of the text, I must submit here at least one short remark on the first words of verse 5, which I have found great difficulty in translating and may not perhaps have translated very satisfactorily. The words *jyēsthā-ōllanghana* of that verse I have rendered, with reference to *Dhōra*, by ‘the passing over of his eldest brother,’ because, in regard to the moon with which *Dhōra* is compared, I had to translate the same words subsequently by ‘after having passed *Jyēsthā*’ But I would not wish the reader to understand from my translation that the author must necessarily be taken to say that *Dhōra* immediately succeeded his father, to the exclusion of his eldest brother from the succession. The words of the original text may equally well mean that *Dhōra* superseded his eldest brother after the latter had succeeded their father, or that he secured the throne for himself by revolting against that brother. The verb *ul-langha* and

<sup>1</sup> In the verses 13 and 19 of the present inscription, their author—if my readings be correct—has employed a construction and a form for which analogies may be found in epic poetry, but which are contrary to the rules of classical Sanskrit, see my notes on the text.

*ullanghana* are generally equivalent to *atī-kram* and *atīkrama*—in fact, I believe our author to have used *jyēsthōllanghana* in actual imitation of the expression *jyēsthātīkrama* which occurs in the passage from the *Kādambarī* quoted in my notes—and may well convey the various meanings of the latter<sup>1</sup>. Nor would the circumstance that Dhōra's action is compared with a certain proceeding of the moon be at all calculated to enlighten us on what the author meant exactly to express by the word *ullanghana*, because, in accordance with the very nature of the figure of *ślēsha*, that word might denote one thing with regard to the moon, and something quite different in the case of Dhōra. The question, therefore, whether Dhōra immediately succeeded his father, or superseded his eldest brother after the latter had ascended the throne, cannot in my opinion be answered from a consideration of the words under discussion.

The *praśasti* which is spoken of in the above, and of which a full translation will be given below, is followed in line 38 of the plates by another, very common verse —

(V 21) "Having seen that this life, unstable like wind and lightning, is void of substance, he (Gōvīndarāja) has devised this gift to a Brāhman, most meritorious on account of a donation of land."

And in the prose passage which follows this verse, the king, here called *Prabhūtavarsha* (l 40) and described as already stated above, in the usual terms issues an order to the *Rāshtrapatis* and other officials, to the effect that, while in residence at *Mayūrakhandī* (l 42), on the occasion of a solar eclipse on a date to be given below, he granted the village of *Rattajjuna* (or *Rattajuna*, ll 45 and 49), situated in the *Rāsiyana bhukti*, to *Paramēśvarabhatta*—a son of *Chandiyamma-Gaḥiyasāhasa*,<sup>2</sup> and son's son of *Nāgayyabhatta* who dwelt at *Tigavi* (l 43), was a member of the community of *Trivēdins* (or students of the three Vēdas) of that place, and a student of the *Taittirīya Vēda*, and belonged to the *Bhāradvāja gōtra*—for the purpose of keeping up the so-called five great sacrifices.

The boundaries of the village of *Rattajjuna* (or *Rattajuna*) were (l 45) on the east, the river *Sinhā*, on the south, *Vavulālā*, on the west, *Miriyathāna*; and on the north, *Varahagrāma*, 'the village of Varaha'. And regarding the village it is further stated that it was (the village) of certain Brāhmanas—the chief of whom were *Anantavishnubhatta*, *Vitthuduvē[ḥa?]*,<sup>3</sup> *Gōindamma-shadangavid*, *Savvaibhatta*, *Chandadibhatta*, *Kunthanāgaibhatta*, *Mādhavariyappa*, *Vitthapu*, *Dēvanaiyyabhatta*, *Rēyanaiyyabhatta*, etc.—associated with the forty *Mahājanas*.<sup>4</sup> This latter remark I can only understand to mean that the people mentioned were settled at the village.

<sup>1</sup> From my first note on the translation of verse 5 it will be seen that the commentator of the *Nirukta* uses *atī kram* with reference to the action of a younger brother who had himself crowned to the entire exclusion of his eldest brother from the succession. But *atīkrama* in *jyēsthātīkrama* quoted *ibid* from the *Kādambarī* is understood by the commentator merely to mean 'the transgression of the commands' (*nirdeśōllanghana*) of an eldest brother. Similarly, *atīkrama* is explained by *ājñātīkrama* in the commentary on *Yājñavalkya*, II 232, and in *Manu*, III 63, *brāhmanātīkrama* is translated by 'violence to Brahmanas' and 'irreverence to Brāhmanas,' while the different commentators on *Manu* paraphrase *atīkrama* here by *adbhikṣhēpādī*, *tiraskārādī*, and *apūjana*.

<sup>2</sup> *Gaḥiyasāhasa* apparently is equivalent to *ghaṇḍasa* which we have in the names *Prabhākara ghaṇḍasa* and *Vāsiyana ghaṇḍasa*, above, Vol III p 216, l 11 of the text, and in other names, e.g. in *Ind Ant* Vol VII p 305, and Vol XIV pp 71 and 72. *Ghaṇḍasa* is a family name now found among Chitpāvan Brāhmanas, see Dr Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, p 124.

<sup>3</sup> The word affixed to the next name, *shadangavid*, 'knowing the six Vēdāṅgas,' shews that the word affixed to the name *Vitthu* most probably is some equivalent of the Sanskrit *dvivēda* or *dvivēdin*, 'a student of two Vēdas,' but I know no rule by which either could become *duvēḥa*. In the *Wanī grant*, *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 159, l 36, we have *duvēḍi* for *dvivēḍi*, and elsewhere (*ibid* Vol XIV p 71 ll 1 and 2) occur *dvēḍi* and *duve*. The last might suggest *Vitthu duvē*, but I do not see my way to connect the *akṣharaḥa* (if it is really correct) with the following proper name which, standing for *Gōyindamma*, *Gōvīndamma* (*Gōvīndappa*), seems unobjectionable.

<sup>4</sup> Above Vol V p 10, note 2, Dr Fleet has stated that the *Mahājanas* of a village were the collective body of the Brahmanas of the village. I cannot reconcile this statement with the circumstance that the present inscription speaks of the Brahmanas of the village as associated with (or accompanied by) the forty *Mahājanas*.

Of the localities mentioned in the preceding, Râsiyana, from which the *bhukti* was named in which the village granted was situated, has been already identified by Prof Bühler with the modern Râsin, a town in the Ahmadnagar Collectorate of the Bombay Presidency,<sup>1</sup> the 'Raseen' of the *Indian Atlas*, sheet No 39, in lat 18° 26', and long 74° 59'. The village granted, Rattajjuna or Rattajuna, is identified in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Pres* Vol XVII p 352, with the village of 'Râtâjan,' the 'Râtanjan' of the Postal Directory, and 'Ratunjun' of the *Indian Atlas*, sheet No 39, about 24 miles north-north-east of 'Raseen.' It lies on the western bank of the river Sinâ ('Seena') which is the Sinhâ river of the grant. Three miles almost exactly south of it is 'Baboolgaon,' the Vavulâlâ of the grant, and a little more than two miles west of 'Ratunjun' we find 'Meerujgaon,' which must be Miriyathâna. Lastly, the name of Varaha-grâma which was north of Rattajjuna survives in the names 'Wurgaon' and 'Wurgaon-kota-che,' which are found in the *Indian Atlas*, sheet No 39, eight and five miles respectively north by west of 'Ratunjun'—Tigavi, the place of residence of the grantee's grand-father and most probably his own, is suggested by Dr Fleet to be 'Tugaon,' a village about eight miles north-east by north of Sangamner, the 'Sungumner' of the *Indian Atlas*, sheet No 38, it would be distant about 80 miles north-west by north from 'Ratunjun'—On Mayûrakhandi whence the grant was issued, see Dr Fleet's *Dynasties*, p 396

As has been already stated, the grant was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse; and the date on which this eclipse took place is given (ll 53 and 54) as the new-moon *tithi* of the dark half of Śrâvana in the (Jovian) year Sarvajit and the Śaka year 730 (given in words only) I have already had occasion to shew—see *Ind Ant* Vol XXIII p 131, No 108, and compare Vol XXV pp 267, 269 and 292—that this date for Śaka-Samvat 730 expired corresponds to the 27th July A.D 808, when there was a total eclipse of the sun, visible in India. At Râsin the greatest phase of this eclipse was about 5 digits, and the moment of the greatest phase was shortly after true sunrise. The year Sarvajit can be connected with the date only by the so-called northern system, because by the strict mean-sign system Sarvajit had ended on the 26th May A.D. 808, and by the southern system Sarvajit corresponds to Śaka-Samvat 730 current

The second plate ends with the usual admonition not to obstruct the grantee in the enjoyment of this grant, and the missing third plate may be assumed to have contained some similar remarks and a number of benedictive and imprecatory verses

I consider it unnecessary to publish a full translation of the prose part of this inscription, as regards my translation of the introductory verses, I can only say — *Yatnê kritê yadi na sidhyati kô 'tra dôshah?*

### TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

#### First Plate

Om<sup>3</sup> [||\*] Sa<sup>4</sup> vò=vyâd=Vêdhasâ dhâma yan-nâbhi-kamalam kritam [||\*]  
 Harâś=cha yasya kânt-êndu-kalayâ kam=alamkritam [|| 1\*] <sup>6</sup>Bhûpô=bhavad=  
 vri(bri)had-urasthala-râja-  
 2 mâna-srî-kaustubh-âyata-karar=upagûdha-kanthah<sup>6</sup> [||\*] satyânvitô vipula-chakra-  
 vimurjit-ârchakrô=py=akrîshnacharîto bhu-

<sup>1</sup> See the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Pres* Vol XVII p 734

<sup>2</sup> From an impression supplied by Dr Fleet

<sup>3</sup> Denoted by a symbol

<sup>4</sup> Metre Ślôka (Anushtubh)

<sup>5</sup> Metre Vasantatilakâ

<sup>6</sup> Originally the sign of *anusûdra* was engraved above *ka*, but it has been struck out again.

- 3 vi Krishnarājah [|| 2\*] <sup>1</sup> Pakshachchhēda-bhay-āsri(śri)t-ākshila-mahābhūbhritkula-  
bhrājāt<sup>2</sup> durlamghyād=aparair=anēka-vimala-bhrājashu-  
4 ratn-ānvitāt [1\*] yaś=Chālukya-kulād=anūna-vivu(bu)dha-vrāt-āśrayō vārdhēr=  
Lakshmin(m)=Mandaravat=sa-līlam=achurād=ākṛishtavāman=<sup>3</sup>Vallabhah [|| 3\*]  
5 Tasy=ābhūt=tanayah pratāpa-visarair=ākṛānta-digmaḍdalah<sup>4</sup> chamndāmśōh sadrīśō=py=  
achandakarātā-prahlādita-kshmatālah [1\*] Dhōrō  
6 dhairya-dhanō vipaksha-vanitā-vaktrāmva(mbu)ja-śrī-harō hārīkritya yaś[ō] yadiyam=  
anśam dig-nāyikabhur=dhrītam [|| 4\*] Jyēsth-ō[1\*]lamghana-  
7 jātay=āpy=amalayā lakshmyā samētō=pi sam<sup>5</sup> yō=bhūn=nurmala-mandala sthita-yutō  
dōshākarō na kvachit [1\*] karṇ-ādhashtuta-dāna-sam-  
8 tata-bhritō yasy=ānya-dān-ādḥikam dānam vikshya su-la[j\*]jūtā iva diśām prāntē  
sthitā duggajah [|| 5\*] <sup>6</sup>Anyair=na jātu vijitam  
9 guru-śaktisāram=ākṛānta-bhūtalām=ananyasamāna-mānam [1\*] yēn=cha va(ba)ddham=  
avalōkya churāya Gamga[m\*]  
10 dūram sva-nigraha-bhīy=ēva Kalh prayātah [|| 6\*] <sup>7</sup>Ēkatr-ātma-va(ba)lēna<sup>8</sup>  
vā[r]imdhūn=āpy=anyatra rudhvā<sup>9</sup> ghanam nishkrīshatā[si\*].<sup>10</sup>  
11 bhat-ōddhatēna viharadgrāh-ātibhimēna cha [1\*] mātangān=madavāri-nurjjhara-  
muchah prāpy=anātāt=Palavāt  
12 tach=chitram mada-lēsām=apy=anudinam ya sprishtavām<sup>11</sup> na kvachit [|| 7\*]  
[Hēla]-svi[kri]ta-Gauda-rājya-kamalā-mattam pravēśy=achurāt<sup>12</sup> du-  
13 rmārgam maru-madhyam=aprativa(ba)lar=yō Vatsarājam va(ba)lai[h] [1\*]  
Gaudiyam śaradindu-pāda-dhavalam <sup>13</sup>chchhatra-dvayam kēvala[m] tasman=n=āhri-  
14 ta tad-yaśō=pi kakubhām prāntē sthitam tatksanāt [|| 8\*] <sup>14</sup>Lavdha(bdha)-  
pratishtham=<sup>15</sup>achurāya Kalim sudāram=utsārya suddha-charitair=ddhara-  
15 nī-talasya [1\*] kritvā punah Kritayuga-śrī(śri)yam=apy=aśēsham chitram katham  
Nirupamah Kali-vallabhō=bhūt [|| 9\*] <sup>16</sup>Prābhūr=dhairyavatah  
16 tatō Nirupamād=indur=yathā vārdhēh suddh-ātmā paramēśvar-ōnnata-śirah=samsakta-  
pādah sutah [1\*] padm-ānandakarah  
17 pratapa-sahitō mity-ōdayah sōnnatēh pūrv-ādrēr=iva bhānumān=abhimatō  
Gōvindarājah satām [|| 10\*] Yasmi[m]<sup>17</sup> sarva-  
18 gun-āśrayē kshīpataṇ śrī-Rāsht[r]akūt-ānvayō jātē Yūdavavamśavan=Madhur[pā\*]v=  
āsīd=alamghyah paraiḥ [1\*] drisht-āsā-

*Second Plate, First Side.*

- 19 vadhayah kritāsyasadrīśū<sup>18</sup> dānēna yēn=[ō]ddhatā muktāhāravibhū[shītā]<sup>19</sup>  
sphutam=iti pratyarthi[nō=p]y=arthin[ō]=py=asy=ākāra.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Metre of verses 3 5 Sārdūlavikrīdita

<sup>2</sup> Read <sup>2</sup>śitavān=

<sup>4</sup> Read <sup>4</sup>lat=ohandāmśōh

<sup>3</sup> Read -bhrājātā=

<sup>5</sup> Read san=

<sup>6</sup> Metre Vasantatī'akā

<sup>7</sup> Metre of verses 7 and 8 Sārdūlavikrīdita

<sup>8</sup> This reading is quite certain, Prof Bühler read -vāhēna

<sup>9</sup> Read ruddhvā

<sup>10</sup> *Nishkrīshatā* is the reading of the Manne grant Prof Bühler's text has *nishkrīshatā*, and the photo-lithograph actually has the *akshara* *ri* at the end of line 10; but, so far as I can judge, that *akshara* was never really engraved, and owes its presence solely to Prof Bühler's conjectural reading

<sup>11</sup> Read *spriśhtavān=na* Prof Bühler has suggested the reading *yat=spriśhtā*, but this alteration of the original text seems to me unnecessary.

<sup>12</sup> Read =dchurād=

<sup>13</sup> Read *chhatra*-

<sup>14</sup> Metre Vasantatī'akā

<sup>15</sup> Originally the sign of *anusvāra* was engraved above *sthā*, but it has been struck out again.

<sup>16</sup> Metre of verses 10 20 Sārdūlavikrīdita — Read *prābhūd=dhairyavata*.

<sup>17</sup> Read *gasmin*=

<sup>18</sup> Read *kritāh susadrīś*

I should have expected <sup>19</sup>*bhūshand*, but the plate seems really to have <sup>20</sup>*bhūshītā*, which is the reading of the Wanti and Manne grants

Read =arthindm [u 11\*] Tasy=ākāra.



- 20 m=amānusham tri(tri)bhuvana-vyāpatti-raksh-ōchitam Krishnasy=ēva nūrikshya  
yachchhati pītary=aikādhīpatyam bhuvaḥ [1\*] āstām tāta ta-
- 21 v=aitad=apratihata dattā tvayā kanthikā kin=n=ājñ=ēva mayā dhrit=ōti pītaram  
yuktam vachō yō=bhyadhāt [|| 12\*] Tasmim<sup>1</sup> svarga-
- 22 vibhūshanāya janakē jā(yā)tē yaśahśēshatām=ēkibhūya samudyatām<sup>2</sup> vasumatī-  
sambhāram=ādhihchhayā<sup>3</sup> [1\*] vichchhāyām<sup>4</sup>
- 23 sahasā vyadhata nripatīn=ēkō=pi yō dvādaśa khyātān=apy=adhika-pratāpa-  
visaraiḥ samvartakō=rkān=iva [|| 13\*] Yēn=ā-
- 24 tyanta-dayālun=ātha nigada-klēśād=apāsy=āyatāt svam dēsam gamitō=pi darpa-  
visarād=yah prātakūlyē sthūtah [1\*] yā-
- 25 van=na bhrutu(ku)tī lalāta-phalakē yasy=ōnnatē lakshyatē vikshēpēna vijitya  
tāvad=achirād=va(ba)ddhaḥ sa Gamgah punah [|| 14\*] Sam-
- 26 dhāy=āśu ślimukhām<sup>5</sup> sva-samayām<sup>6</sup> vā(bā)nāsanas=ōpari prāptam varddhita-  
vam(bam)dhuja-vibhavam padm-ābhivridhy-anvi-
- 27 tam [1\*] sannakshatram=udikshya yam śarad-ritum parjanyaṇ=Ġūrjarō nashtah  
kv=āpi bhayāt=tathā na samaram sva-
- 28 pnē=pi paśyēd=yathā [|| 15\*] Yat-pādānatumātrak-aika-śaranām=ālōkya lakshmi[m\*]  
nījām dūrān=Mālava-nā-
- 29 yakō naya-parō yam prānamat=prāmjaḥ [1\*] lō vidvām<sup>7</sup> valinā sah=  
ālpa-va(ba)laka sparddhām vidhattē param<sup>8</sup> ni-
- 30 tēs=tad=dhi phalam yad=ātma-parayōr=ādhiḥya-samvēdanam [|| 16\*] Vimdhy-  
ādrēh katakē nivishta-katakam śrutvā charair=yam nijaḥ svam dēsam
- 31 samupāgatam dhruvam=iva jñāt[ā] bhuyā prēritah [1\*] Mār[āśa]rva-  
mahīpatir=drutam=[ag\*]ād=aprāptapūrvaiḥ paraiḥ<sup>9</sup> yasy=ēchchhām=a-
- 32 nukūlayam<sup>10</sup> kula-dhanaiḥ pādau pranāmar=api [|| 17\*] Nītvā Śrībhavanē  
ghanāghana-ghana-vyāpt-āmva(ba)rām prāvriṣham tasmā-
- 33 d=āgatavām<sup>11</sup> samam nija-va(ba)lar=ā-Tumgabhadrā-tatam [1\*] tatra-stihah  
svakara-sthītām=api punar=na(ni)hśēsham=ākriṣṭavām<sup>12</sup> vikshēpar=api
- 34 chitram=ānata-ripur=yah Pallavānām śri(śri)yam [|| 18\*] Lēkhāhāra-mukhōdit-  
ārdha-vachasā yatr=aitya Vēng-iśvarō nityam kimkaravad=vya-

<sup>1</sup> Read *tasmim*=

<sup>2</sup> Read *samudyatām*= From the St Petersburg Dictionary it will be seen that *udgata*, *abhyudgata*, *praty-udgata*, *samudyata*, etc, occur in various epic and purānic texts where we should have expected *udgata*, etc. The case is the same with the word *samudyatām* in the present passage. Here the fact that the twelve princes are compared with twelve suns shews beyond a doubt—see the passages which will be quoted in connection with the translation of the verse—that we want a word which means “risen,” and this could only be *samudyatām*. I prefer this explanation to the assumption that *samudyatām* might have been erroneously put by the writer for *samudyatō* (from *sari-ud*.)

<sup>3</sup> Originally *vasumatīm* was engraved, but the sign of *anusvāra* clearly is struck out. In the two *akṣharas* *mdh*, the *a* of *mā* also looks as if it had been struck out, and *dh* may perhaps have been altered, but I do not see what alteration could be resorted to. As the Manne grant actually has *vasumatī sambhāram=ādhiśayā*—the Wani grant, omitting part of the verse, has *vasumatī n=ēkō=pi yō dvādaśa*—I adopt the same reading also for the present grant, but it should be stated that the construction of a noun substantive like *ādhiśayā* (derived from the desiderative) with the accusative case, though not unknown in epic poetry, is contrary to the strict rules of classical Sanskrit. Prof. Speiser in his *Sanskrit Syntax* quotes e.g. *Mahābhārata*, I 118, 21, *yogīśayā mahīm*, “with the desire of conquering the earth.”

<sup>4</sup> Read *vichchhāyām*=

<sup>5</sup> Read *°mukhām*=

<sup>6</sup> Read *°mayām*=

<sup>7</sup> Read *vidvām=balinā*

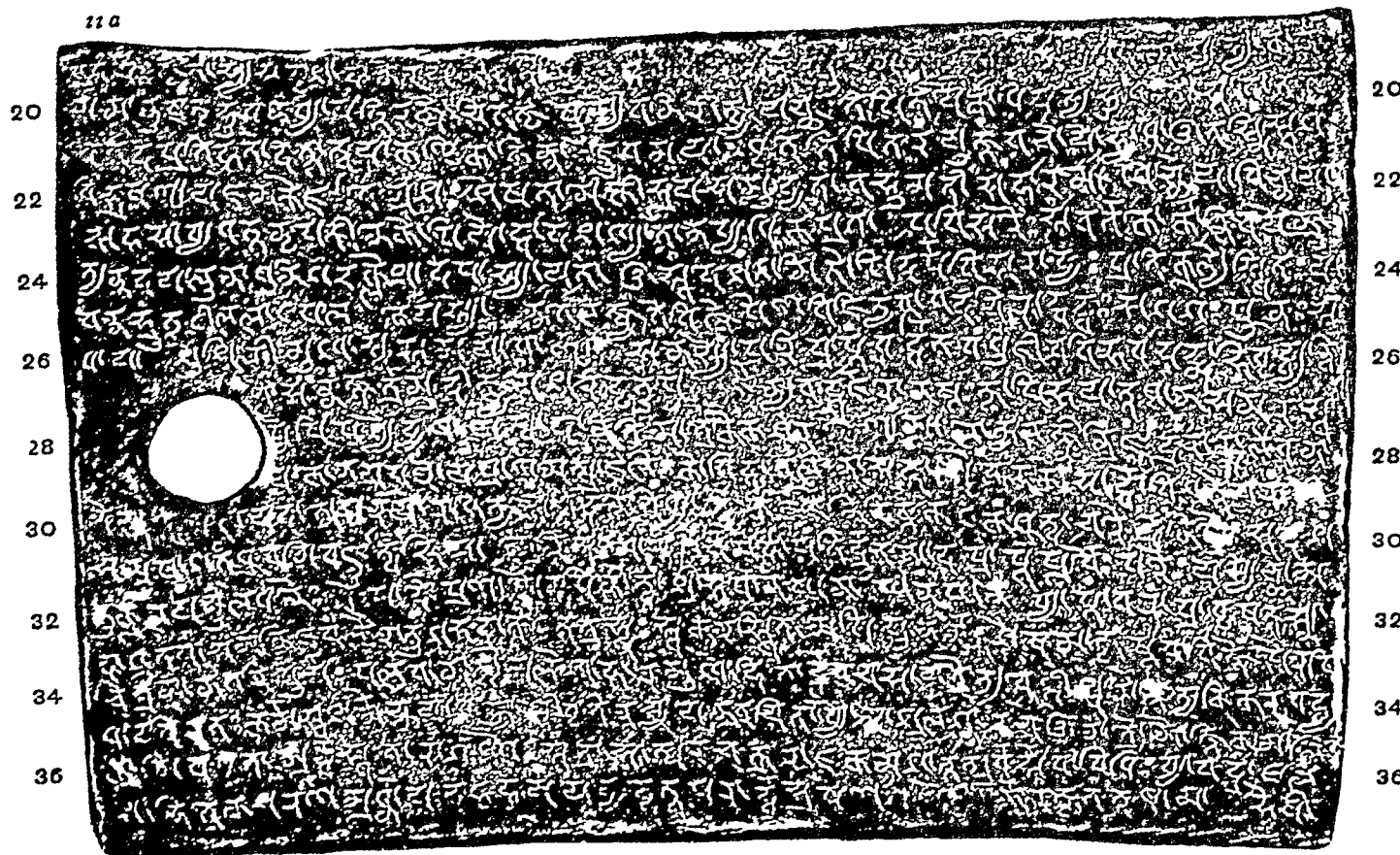
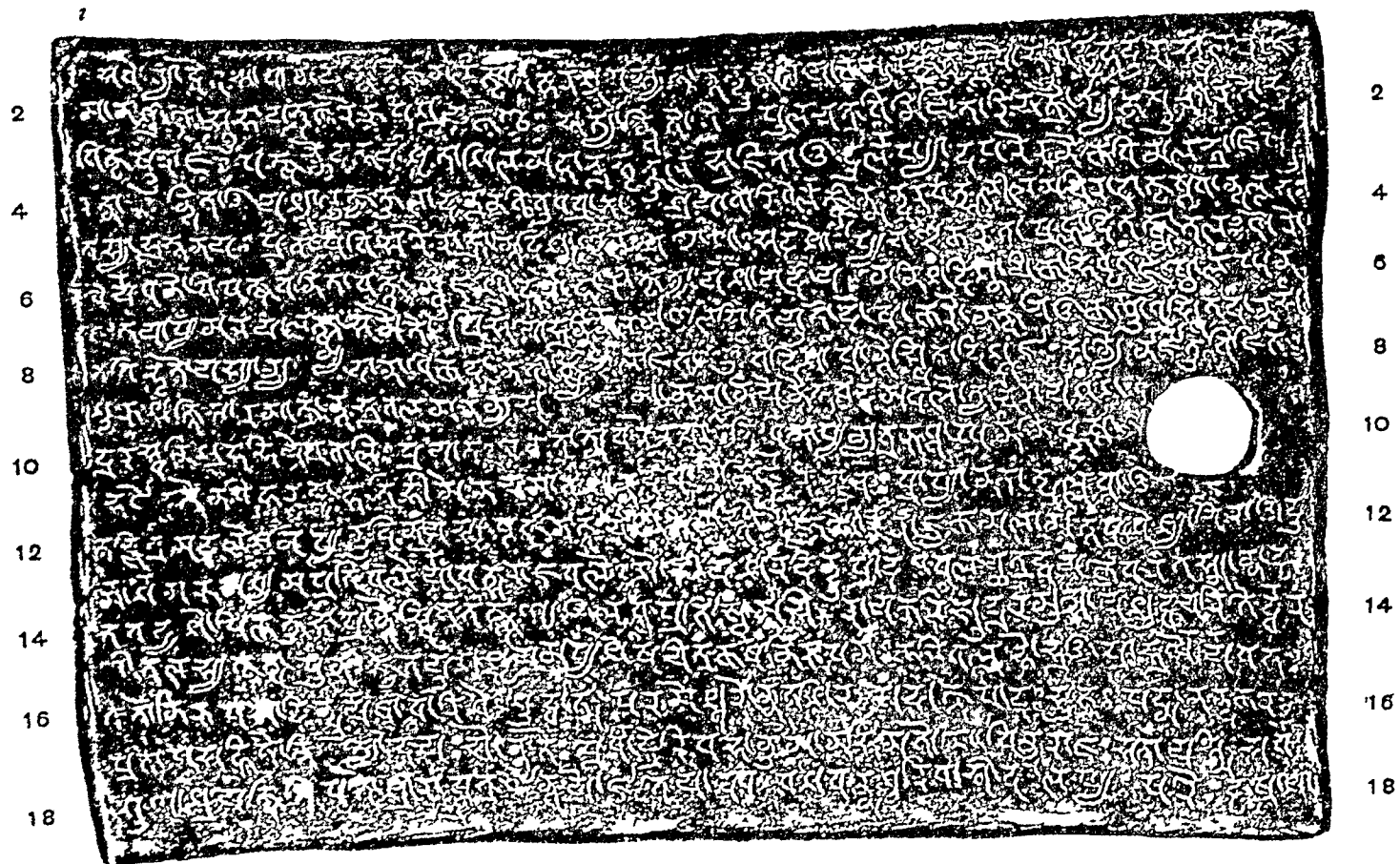
<sup>8</sup> Originally *param* was engraved, but the vowel *a*, of the second syllable appears certainly to have been struck out.

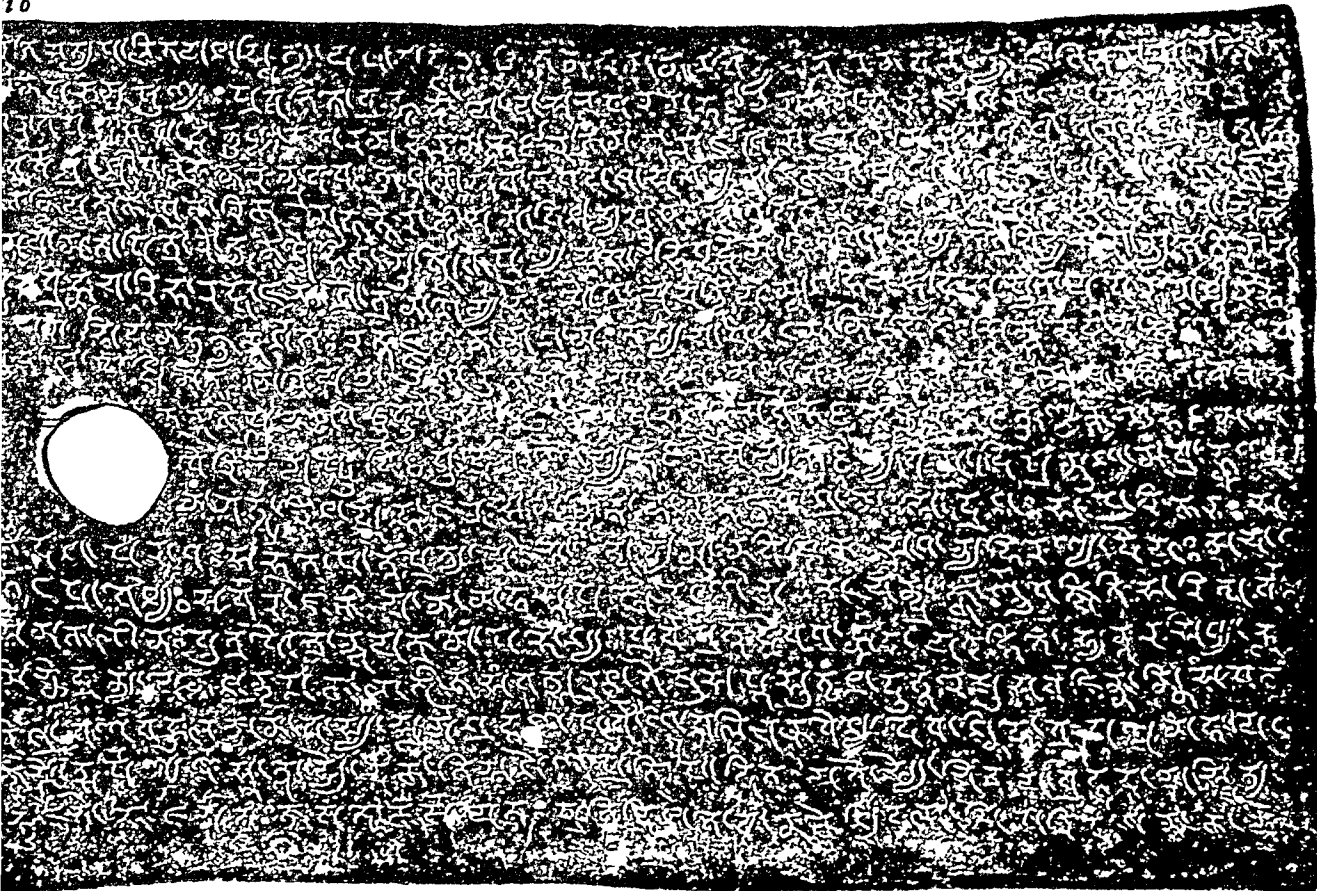
<sup>9</sup> Read *paraiḥ*=

<sup>10</sup> Read *°kūlayam*=

<sup>11</sup> Read *°lātām*=

<sup>12</sup> Read *°kṛtām*=





- 35 dhād=aviratah karma svaśarm-ēchchhayā [1\*] vāhyāli-vritur=asya yēna  
rachitā vyom-āgra-lagnā=ā[ra]chat<sup>1</sup> rātrau mauktika-<sup>2</sup>māli-  
36 kām=iva vriti<sup>3</sup> mūrdhastha-tārā-gana<sup>4</sup> [11 19\*] Samtrāsūt=para-chakra-rājakam=  
agat=tatpūrva sēvāvidhi<sup>4</sup> vyāvaddh-āmjali-  
37 sobhitka(na) śaranam mūrdhnā yad-amhri(hri)-dvayam [1\*] yad-yad-datta-  
parārdhya-bhūshana-ganair=<sup>5</sup>n=ālamkṛitam [ta\*]t=tathā mā bhaishī-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 38 r=ru satya-pālita-yaśasthityā yathā tad-girāt<sup>6</sup> [11 20\*] 7Tēn=ēdam=amla-  
vidyu[ch\*]-chamechalam=avalōkya jivitam=asāram [1\*] kshiti-  
39 dāna-paramapunya<sup>7</sup> pravartitō vra(bra)hma-dāyō=yam [11 21\*] Sa cha  
paramabhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīma-  
40 d-Dhāravarshadēva-pādānudhyāta-paramabharamabhattāraka-<sup>8</sup>mahārājādhirāja-para-mē-  
śvara prithivīvala(lla)bha-śrīmat-Prabhū-  
41 tavarsha-śrī Śrīvallabhanarēndradēvah kuśālī sarvān=ēva yathā-samvadhyamānakām<sup>9</sup>  
rāshtrapati-vishayapati-grāmakūtākūyu.<sup>10</sup>  
42 ktaka niyuktak-ādhikarika-mahattar-ādīm<sup>11</sup> samādiśaty=astu vah samviditam yathā  
śrī-Mayūrakhandi-samūvāsītō-  
43 na majā mūtapiṭrōr=ātmanāś=ch=āluk-āmushmika-punya-yaśō-bhuvriddhayē [12  
Tigavivāstavya-<sup>12</sup>ta[t\*]traividynsāmānya-Tē(tai)ttāriya-  
44 <sup>13</sup>yasavra(bra)hmachārī-Bhāradvājaśagōtra-Nāgaīyyabhatta-putrāya  
<sup>14</sup>Chandriyammagahiyasuhasa-putrāya Paramēśvarabha-  
45 ttāya Rāsiyanabhukty-antargatah<sup>15</sup> Rattajjuna-nāma-grāmah tasya ch=āghātānāni  
pūrvatah Sinhā nadī dakṣiṇatah Va-

<sup>1</sup> Read =arachad= Instead of *rachat*, Prof Bühler's text has *na chll*, and in the photo lithograph the first *akṣhara* of the group is figured as *na*. But in the original plate that *akṣhara* is very different from what it has been represented to be in the photo lithograph in the *Ind Ant*, and certainly is not *na*. It looks like a *ru*, the *u* of which, as is shown by the back of the paper impression, may have been struck out, the Munne grant also, after *lagnā* has *rucham*. The consonant of the second *akṣhara* of the group is *ch*, with a mark above it which Prof Bühler has taken to be the sign for *ē*, but that mark is so far away from the *ch*, and differs so much from the sign for *ē* generally here used, that I regard it as an accidental scratch. At any rate, I am convinced that, if *ē* was really engraved, it has been struck out. The actual reading therefore is *lagnāruchat* or *lagnārachat*, and I adopt the latter because in *drachat* we obtain a verb that may govern the following accusative case *mauktika mālikām* which otherwise, like *Trisanku*, would stand in the air — derived from the root *rach* which is frequently found in construction with *māli*, 'a garland'. Compare e.g. *Harshach* p 167, *rachita mundamālaka*, *Kdd* p 139, *vāshpajalavindubhīr=arachitām sphatikāśhamālikām*, and *Datākumārach*, Prof Bühler's 2nd ed, p 45, *drachita-muñjamāla*, 'one who has assumed a beautiful garland'. The difficulty which remains is, that in classical Sanskrit *rach* is a root of the 10th class — compare e.g. *Harshach* p 158, *lavangamālā rachayanībhiḥ* — and that our author, in writing *drachat*, would have used a form for which an analogy could be found only in epic poetry. For this compare the construction of *dhṛitā*, above, p 244, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Originally *mauktikē* was engraved, but the superscript *ē* has been struck out.

<sup>3</sup> Prof Bühler gives *dhṛitā*, which would be a possible reading.

<sup>4</sup> Read *vidhi vyavaddh*.

<sup>5</sup> Between *na* and *naś* another *akṣhara* may have been originally engraved.

<sup>6</sup> Read *tad girā*.

<sup>7</sup> Metre *Āryā*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *-paramabhattāraka*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *sambadhyamānakōr*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *grāmakūt-āyu*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *-ādīm=samādiśati* | *Astu*.

<sup>12</sup> This mark should be struck out, and may have been struck out already in the original.

<sup>13</sup> Prof Bühler read the name of the village *Tigamti*, but in the impression I fail to recognise any sign of *anusvāra* over the word.

<sup>14</sup> The *akṣhara ya* has been wrongly repeated here and should be struck out.

<sup>15</sup> Originally the sign of *anusvāra* seems to have been engraved over the first *ya* of this word. Prof Bühler read the name *Chandriyamma*.

<sup>16</sup> Here and in other places below the rules of *samdhā* have not been observed.

- 46 vulālā paśchimatah Miriyathāna uttaratah Varaha-grāmah<sup>1</sup> ōvam=nyam<sup>2</sup>  
chaturāghātān ōpalakṣitah tathā A-
- 47 <sup>3</sup>nantaviṣṇu(shnu)bhāta-Vitthuduvē[jha]-<sup>4</sup>Gōindā[m]maśhādāmgā[γ]i[t<sup>5</sup>]-  
Savvaibhāta-Chandadibhāta-Kunthanagaibhāta-Mādha-
- 48 vanyappu-Vitthapu-Dēvanaiyyabhāta-Rōyanayabhāta ēty-ōvamādi-pramukhānām(nām)  
vrā(biā)hmanā-
- 49 nām chatvarimśad-mahājana-samanvitānam Rattajuna-grāmah 9-odramgah sa-  
parikarab sa-
- 50 dasāparādhab sa bhūtōpāttapiatyāyah s-ōtpadyamānaviṣṭikah sa-dhanyahuranyādēyah  
a chāta-
- 51 bhāta-piāvēsyah sarva-rājakiyānām=a-hastapiakṣhōpanīyah ā-chandr-āikk-ārnnaya-  
kṣhiti-sarit-parvata-
- 52 samakālīnah putra-pautr-ānvaya-kram-ōpabhōgyah<sup>6</sup> pūrvapratīta-dēvavrā(bra)hmadāya-  
rahitō=bhyantarasi[d\*]dhyā bhū-
- 53 michchhidra-nyāyēna Śa[ka\*]nripakāl-ātita-samvatsara-śatēshu saptasu  
trim(trim)śad-uttarēshu Sarvajin-nāmmi samvat[sa]-
- 54 rē Śrāvana-vahula<sup>7</sup> amāvāsyām sūryagrahana-parvanī va(ba)h-charu-  
vaśya(śva)dēv-āgni-hōtra-pañchamahāyajña<sup>8</sup>
- 55 krī(krī)y-ōtsarpanārtham snātva-ādy-ōdak-ātisaigcna prapipādītah [i\*] Yatō=sy-ōchitayā  
vra(bra)hmadāya-sthityā
- 56 bhumjātō bhōjayatah krīshatō karshayatah prapīdisātō vā na kaischid=alp=āpi  
paripamthanā kāryā

## TRANSLATION OF VERSES 1-20.

Om (Verse 1) May He<sup>9</sup> protect you the lotus of whose navel was made by Brahmā into his own abode, and Hara<sup>10</sup> too, whose head is adorned by the lovely crescent of the moon<sup>1</sup>

(V 2) There was on the earth a king Krishnarāja, whose neck was clasped by the outstretched hands of Fortune<sup>11</sup> shining on his broad chest, who was gifted with truth,<sup>12</sup> and who by his large armies defeated the armies of opponents—[and who thereby was like the god Krishna] whose neck is hidden by the long rays of the *Kaustubha* gem glittering on his broad chest, who is united with Satyā, and who with his broad disc defeats hosts of enemies—yet whose deeds were not like Krishna's<sup>13</sup> [*i.e.* whose deeds were not black (*kṛishna*)]

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Bühler read the name *Vadaha*, but the second *akshara* undoubtedly is *ra*

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Bühler read *ēvam=ēva*

<sup>3</sup> In the names in this line and the next Prof. Bühler read 14 *aksharas* differently.

<sup>4</sup> I am not absolutely certain that the *akshara* in brackets is really *jha* in the original, but it certainly looks more like *jha* than anything else. See above, p. 241, note 3

<sup>5</sup> Very probably this final *t* was engraved above the line, between *va* and *sa*, where the impression and the accompanying collotype shew a kind of blot which has been carefully effaced in the photo-lithograph accompanying Prof. Bühler's paper

<sup>6</sup> Originally *kramōpabhōgyah* was engraved

<sup>7</sup> Read *bahul āmarāsyām*

<sup>8</sup> Before this word one would have expected to read, as in the Wani grant, *-āgnihōtra-ātithi-*

<sup>9</sup> *I.e.* Vishnu

<sup>10</sup> *I.e.* Siva

<sup>11</sup> Referred to the king, *śrī kaustubha* would literally mean 'Fortune (as bright as) the Kaustubha gem,' and referred to the god Krishna it might mean either 'the glorious Kaustubha gem' or 'Lakṣmī and the Kaustubha gem.' Similar compounds are most common, and so is the idea that Fortune rests on a king's breast

<sup>12</sup> *Satyānvita* = *satya* + *anvita* and *Satyā* + *anvita*, and *Satyā* is a shorter form of the name *Satyabhāmā*, denoting one of Krishna's wives. Compare *Vds* p. 122, *Kṛishna iva satyabhāmōpētah*, 'he was endowed with truth (*satya*), splendour (*bhā*), and fortune (*mā*), and therefore like Krishna who is united with Satyabhāmā'

<sup>13</sup> Only for those who are not familiar with the devices of Indian poets, I would state that these words are by no means intended either to convey any censure of the god Krishna, or to draw a distinction between that god and the king. The poet merely employs the figure of speech termed *virōdhā* (or *virōdhābhāsa*). In saying that



liberality of others, while their own practice of liberality lagged behind that of Karna<sup>1</sup> [*i.e.* while the stream of their rutting-juice flowed beneath their ears (*karna*)], the elephants of the quarters, utterly abashed as it were, posted themselves at the confines of the quarters

(V 6) The Kali age—witnessing how the Ganga, who, of consummate strength, had never been conquered by others, and who, having overrun the face of the earth, was filled with unparalleled concert, at last by Him was imprisoned—fled far away, for fear, as it were, of being chastised in its own body

(V 7) Having closely hemmed in the Pallava, on the one side by his army abounding in warriors with drawn<sup>2</sup> swords, and on the other by the sea fearful with sporting sharks, and having received from him, bent in submission, elephants shedding streams of rutting-juice, He, strange (*to record*), day after day touched never even an atom of rutting-juice<sup>3</sup> [*i.e.* He betrayed never even an atom of pride].

(V 8) By his matchless armies having quickly driven into the trackless desert<sup>4</sup> Vatsarāja who boasted of having with ease appropriated the fortune of royalty of the Gauda, He in a moment took away from him, not merely the Gauda's two umbrellas of state, white like the rays of the autumn moon, but his own fame also that had spread to the confines of the regions

(V 9) Since by the pure conduct of the dwellers of the earth He swiftly drove far away the Kali age that was established here, and completely reinstated the glory of the golden age,<sup>5</sup> it is marvellous how Nirupama came to be Kali-vallabha, 'the Favourite of the Kali age'

(V 10) As the moon, whose rays cling to Paramēśvara's<sup>6</sup> lofty head, emerges bright from the sea, and as the sun, causing joy to the lotus, day by day rises brilliant from the high orient mount, so from that Nirupama, firm of character, was born a son of pure disposition, whose feet

the moon indeed passed Jyēsthā, but otherwise there was not found on the earth any *jyēsthātskara*, *i.e.* overstepping or, as the commentator puts it, transgression of the commands (*virādētiollanghana*) of an eldest brother. For the moon's behaviour towards Brihaspati's wife compare *Vas* p 273, *Gurudara grahanam devyarājō 'karōti*, *Harshach* p 97, *devānām rājā Gurudāra grahanam akārshati*, and especially the beautiful story told *ibid* p 281. For *dōsha*, 'vice,' and *dōshā*, 'night,' see *e.g.* *Kād* p. 37, *gharmakala-dīvasa ita kshapita bahu dōshah*, 'he had subdued many vices, and was therefore like a summer day which shortens the long night,' and for the double meaning of *mandala* compare *Vās* p 189, *surajēta rakta mandalah . . . rajanipatiḥ*, where *mandala* is paraphrased by *bimba*, 'orb,' and *amatyādā samūha*, 'the collection of ministers *etc.*'

<sup>1</sup> The adjective ending with *-samtatibhritah* can only be taken to qualify *diggaḃh*. Employed in accordance with the figure of *kavyalinga*, it gives the poet's reason why the elephants were ashamed and retired to the confines of the quarters. The king's liberality exceeded that of *all* others, theirs was inferior at any rate to that of Karna. Karna is well known as a pattern of munificence. For the double meaning of the word *karna* compare *Vās* p 62, *Suyōdhana dhṛitim ita karna-vīrānta-lōchanām*, 'her eyes extended to her ears (*karna*), and she therefore was like Suyōdhana's firmness which left him when he saw Karna,' for that of *dāna*, *ibid* p 74, *matā-mātanga ita . . . adharīkṛita dānah*, 'he eclipses the liberality (of others), and is therefore like a rutting elephant whose rutting juice is flowing down,' *Kād* p. 90, *diggaḃham avichchhinna mahādāna saritānam*, *etc.*

<sup>2</sup> The ordinary Sanskrit expression for 'to draw' the sword is *ut lhan*, and the dictionaries give no quotation to shew that *nish kṛish* has the same meaning, but the latter verb is used *e.g.* in *Harshach* p 130, *nishkṛishṭa mandalāgrau*, 'with drawn swords.'

<sup>3</sup> In *Harshach* p 220, it is similarly said of Skandagupta, the commandant of Harsha's elephant troop—*atmasta samasta matā mātaṅga-sādhano 'py aspriṣṭō madēna*, 'with a whole army of rutting elephants at his disposal, he was yet untouched by rut' (*i.e.* presumption, compare Prof. Cowell's Translation).

<sup>4</sup> Or 'Maru country' (*Mārvād*), and 'the king of the Vatsas.'

<sup>5</sup> Beneath the rule of Prabhākara-vardhana 'the golden age (*kṛita-yuga*) seemed to bud forth in close packed lines of sacrificial posts, the evil time (*kali*) to flee in the smoke of sacrifices meandering over the sky,' see *Harshach* p 133, and Prof. Cowell's Translation.

<sup>6</sup> *I.e.* Śiva's. For the double meaning of *paramēśvara* compare *e.g.* *Harshach* p 162, *iddāntu tu śaś-īva śirasā paramēśvarēn-āsi vādhatyō jātah*, 'but now you are one to be supported by the king, like the moon by Paramēśvara (Śiva), on his head,' for that of *pāda*, *ibid* p 215, *kshamāpatnam śirasu śaratsavit-īva laldātam-tapān prayachchhā pāda nūdān*, 'like the autumn sun, set your forehead burning footsteps (rays) upon the heads of kings (the tops of mountains).'



rest on the proud heads of monarchs, who causes delight to millions,<sup>1</sup> is endowed with valour and ever rising—Gōvindarāja, the beloved of the good

(V 11) When this king, the resort of all that is excellent, was born, the glorious Rāshtrakūta lineage became unsurpassable by others, as the Yādava clan did on the birth of Madhu's foe,<sup>2</sup> a king who—causing haughty adversaries to seek the confines of the regions and to relinquish food and ornaments by his harassment<sup>3</sup>—clearly made even them quite like unto the suppliants, who see their desires granted to the full and are adorned with pearl-strings by his munificence

(V 12) When, seeing his superhuman form, like that of Krishna, fit to ward off calamity from the three worlds, his father offered to him the sole sovereignty of the earth, He addressed to him the seemingly words "Let it be, dear father! This is yours Have I not worn, like a command unchallenged, the necklet (of heir apparent)<sup>4</sup> which you have given to me?"

(V 13) When, to adorn the heavens, that father of his had gone to that state where nothing but his glory was left, He, though unaided, by the profusion of his superior splendour at once deprived of their lustre the twelve princes, famous though they were, who jointly rose with the desire of appropriating his land, just as the world-destroying fire does to the twelve suns<sup>5</sup> which rise together to bring about the destruction of the earth

(V 14) Afterwards, when in his infinite compassion He had released the Ganga from the long suffering of captivity and sent him to his own country, and when that Ganga in the excess of his arrogance nevertheless continued in hostility, He, even before a frown appeared on his high broad forehead, defeated him by a raid<sup>6</sup> and again threw him into prison

(V 15) As the rains cease on the approach of the starry season of autumn, which, having quickly placed its bees on *bāna* and *asana* flowers,<sup>7</sup> enhances the beauty of the *bandhujīva* flower

<sup>1</sup> The word *padma*, in the sense in which I take it here, denotes really 1,000 millions or billions, compare above Vol V p 120, note 6

<sup>2</sup> *I* e the god Vishnu Krishna

<sup>3</sup> Commentators would paraphrase *dāna*, as used here, by *khandana* and *vitaraṇa* Passages in which the word is similarly employed are *Vas* p 11, *Nṛsiṃha va darśita hiraṇyakaśipuḥkṣētra dāna vismayah*, 'he caused astonishment by granting gold, food and clothing, and land, and was therefore like the Man lion (Vishnu) who did so by mauling the body of Hiraṇyakaśipu,' and p 128, *lakṣadāna chyutih śāyakānām*, 'missiles failed to hit their aim—the bestowal of lace (of money) never failed'—The word *dā* often conveys the two meanings which it has in this verse, see e.g. *darśitā* in the verse in *Kād* p 149 With *muktādhara*<sup>o</sup> one may compare *vismuktādhara* in the verse *ibid* p 12

<sup>4</sup> On *kanthikā* see above, Vol V p 138, note 2

<sup>5</sup> These twelve suns are mentioned frequently, compare e.g. *Vās* p 160, *pralayakālōdita dvādaśaravī- kīranakālpa tīra-virahāgnī dahyamānam atikṛtām viprānam va tanum bibhrati*, and *Harshach* p 209, *kṣhava divasa vabōdita dvādaśadvakara durnivṛkṣhya mūrtih*

<sup>6</sup> So the word *vikṣēpa* is translated (in my opinion, correctly) by Prof Cowell in *Harshach* p 170, *adharmavikṣēpaiva lunthitam*, 'sacked by the raids of demerit,' and the same meaning (in addition to its ordinary sense) the word even more clearly has in *Kād* p 107, *dūrasthīdanyapi phalān=iva danda vikṣēpaiva maṣakulāni śālayanti*, 'by the raids of their troops their humble great families, even though they be far away, as by throwing sticks one brings down fruit that grows on a high (tree)' Compare below, v 18

<sup>7</sup> To make it convey this meaning, I take *bānāsana* of course as a Dvandva compound The *bāna* and *asana* flowers are mentioned in the *Śūfupālavadha*, VI 46 and 47, both as blossoming in autumn With the whole passage compare especially *Kād* p 21 of the Calcutta ed of Samvat 1919, *samarōdyata-patākin=iva bānāsana-drōpita-śīlmukhā*, the Vindhya forest 'where bees are settled on *bāna* and *asana* flowers, and which therefore is like an army intent on battle where arrows are placed on bows,' (Prof Peterson in his ed, p 19, has adopted the wrong reading *bāna samadrōpita*<sup>o</sup>), compare also the similar passage *ibid* p 127 of Prof Peterson's ed, *samarāmukhāir=iva pumndga samākṛṣhṭa śīlmukhāḥ pādapaḥ* A passage in which, in addition to the *bāna* and *asana* flowers, three others are mentioned in a similar way occurs in the *Nalachampā*, p 26 In inscriptions, we have the same double meanings of *śīlmukha* and *bānāsana* (with special reference to the autumn) in the description of Dhruvasēna III of Valabhi, e.g. in *Ep Ind* Vol I p 88, ll 37 and 38 and *Gupta Inscr* p 176, l 36, and in the Kūram plates, *South Ind Inscr* Vol I p 149, l 27, we find, instead of *bānāsana*, *śarāsana*, used similarly in a double sense



and favours the growth of the day-lotus, so the Gûrjara—on seeing how He, who made the lives and wealth of relatives prosper, and was favoured by increase of fortune, and before whom warriors desponded,<sup>1</sup> had come near, quickly placing on his bow the arrows aimed at himself—in fear vanished nobody knew whither, so that even in a dream he might not see battle

(V 16) Seeing that the sole way to preserve his fortune was to bow down at His feet, the lord of Mâlava, versed in policy, bowed to him from afar with folded hands What wise man, whose power is small, will compete with one powerful? For that is the prime result of the rules of policy, to know the superiority in strength of oneself and one's adversary

(V 17) Having heard through his spies that his camp was pitched on the ridges of the Vindhya mountain, and apprehending that He was moving towards his own country like (the comet) Dhruva,<sup>2</sup> king Mârâsarva, driven by fear, quickly went to conciliate<sup>3</sup> his mind by choice heir-looms, such as He had never received before, and his feet by prostrations

(V 18) Having passed the rainy season, when the sky is densely covered with thick clouds, at Śrībhavana, He thence went with his forces to the banks of the Tungabhadra, and staying there, He, strange<sup>4</sup> (to say), even by flinging it away, again completely drew to himself the fortune of the Pallavas though it was already in his hand—his enemies having submitted

(V 19) Thither the lord of Vēngi repaired when (the king's) letter-carrier had only half uttered the command, and longing for his own comfort, steadily like a servant without ceasing did such toil that the enclosure constructed thereby for His camp,<sup>5</sup> touching the summit of the sky, at night seemed to assume a garland of pearls,<sup>6</sup> surrounded as it was by the groups of stars above it

(V 20) With their heads embellished by their hands folded then for the first time<sup>7</sup> to render

<sup>1</sup> The word *sannakshatra* represents both *san* (i.e. *sat*) + *nakshatra* and *sanna* + *lshatra*, compare *Vās* p 28, *Trisankur-iva nakshatrapatha śhōlitah*, where *nakshatrapatha-* is both *nakshatra patha* and *na lshatra-patha*. *San nakshatra* would of course be equivalent to *vidyamāna nakshatra*, and *sanna lshatra* would have to be dissolved by *sannam lshatram gena*, and might also be translated by 'he by whom warriors were humbled, or destroyed,' compare with it *sanna satru* in the *Raghuvamśa*, VII 61

<sup>2</sup> Compare the *Bṛhatsamhitā*, XI 42, Prof Kern's Translation in *Jour Roy As Soc*, New Series, Vol V p. 71 "But the princes on whose warlike equipments, the countries on whose dwellings, trees, and hills, and the householders on whose implements this luminary (viz the comet Dhruva) is seen, are doomed to destruction"

<sup>3</sup> In the Sanskrit text the Present Participle is accounted for by Pāṇini, III 2, 126

<sup>4</sup> The strangeness in the first place lies in the fact that he drew to himself something by flinging it away (*vikshēpa*), and secondly in the circumstance that this thing which he drew to himself already was in his hand (*kara*) His action ceases to be strange as soon as we take the words *vikshēpa* and *kara* to mean 'raid' and 'tribute'—'He by his raids completely drew to himself the fortune of the Pallavas which was tributary to him' (or, as we should say, who were his tributaries)—On *vikshēpa* see the note on v 14 The double meaning of *kara* is most common, compare e.g. *Kād* p 10, *akaram api hastasthita sakalabhuvanatalam*, 'although he had no hands, the whole extent of the earth was in his hand,' & 'the whole extent of the earth was in his hand and he took no tribute from it'

<sup>5</sup> For the use of the word *tāhyāṭi* (or *dhāyāṭi*) which I have translated by 'camp,' I only can refer the reader to the passages quoted in von Böhtlingk's *Dictionary* The word occurs in the *Rājataranginī* (Dr Stein's edition), VII 392, 976, 986, and VIII 46 *Āśva-tāhyāṭi* we have in line 11 of the *Uttamacharitra-kathānakam* (*Sitzungsberichte der Kgl Preuss Ak der Wiss* 1884, Part I p 276), meaning something like 'stabling for horses,' or 'horse barracks,' and its synonym (though explained differently by the commentator in the *Nirnaya-sāgar* Press ed) *turanga tāhyāṭi* occurs in *Kād* p 75, l 1, *uparachita-turanga-tāhyāṭi vibhāgam vidyā mandiram*

<sup>6</sup> Pearls and stars are frequently compared with each other, but while as a rule the stars are the *upamāna* and pearls the *upamēya*, here the reverse is the case (*viparyāsōpamā*) The stars which the enclosure seemed to wear on its crest were like a pearl garland Compare *Vās* p 85, *muktāphala sabalitaśikharatayā sīrō lagnam tārā ganam v=ōdvahan*, *ibid* p 220, *śikharagata-muktajāla vyajyēna . . . tārā ganam v=ōdvahadbhish . . . prāsādair-upasōbbhitam . . . Vāsavadattā-bhavanam*

<sup>7</sup> *Ie* they never before had rendered obeisance to any king For the use of *atpūrva* compare—I take this quotation from the *St Petersburg Dictionary*—*Raghuvamśa*, II 42, *ishu prayōgē tatpūrva sangē*, 'in the discharge of the arrow which (discharge) then for the first time was checked,' and *Kumārasambhava*, V, 10, *atpūrva nibaddha*, 'then for the first time tied on'

obedience, the kings of hostile realms in their terror approached for protection His feet, which became less adorned by the many exquisite ornaments presented, than by His own words "Do not fear," the trustworthiness of which guards the stability of his fame

## No 24 — THREE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE DHARWAR DISTRICT

By J F FLEET, ICS (RETD), PH D, CIE

### A — AN INSCRIPTION AT DIDGUR

This inscription is now brought to notice for the first time I edit it, and the collotype (see opposite page 253 below) is given, from an ink-impression obtained by me in 1887

Didgûr is a village about thirteen miles towards the south-west from Karajgi the headquarters of the Karajgi taluka of the Dhârwar district The Indian Atlas sheet No 42 (1827) shews it as 'Dindgoor,' with a nasal in the first syllable for which it is difficult to account, and moreover, as compared with the map that I mention next, it transposes the position of it with the position of a neighbouring village named Timâpur The Map of the Dhârwar Collectorate (1874) shews it as 'Deergoor' And the Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879) shews it as 'Didgur' Line 3 of the record, taken in connection with the general purport and with its existence at Didgûr, suggests that the earlier name of the place was Mugunda And the reference to the governor Dosi has the effect of placing Mugunda, and the other village that is mentioned, Sangavûr, in the Banavâsi twelve-thousand province The inscription is on a stone which was found in a field, Survey No 1 of Didgûr

At the top of the stone there are sculptures, which shew, in the centre, a seated figure, squatting and facing full-front, on a seat of three tiers, and holding in each hand apparently some weapon which looks like a short spear, on the proper right of this figure, there is a boar, standing to the proper left, i.e. towards the central figure, and on the proper left there is some animal which, in the drawing submitted to me, looks more like a badly sketched horse or donkey than anything else, standing to the proper right, i.e., again, towards the central figure — The extant portion of the writing covers an area ranging in breadth from about 10" in line 8 to 2' 3" in line 2, by about 1' 9½" high It is in a state of fairly good preservation, and is legible with certainty almost throughout But, owing to parts of the stone having been broken away and lost, letters are missing at the ends of the lines from line 4 onwards, and at the beginning of lines 7 and 8 And there must have been originally at least one more line, containing the usual end of the imprecatory verse of which there is a remnant in line 8 — The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed The size of them<sup>1</sup> ranges from about ⅝" in the *r* of the *re* in *tereya*, line 3, to about 1¼" in the *s* of the *sâ* in *sâsi[ra]*, line 6, and the *lb* in line 2, No 17, is about 4" high, on the slant The superscript long *i* is used throughout, for the short *i* as well as for the long vowel The distinct form of the lingual *d* is used, and it is very pointedly marked in the *di* of *kedisi[domge]*, line 5, No 15 There is a final form of the *l* in line 4, No 12, in *grahana[do]l* As regards the palæography, — the *lh* and *n* do not occur<sup>2</sup> The *j* occurs twice, in lines 1 and 3, and, in both places, is of the old square type, closed, it can be seen best in the *ja* of *mahâjanaddâ*, line 3, the last *akshara* but one The *b* occurs seven times, and is, throughout, of the old square type, closed, but the actual form of it, being mostly composed of curves rather than of straight lines, must be looked on as a somewhat cursive form of the old square

<sup>1</sup> See page 41 above

<sup>2</sup> In *âdonge*, line 5, where either the guttural nasal or the *anustara* would be permissible, the writer mistakenly used the dental nasal

type the intended form can be seen best in the upper *b* of the *rbba* in *sāsubbar*, line 6, No 5; and a noticeable feature in it, is the marked crook, halfway up the left side of the letter, with which the formation of the character commenced we can see that the writer began at that point, and formed the rest of the character by one steady sweep of the pen, running along the top, down the right side, along the bottom to the left, and then up to the starting-point, and it is easy to realise that the later cursive type may have been developed almost directly from this particular form of the old square type, by making the downstroke immediately after completing the crook, and then forming the rest of the character to the right instead of to the left. We have the *l* in the *la* of *kālam*, line 4, No 3, and it, also, is of the old square type it occurred again in *phalam*, line 5, it is almost entirely destroyed there, but such traces as are discernible in the impression, indicate that there, also, the old square type was used — We have the remains of a Sanskrit imprecatory verse in line 8. But the language of the body of the record is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. In *Mugundadul*, line 3, we have the somewhat exceptional locative ending *ul*,<sup>1</sup> but we have the usual ending *ol* in [*Vāra*]nāsīyol in line 6, and apparently also in *grahana[do]l*, line 4 — The orthography does not present anything calling for comment.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a king Kattiyara, under whom a certain Dosi was governing the Banavāsī twelve-thousand province. The object of it was to record a general assignment of some tax under the orders of the king, and the special assignment by Dosi of a quarter-share of the tax of the village of Sangavūr to the *Mahājanas* of Mugunda,— doubtless for expenditure by them on communal objects.<sup>2</sup>

Of the two villages mentioned in the record, Sangavūr is evidently the modern 'Sungoor' of the maps, about two miles on the north of Dīdgūr.<sup>3</sup> Mugunda seems to be the earlier name of Dīdgūr itself. The record tacitly, but plainly, places both these villages in the Banavāsī twelve-thousand province. And it seems likely that the Mugunda mentioned here is the town from which there was named a group of villages called the Mugunda twelve, of which mention is made in an inscription of A D 1075 at Balagāmī. That record registers the grant, for the temple of the god Nārasimha at Balligave, of a town or village (*bāda*) named Kundavige in "the Mugunda twelve which was a *kampana* of the Banavase nād."<sup>4</sup> The maps do not shew any such names as Mugunda and Kundavige in the neighbourhood of Balagāmī. Dīdgūr is only twenty-four miles away towards the north-by-east from Balagāmī. And, though there, also, the maps do not shew any such names now, there is no objection, such as on account of excessive distance from the temple to which the grant was made, to locate Kundavige somewhere near Dīdgūr.<sup>5</sup>

The record is not dated. But the characters of it are fairly referable to closely about A D. 800. The names of the king and of the local governor are not known as yet from any other records. It seems impossible to explain the existence of this record in the Rāshtrakūṭa territory and in the period to which it must be referred, except on the supposition that Kattiyara was one of the twelve confederate kings and princes, headed by Stambha-Kambayya, who shortly after A D 794 sought to dispute the sovereignty of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III.<sup>6</sup> And, in my opinion, that is certainly the explanation of the matter. Further, it seems likely that, of the emblems on the stone, the boar belongs to the king Kattiyara, and the other animal to the

<sup>1</sup> See page 99 f above.

<sup>2</sup> Compare page 102 above.

<sup>3</sup> There are inscriptions at 'Sungoor' and at the neighbouring village of 'Koolenoor,' which might possibly throw further light on the matter of the present record.

<sup>4</sup> *P S O-C Insers* No 161, lines 33, 34, *Ind Ant* Vol IV pp 209, 211, and see *Mysore Insers* p 143.

<sup>5</sup> Moreover, there are various indications that the names of places in that neighbourhood have changed very considerably in the course of time,— probably through the splitting up of towns into small villages.

<sup>6</sup> See page 197 above, also page 249 above, where we have Prof Kielhorn's translation of the verse, No 13, in the Radhanpur plates.





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governor Dosī From this it would follow that Kattiyara was a Chalukya descended from, or at least connected with, the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi, and that we have in him the Kattiyaradēva who is mentioned as an ancestor of the later Chālukya dynasty of Kalyāni in the Managōhī inscription of A D. 1161<sup>1</sup>

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

1	Svasti <sup>3</sup>	Śi-Kattiyara	prithivī-rājyam-keye	Dosī	Banavāsī-
2	panniḥchāsūmanum <sup>4</sup> =āle	nū(?) <sup>5</sup> ruvaka(?)ra)lagadīgal=bīdise			Sam-
3	gavūr[ā]	teṭeya	bhāgamān=Mugundadul=Dosī		mahajana-
4	da kām ka[chi]	bitton=grahana[do]	chandra-sūrya[m]=[barām] [  *] [I]-		
5	dān=kadonge <sup>6</sup>	aśvamēdhadā	pha[la]m=akkum	kedī[domge	Vāra]-
6	nāsīyol=sāsīrbbar=ppaibbarum	sāsī[ra	kavīleyumam		konda]
7	[p]am=akkum yu	ūrumān=a[hi]	[  *]	[Sva-dattām para-dattām]	
8	[vā yō]	harēta vasundharām sha[shī]	1	.	.

## TRANSLATION.

Hail ! While the glorious Kattiyara was reigning over the earth, and while Dosī was governing the Banavāsī twelve-thousand — On (Kattiyara) causing to be assigned<sup>7</sup> .  
 . . .<sup>8</sup> Dosī laved the feet of the *Mahājanas* at Mugunda, and assigned (to them), at the time of an eclipse, a quarter<sup>9</sup> of the tax of Sangavūr, [to continue as long as] the moon and sun [may last]

(Line 4) To him who protects this, there shall accrue the reward of an *aśvamēdha*-sacrifice, to him who destroys it, there shall attach the guilt of [killing] a thousand Brāhmanas and a thousand [cows] at Vāranāsī<sup>10</sup> . . . . .<sup>10</sup>

(Verse 1, line 7) [He who] confiscates land [that has been given, whether by himself or by another], . . . . .

## B — AN INSCRIPTION AT GUDIGERE

This inscription is now brought to notice for the first time It was originally brought to my notice by the then Māmlatdār of Lakshmēshwar, in February, 1883 I edit it, and the accompanying collotype is given, from an ink-impression obtained by me in 1892

Gudigere is the head-quarters town of an outlying tāluka of the same name belonging to the Junior Miraj State, within the limits of the Dhārwar district The Indian Atlas sheet No 41 (1852) shews it as 'Goodagerree,' in lat 15° 26', long 75° 6', six miles towards the west of Lakshmēshwar The Map of the Dhārwar Collectorate (1874) shews it as 'Goodeegeree' And the Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879) shews it as 'Gudgiri' The Railway

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol V p 16, text line 5, note 4 below the translation on page 20 may now be cancelled

<sup>2</sup> From the ink impression

<sup>3</sup> The sign for the superscript long ī is used throughout to denote the short i also It does not seem necessary to encumber the text by shewing the long vowel in each case and entering the corrections

<sup>4</sup> Read *panniḥchāsūmanum*

<sup>5</sup> This is rather a nondescript *akshara* It looks more like *nū* than anything else But it may possibly be *ku* or *kū*

<sup>6</sup> Read *kādonge*, or *kādomge*

<sup>7</sup> For the meanings given to *bīdise* here and to *bīdu* in line 4, see page 107 above, note 4

<sup>8</sup> The word before *bīdise* is unintelligible

<sup>9</sup> *Bhāga* seems to be used in this specific sense (for which see Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary), rather than in the vague meaning of 'a share'

<sup>10</sup> The original contained some words here, — perhaps introducing the name of another village, or perhaps only deprecating the destruction of the village itself, — of which not enough remains to make the sense intelligible

Officials have adopted the form 'Gudgeri'.<sup>1</sup> We already know one record from this place,—the inscription of A D. 1076-77,<sup>2</sup> which gives its name in the Kanarese form of Gudigere and in the Sanskritised form of Dhvajatatāka. An earlier mention of it is found in the Tālgund inscription of A D 997,<sup>3</sup> which mentions, as a feudatory of the Western Chālukya king Taila II, a certain Bhīmarasa,<sup>4</sup> with the *biruda* of Tailapanankakāra or "the champion of Tailapa," who was then governing the [Banavā]si twelve-thousand, the Sātālige thousand (the Santālige thousand of other records),<sup>5</sup> the Kī[sukā]d seventy, and an *agrahāra* the name of which is either Samasi-Gudigere or possibly Savasi-Gudigere.<sup>6</sup> The first component of this name evidently denotes the modern 'Sownshee' of the maps, seven miles north-west-by-north from Gudigere. The two villages thus constituted in ancient times an *agrahāra*, which was named after both of them. And, as the Tālgund record cites, among the witnesses to the matter which it registers, (the people or elders of) the *padinēti-agrahāra*, it would appear that the Samasi-Gudigere *agrahāra* was one of the eighteen *agrahāras*. The present inscription is on a stone on the north side in front of a temple of Kalamēśvara at Gudigere.

The sketch submitted to me shews a narrow high stone, with a tall panelled head, probably about four feet high, rounded at the top. At the bottom of the outer panelling, on each side there is a full-blown water-lily, and at the bottom of the middle panel there is a large circle, with a big dot in the centre of it, standing on a square or rectangular pedestal, from each side of which there projects a floral ornamentation. Then comes the writing, immediately below the above, on the bottom part of the panelled head. Below the writing the stone contracts to a square face, probably about one foot square, on which there is the sculpture of an elephant, standing to the proper left, with his trunk hanging down and the tip of it turned up inwards, and, in fact depicted very similarly to the elephant at the top of the stone at Balagāmi which contains the inscription of the time of the Western Chalukya king Vinayāditya and the Sēndraka prince Pogillī,<sup>7</sup> and—(except that there is a band or strap round the body of the elephant)—to the elephant at the top of the Peggu-ūr Ganga inscription of A D 978.<sup>8</sup> Below

<sup>1</sup> It may be remarked that the name boards exhibited at railway stations, while large enough and clear enough, are any thing but a safe guide to the actual forms of place names, though they are likely to do more than anything else towards perpetuating certain erroneous or imperfect forms. I have seen, more than once, the same name exhibited in three different spellings on the same platform,—in one form in Kanarese characters, in another in Marāṭhi characters, and in still another in English characters,—and not one of them absolutely correct in all details.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XVIII p 35

<sup>3</sup> *Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese Inscriptions*, No 214, and see *Mysore Inscr* p 186.—Here, as in various other cases, the details given by me from the photographs of the records are not all presented in *Mysore Inscriptions*. No doubt, more complete and correct accounts of the contents of the records included in that book, will be given when Mr Rice issues the volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* which will deal with the Shimoga and Chitaldroog districts. Meanwhile, his *Mysore Inscriptions* still serves as an index and guide to the use of the photographs from Colonel Dixon's collection which were reproduced in my *Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old Canarese Inscriptions*.

<sup>4</sup> He is probably described as a *Mahāsāmanta*; but the last four syllables cannot be read with certainty in the photograph.

<sup>5</sup> The photograph seems to distinctly give the name here as Sātālige,—without any nasal after the *a*.

<sup>6</sup> In the second syllable of the first component of the name, the original has a character, namely, the mediæval form of *m* or of *v* noticed on page 258 below, which in the photograph may be read either as *m* or as *v*. It is probably *m*. But an ink-impression is required, to settle the point definitely.

<sup>7</sup> For a photograph, shewing the elephant, see No 98 of Colonel Dixon's collection, reproduced as No 152 in my *P S O-C Inscr*. For the bearing of the emblem on the Balagāmi inscription, see page 72 above.

<sup>8</sup> See the lithographs in *Ind Ant* Vol VI p 101, and *Coorg Inscr*, opposite p 5.—There is a very similar elephant on the stone that contains the Ganga inscription at Kāṭansballi (*Ep Carn* Vol III, Sr 147, lithograph), where, however, it is depicted with its head raised and its back sloping.—For another Ganga elephant, see the lithograph of the Tavalūr inscription (*ibid*, Vol 14), but that one differs from the others, in being represented as walking or running and with the tip of its trunk turned up forwards.—Sir Walter Elliot has given us a representation of the elephant seal of one or other of the spurious grants of the Ganga series, in his *Coins of*

this, the stone widens out again to the same breadth as above the facet containing the elephant, and the sketch indicates that here there was a continuation of the writing, which, however, is now altogether illegible. It also indicates that, after a space representing about ten lines of writing, the remainder of the stone is broken away and lost — The extant portion of the writing, represented in the collotype, covers an area about 2' 1" broad by 6½" high. It is in a state of fairly good preservation, and can be read without any uncertainty — The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and well executed. The size of them ranges from about  $\frac{5}{8}$ " in the *ya* of *hesadeyara*, line 2, to 1½" in the *l* of *āle*, line 3, and the *nṭi* of *mēnti*, line 2, and the *nṇā* in line 3, are 2" high. The distinct form of the lingual *d* is very clear in lines 2 and 3. There is a final form of *n* in line 1, and of *r* in line 2. As regards the palæography, — the *h* and *l* do not occur. The *j* occurs twice, in line 1, and, in both places, is of the old square type, closed, in the collotype, it can be seen best in the *jya* of *rājyan*, line 1, No 17. The *n* occurs in the same word, in the *akshara nge*, line 1, No 18, and, following the *j* in the usual manner,<sup>1</sup> it, also, is of the old square type, closed. The *b* occurs once, subscript, in the *akshara lba*, line 1, No 7, and it, again, is of the old square type, closed. — The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. The record presents, in line 2, *mēnti*, as a variant of *mēṭi*, 'a big man, a chief, a head, a head servant'. And it includes, in line 2, a word, *gōśāsa*, which is not found in dictionaries, and in respect of which we can only conjecture that it is an amplified form of *gōśa*, the *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *gōśhṭha*, 'a cow-pen, a station of cow-herds'.<sup>2</sup> — The orthography does not present anything calling for comment, except the use of *s* for *ś* in *Subhachandra*, line 1.

The extant portion of the inscription is only the opening passage of a record, introductory to matter which is now lost. It refers itself to the reign of a king named the Mahārāja

*Southern India*, Plate III No 120, here, the elephant seems to be "caparisoned". And Dr Burnell has given us the seal of apparently another grant of the same series, in his *South-Indian Palæography*, the Plate opposite p 106, the seal marked Chēra, here, again, the elephant has a band or strap round apparently the throat. In both these instances, the elephant is standing, and has the tip of its trunk turned up inwards.

<sup>1</sup> See a remark on page 46 above.

<sup>2</sup> As, however, this meaning is not conclusively established yet, the word itself will be used, without translation. — Other cases in which the same word, *gōśāsa*, occurs, are as follows. — (1) The Paṭṭadakal inscription of the time of Dhruva, *Ind Ant.* Vol. XI p 125, text line 5. Here, the harlot Bādipoddi or Bālipoddi is mentioned as having given to the temple (of Lōhāśvara) an *uttama gōśāsa*, "an excellent *gōśāsa*, a *gōśāsa* of the best kind," and a horse-chariot and an elephant-chariot, and as giving some land and an *ubhayamukhī* or pregnant cow. — (2) An inscription of the time of Amoghavarsha I at Chūñchli in the Gadag tāluka, dated in the Vijaya *samvatsara*, coupled with Śaka Samvat 793 by mistake for 795 (expired), in A D 874 not yet published, I quote from an ink impression. This inscription records that, on the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Phālguna, someone, whose name is illegible in the ink impression, fasted and, having laved the feet of the fifty-seven *Mahājanas* of Chūñchli and having given them a thousand cows, gave them a *gōśāsa*, and it further records that a son of one of the village-headmen gave a *gōśāsa*, together with a tank and a garden (*drame*, perhaps here meaning, rather, a pasture-ground). This latter record, in particular, tends to connect *gōśāsa* with cows. And, considering how important a part the cow plays in the private as well as the religious life of the Hindus, we may easily imagine that in former times the cows at night, instead of being brought home to individual houses inside the villages and towns as is done now, were kept and guarded all together in large communal cow pens in charge of regularly appointed officials, and that the gift of such a cow pen, whether to the establishment of a temple or for a whole village, would be a highly meritorious act. — From *gōśāsa* we have, with the affix *iga*, — an affix which forms nouns denoting "makers, changers (dealers), persons in employment," etc (see Dr Kittel's edition of the *Śabdamanidarpana*, p 232, sūtra 197), — *gōśāsiḡa*, which seems to mean 'a person in charge of a *gōśāsa*,' and to be equivalent to the *gōśāsada mēnti* of the present record, it occurs in the Aihole inscription of the time of Vijayāditya (*Ind Ant* Vol. VIII p 285, text line 3), where mention is made of "Maruvarma, of the *Gōśāsiga* of Śūraṇa!" — And we also have *gōśāsi*, apparently as a shorter form of *gōśāsiḡa*. This word occurs, qualifying a proper name, in an inscription at Niralgi, to be published hereafter. And an inscription of A D. 1060 at Sūḍi in the Rōn tāluka — (not yet published, I quote from an ink impression) — mentions, among the boundaries of a village named Sivunūr, a tank called *gōśāsiya-keṛa*, "the tank of the *Gōśāsi* or of the *Gōśāsiḡa*." — It may be added that the Bombay Postal Directory shews a village named 'Gosās.' in the Khēd tāluka of the Poona district.



Mārassalba, under whom a certain Dadigarasa was governing the district,— meaning, of course, the district that included the village at which the record is, the name of it is not specified.

The record is not dated. But the characters of it are fairly referable to closely about A D 800. And there can be no doubt that the person whom it mentions as Mārassalba is to be identified with the Mārāsarva of a verse, used in the account of the Rāshtrakūta king Gōvinda III in the Wani and Rādhapur grants of A D 807,<sup>1</sup> which runs —“ Having heard, through his own spies, that he (Gōvinda III) was encamped on a slope of the Vindhya mountains, and recognising that (*though so far away*) he had (*practically*) arrived at his own territory just as if it were Dhruva (*on a previous occasion*), king Mārāsarva, impelled by fear, quickly went to satisfy his (Gōvinda's) desires by (*giving up*) his choicest heir-looms, such as had never been amassed before, as well as to propitiate his feet by doing obeisance to them.” Further, we may safely take it that Mārassalba-Mārāsarva was, like the Kattiyara of the Didgūr inscription, one of the twelve confederate kings and princes headed by Stambha-Kambayya, who shortly after A D 794 sought to dispute the sovereignty of Gōvinda III.<sup>2</sup> And, as the elephant, depicted so prominently on the stone, can hardly be taken as the emblem of the Dadigarasa of the record, who was plainly a person of very minor rank and importance, we can only understand that it stamps Mārassalba-Mārāsarva as belonging to the family of the Western Gangas of Talakād.<sup>3</sup> We shall have to consider hereafter who, exactly, Mārassalba may have been. He may be some member of the Ganga family whose existence the Mysore records have not yet disclosed. Or the name may possibly be another appellation of Śrīpuruṣa-Muttarasa, who in the course of his career did unquestionably find an opportunity to assume the paramount power and titles. Or it is possible that it may be the name from which, first by substituting the synonymous *siva* for the *saria* of its Sanskritised form, and then by metathesis, the persons who fabricated the spurious records of the Western Ganga series may have obtained the name of Śivamāra II as an alleged son of Śrīpuruṣa-Muttarasa.

In connection with the general history of the period, it is convenient to make here a note regarding the identification of a place which is mentioned in the verse in the Wani and Rādhapur grants which comes next after the verse that mentions Mārassalba-Mārāsarva. The verse tells us that Gōvinda III spent a rainy season at a place named Śrībhavana, and then marched thence, with his army, to the Tungabhadra, where he conquered and despoiled the Pallavas.<sup>4</sup> Mr Wathen was told that Śrībhavana denotes “Cowldurga, in Mysore, south of the river,”<sup>5</sup> that is to say, apparently, Kavalēdurga, near the north bank of the Tungā, in the Tirthahalli tāluka of the Shimoga district, about seven miles on the west of Tirthahalli. Dr Buhler felt certain that Śrībhavana is not ‘Cowldurga,’ but could not himself identify the place.<sup>6</sup> Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji proposed to identify Śrībhavana with ‘Sarbhon’ in the

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 158, text line 25 ff, and Vol VI p 67, verse 17, also page 250 above, Prof Kielhorn's rendering. Prof Kielhorn has detected what I and Dr Bühler had not recognised, namely, an astrological allusion to the comet Dhruva. But I consider that there is certainly also a secondary reference to the king Dhruva. I hold that, just as the astrological allusion to the asterism Jyēṣṭhā, in verse 5, was suggested, to the composer of the verses, by what Dhruva had done to his elder brother, so, also, the allusion here to the comet Dhruva was suggested by something that he had done to the territory of Mārāsarva, and the verse contains a secondary reference to it.

<sup>2</sup> See page 252 above.

<sup>3</sup> It is possible that Dadigarasa, also, was a Ganga. But, even so, it is very unlikely that a Ganga should, at that time, be exercising local authority so far to the north of the real Ganga territory, unless his paramount sovereign also was a Ganga. And it seems more probable that this Dadigarasa was a member of the Bahuvamśa of the Dadigamandala country, in Mysore, which is mentioned in an inscription of A D 1113 or 1114 at Sūdi in the Pōn tāluka (see *Ind Ant* Vol XXX p 111).

<sup>4</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 162, and Vol VI p 71, verse 18.

<sup>5</sup> *Jour R As Soc*, F S, Vol V p 352, note.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol VI p 63, note.

Âmôd tâluka of the Broach district<sup>1</sup> But a village in Gujarât, below the Ghants, is hardly the locality that would be selected for the halt of an army during the rains, especially, as the preliminary to operations on the Tungabhadriâ The verse about Mārassalba-Mārūsarva, with the light that is thrown on it by the present record from Gudigere, shows that a sudden and rapid incursion was made by Gōvinda III, from a distant encampment in the Vindhya mountains into the heart of the Dhārwar district And it seems clear to me that Śrībhavana is to be identified with the modern Shiggaon, the head quarters of the Bankāpur taluka of the Dhārwar district, only about thirty miles distant from the Tungabhadriâ The ancient forms of the name of Shiggaon would be Simgāve and Śrīgama, or in Sanskrit Śrīpura And the composer of the verse used *bhavana*, 'a place of abode, mansion, home,' etc, instead of any other ending, to suit his metre.

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti Śrī-Māra<sup>3</sup>ssalba-mahārājan pr[1]thuvī-rājan-goye Su(śu)bhachandra-  
panditara<sup>4</sup> rā-  
2 he<sup>5</sup>sadeyara Indamma gōsāda mēnti Dadig-arasar  
3 nnād<sup>6</sup>-āle Om<sup>7</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

Hail<sup>1</sup> While the glorious *Mahārāja* Mārassalba was reigning over the earth, and while Dadigarasa, the headman of the *gōsāda*<sup>2</sup> of Indamma who was of . . .<sup>9</sup> of Śubhachandrapandita, was governing the district. Om<sup>1</sup>

## C—MULGUND INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PANCHALADEVA, A.D. 875

This inscription has been brought to notice by me in *Dyn Kan Distrs* p 307, and in Vol V above, p 172 It is now published for the first time I edit it, and the collotype (see opposite page 253 above) is given, from an ink-impression obtained by me in 1883-84 or 1884-85.

Mulgund is a village about twelve miles towards the south-west-by-south from Gadag, the head-quarters of the Gadag tâluka of the Dhārwar district The Indian Atlas sheet No 41 (1852) shews it as 'Moolgoond' The official compilation *Bombay Places and Common Official Words* (1878) wrongly certifies it as 'Mulgund,' with *l* instead of *l* The existence of the place is carried back to A D 866 by the Nîlgund inscription, which mentions it as Mulgunda and marks it as the chief town of a circle of villages known as the Mulgunda twelve, including Nîrgunda-Nîlgund, and lying in the Belvola three-hundred district.<sup>10</sup> We already know one record from this place,—the inscription of the time of the Râshtrakûta king Krishna II, dated A D 902-903,<sup>11</sup> and there are some twenty other records there The present inscription is on a stone at a temple of Râmadêva at Mulgund

<sup>1</sup> *History of Gujarât* (in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol I Part I), p 123 — There is also a *Sarbhôn* (so certified, with the lingual nasal, in *Bombay Places and Common Official Words*) in the Bâidôli tâluka of the Surat district

<sup>2</sup> From the ink impression

<sup>3</sup> This syllable, *ra*, was at first omitted, and then was inserted, rather small, below the *â* of the *mâ*

<sup>4</sup> It seems that at first *ru* was written, and then an attempt was made to correct it into *rd*. But it is possible that the *akshara* was abandoned, as being badly formed and not clear, and that the following *rd* was then formed as the final *akshara* of *panditard* In that case, the next word is *hesadeyara*, — not *rdhesadeyara*

<sup>5</sup> This is rather an anomalous character The vowel *e* is quite distinct, before the *h* At the bottom of the *h*, towards the right, there is a loop which seems to be intentional; but, whether it was meant to modify the *e* into some other vowel, or what else may be the purport of it, is not apparent

<sup>6</sup> Read *nâd*, or else *arasar=nnâd*, instead of *arasar nnâd*

<sup>7</sup> Represented by a plain symbol

<sup>8</sup> See page 255 above, and note 2

<sup>9</sup> The meaning of the genitive plural *rdhesadeyara* or *hesadeyara* (see note 4 above) is not apparent, except that it seems to give the name of a sect

<sup>10</sup> See pages 98, 107, above

<sup>11</sup> *Jour Bo Br R. As Soc.* Vol. X pp 167, 190 It will shortly be re edited in this journal

At the top of the stone there are sculptures, of which the principal one, in the centre, is a *linga* on its *abhiśhēka*-stand. On the proper right, there is an image of some god, squatting and facing full-front, beyond this there is a worshipper, kneeling towards the god, and above these there are the sun and moon. On the proper left, there is a cow, standing towards the *linga*, and with a calf sucking at her udder, and above these there is the bull Nandi, recumbent and similarly facing towards the *linga*. These sculptures are all inside a panel, above the centre of which there is some ornamental device, of a circular shape, the exact nature of which is not recognisable — The writing covers an area about  $1' 10\frac{1}{4}"$  broad by  $8\frac{1}{2}"$  high. It is in a state of fairly good preservation, and can be read without any doubt, except in the first eight or nine letters of line 7, the lower parts of which are broken away. It is, however, only a fragment, the body of the record having been broken away and apparently lost — The characters are Kanarese, well formed and well executed, of the regular type of the period to which the record refers itself. The size of them ranges from about  $\frac{1}{2}"$  to  $\frac{7}{8}"$ . They present nothing calling for comment, except the use of the somewhat rare mediæval forms of *m*, in the upper *m* of *varmma* and *dharmma*, line 1, and of *v* in the upper *v* of *pūrvvāpara*, line 4, which have been noticed in Vol V above, p. 237 — The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. In line 3, we have *siṃgha* as a *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *simha*, 'a lion,' and *komaraka* as a fuller form of *komara*, = *kuvara*, a *tadbhava*-corruption of *kumāra*, 'a prince,' and *bīma*, the *tadbhava*-corruption of *bhīma*, 'terrible'. In *peḷḍore*, line 4, we have the somewhat unusual form *peḷ* for *per*, 'great'. In line 5, we have *biḍiye*, as a variant of *biḍige* which is the more usual *tadbhava*-corruption of the Sanskrit *dvitīyā*, 'the second *tithi*.'<sup>1</sup> In line 6, we have *bala* as a variant of the better known *bana*, which is in use to the present day, in the Kanarese country, to denote sometimes the different branches of the families of hereditary Patils and Kulkarnis (especially of Pâtils), and sometimes the different families that have shares in the *watans*, as, for instance, when there are both a Jain *bana* and a Lingāyat *bana* of Pâtils,<sup>2</sup> and, in respect of the whole word *balanuv*, we may note that, though it is a neuter nominative, it is formed with *n* instead of the more usual *m*, and that, for the final of the copulative ending *uṃ*, there has been used in *saṃdhī v*, instead of the *m* which was more usual in the archaic language. And, in the same line, we have a word *eleya-bhoja[ga]* (apparently equivalent to *elegāra*, *tambuliga* 'a seller of betel-leaves'), the second component of which does not seem to be explained in dictionaries<sup>3</sup> — In respect of orthography, there is nothing to be noticed except the use of *s* for *ś* in *Saha*, line 5.

<sup>1</sup> Under *biḍige* in his Kannada English Dictionary, Dr Kittel has quoted *viḍiye* as the Telugu form, and *viḍiya* as the Tamil form.

<sup>2</sup> *Baḷa* occurs, in the same sense, in line 45 of one of the inscriptions at Naregal in the Rôn tāluka, where mention is made of "the two *baḷas* of Narayamgal" (*Jour Bo Br. E. As Soc* Vol XI p. 238). And lines 49, 51, and 52 of the same record present it in another sense, namely to denote the rent-free service lands of certain *Gāvundas* or Pâtils. In the latter sense, it occurs also in line 81 of the Saundatti inscription of A.D. 1228 (*id* Vol. X p. 270, and *Archæol Surv West Ind* Vol III p. 114); and this record uses, in line 70, also the exactly equivalent word *gauduvānya*. The case used in the Saundatti record is formed with *n*, as in the present instance, — *baḷan=olage*. The cases used in the Naregal record are formed with the more customary *d*, — *baḷad=olage*, *baḷadim*. — The word *baṇa* is also used, I think, in the general meaning of 'a faction'. Dr Kittel's Dictionary gives *baṇa* as the Southern Marāṭha form of *pana*, 'any tribe, a sectarian division'.

<sup>3</sup> In this record, the second component of *eleya bhojaga* is distinctly written with the aspirated *ḥ*. I am not sure whether the vowel should be taken as the short *o* or as the long *ō*. — With the unaspirated *b*, we have the same word, *eleya bojaga* in lines 21, 22 and 28, 29 of the Kodikop inscription of A.D. 1144, which mentions "the five hundred-and-four *Eleyabojagas*" (*Jour Bo Br. E. As Soc* Vol XI pp. 254, 257). In this form, *bojaga*, the word is given in Dr Kittel's Dictionary, but only as a *tadbhava* corruption of the Sanskrit *bhujaga*, *bhujanga*, 'a snake'. He also gives *bojagatana* in the sense of 'lechery'. The Ablūr record of A.D. 1104 presents a word which appears as *bojagutana* or *bhojagutana* in line 82 of one version, and as *bhojagatana* in line 86 of the other version (see Vol V above, p. 231, note 9). There can be hardly any reference there to lechery, and the word seems to stand there for *eleyabojagatana* or *eleyabhojagatana*, 'the occupation of a seller of betel leaves,' or else to denote some impost on that trade.

The inscription is a fragment, of which but little more than the introductory passages is extant. It refers itself to the reign of a certain Pañchaladēva, whom, from his appellations of Satyavākya and Kongunivarman and his titles of lord of the town Kuvalāla and of the mountain Nandagiri, we recognise as a member of the family of the Western Gangas of Talakād<sup>1</sup> It mentions, by three well known *brudās*, his predecessor, the great Nolambāntaka-Mārasimha II. Among the epithets that it applies to Pañchaladēva, it styles him Chālukyapañchānana, "a very lion to the Chālukyas," which, perhaps, involves a play on his name, and indicates Pañchala as a Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit Pañchānana.<sup>2</sup> And it represents him as reigning over the whole territory between, on the north, "the great river," that is to say the Kṛishnā,<sup>3</sup> and on the east, south, and west, the ocean. This assertion is hyperbolic in the latter part, except possibly in respect of the alleged western limit. But, as Mulgund itself, where this record is, is on the north of the Tungabhadra, there is no objection to accepting it as a fact that Pañchaladēva did hold for a time all the territory from the south of Mysore as far north as the river Kṛishnā.

The record is dated at the time of the Kanyāsamkrānti, or entrance of the sun into Virgo, on Brihaspativāra or Thursday coupled with the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month Bhādrapada (August-September) of the Yuvan *samvatsara*, Śaka-Samvat 897 (expired, according to the southern luni-solar system). And the corresponding English date is Thursday, 26th August, A. D. 975. On this day, the given *tithi* ended at about 15 hours 39 minutes after mean sunrise (for Ujjain), and the Kanyāsamkrānti occurred at 16 hours 5 minutes.<sup>4</sup>

TEXT<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Om<sup>6</sup> Svasti Satyavākya-Kongunivarman-dharmamahārājād[ī]rāja Kuvalāla-  
puravar-ēśva-
- 2 ra Nandagiri-nātham chaladuttaramga-jagadēkavira-śrīman-Nola[m]bakulān-  
takadēva-pādapa-
- 3 dm ōpajivi pade-nōde-gandam gandara-simghan-asahāya-sāhasam komaraka-bīmam bīra-
- 4 da-selevom Chālukya-pañchānana[m] śrīmat-Pañchaladēvar-pūrvv-āpara-dakshin-  
ārnnav-āva[dh]i-
- 5 yī[m] peldore maryyādey-āgo nīrākulam=ānutt-ire [||\*] Svasti Sa(śa)ka-varsham=  
entū-nūra tombhatt-ē]-
- 6 jāneya Yuva-samvatsarada Bhādrapada bahula bīdiye Brihaspativāram Kanyā-  
samkrāntiyu[m]
- 7 . . . . .<sup>7</sup> [nagara]-mahājana-pramukham=ayd[um]-balanuv=  
īd=eleya-bhoja<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For what is known about Pañchaladēva from other sources, reference may be made to pages 71 f, 83, above, and to Vol V above, p 172 f.

<sup>2</sup> Pañchānana occurs, not exactly as a proper name of Śiva, but as an appellation of him which could be used in the place of his proper name. As a proper name, it occurs in the cases of "an author and other men" (see Monier-Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, revised edition, under *pañcha*).

<sup>3</sup> See Vol V. above, p 169, note 6. The word used here is *peldore*, instead of the more customary *perdore*.

<sup>4</sup> Probably, more exact calculations would make the *tithi* still current at the moment of the *samkrānti*.

<sup>5</sup> From the ink-impression.

<sup>6</sup> Represented by a plain symbol.

<sup>7</sup> Eight or nine *akṣaras* are illegible here, the lower parts of them being broken away and lost. As the *nakṣatra* at the time of the *samkrānti* was Rēvatī, which the moon entered at about 2 hrs 22 min after mean sunrise (for Ujjain), we might suggest *Rēvatī-nakṣatramum=dyi*, which would suit both the space and the context. But such remains of the *akṣaras* as are discernible, hardly adapt themselves to that reading.

<sup>8</sup> The fragment ends here. The next line began, of course, with the *ga* of the word *bhojaga* in one or other of its cases, singular or plural.

## TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! While the *Dharmamahārājādhirāja* Satyavākya-Kongunivarma, the lord of Kuvalāla<sup>1</sup> the best of towns, the lord of the mountain Nandagiri,— he who (*had*) subsisted (*like a bee*) on the water-lilies that were the feet of the lintel of firmness of character,<sup>2</sup> the sole hero of the world, the glorious Nolambakulāntakadēva-(Mārasimha II),<sup>3</sup>— he who is a hero when he sees an army, he who is a very lion of heroes, he who is daring even without companions, he who is terrible to princes, he who attracts bravery, he who is a very lion to the Chālukyas, the glorious Pañchaladēva, was governing, without any disorder, from the limits of the eastern and the western and the southern oceans with the great river as the boundary (*on the north*) —

(Lane 5) Hail! [When it was] Thursday, the second tithi of the dark fortnight of the month Bhādrapada of the Yuvan samvatsara, which was the eight hundred and ninety-seventh Śaka year, and when there was the Kanyāsamkrānti, . . . . .  
 . . . the whole of the five divisions,<sup>4</sup> headed by the *Mahājanas* [of the town], being convened,<sup>5</sup> the sellers of betel-leaves . . . . .

No 25 — SRIKURMAM INSCRIPTION OF NARAHARITIRTHA;  
 SAKA-SAMVAT 1203

By H KRISHNA SASTRI, B A

The subjoined record<sup>6</sup> is in the Kūrmēśvara temple at Śrīkūrmam in the Chicacole tāluka of the Gañjām district. It is inscribed on the east and north faces of one of the black granite pillars<sup>7</sup> which support the hall enclosing the temple, and is written in clear Telugu characters.

The inscription consists of nine Sanskrit verses in various metres. It mentions first an ascetic Purushōttama-mahātirtha, who is represented to have been an incarnation of the god Viṣṇu (v 1) and to have composed a commentary (v 2) which is not known from other sources. His pupil was Ānandatīrtha, who explained the *Vyāsaśūtras* in accordance with the principles of the Dvaita school (v 3) and who bore the title *Bhagavatpādāchārya* (v 5). His pupil Naraharītirtha (v 8) seems to have been the governor of the Kālinga country (v. 6) and to have defended Śrīkūrmam against an attack of the Śabaras<sup>8</sup> (v 7). On Wednesday, the eighth tithi of the bright fortnight of Mēsha in Śaka-Samvat 1203, he built a shrine of Yōgānanda-Nṛsiṃha in front of the temple at Śrīkūrmam (v 9).

<sup>1</sup> This name is usually found with *l* in the last syllable, see, for instance, page 43 above, text line 2, Kovilāla, and page 54 line 5, Kōlāla. Here, however, we distinctly have *!*. The vowel of the first syllable, when the name is written in four syllables, is sometimes *u* and sometimes *o*.

<sup>2</sup> This and the following two *birudas* were appellations of the Western Ganga prince Mārasimha II, see Vol V above, p 168.

<sup>3</sup> From *chalad ittaranga* to *opajeti* is one word, a compound. The *anuvāra* of *nātham*, which seems to be quite distinct, separates the preceding matter (also really a compound) from that compound, and makes it apply to Pañchaladēva, not to Nolambakulāntakadēva. — As regards my supplying the word “had” before “subsisted,” it is to be remembered that Mārasimha had either died or abdicated before June July, A D 974 (see Vol V above, pp 152 168) more than a year before the date of this record. The allusion is to Pañchaladēva having served under him in A D 971 and 973 (see *ibid* pp 172, 178).

<sup>4</sup> *Bāḷa*, see page 258 above.

<sup>5</sup> *Iḍu* is equivalent to *oḍa*=*iḍu*, see page 68 above, note 6.

<sup>6</sup> No 290 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1896.

<sup>7</sup> On the west and south faces of the same pillar is another inscription (No 291 of 1896) of Naraharītirtha, the pupil of Ānandatīrtha, which is dated in Śaka Samvat 1215 and records the setting up of images of Rāma, Śitā and Lakṣmana in the Kūrmēśvara temple.

<sup>8</sup> The Śabaras are the savage inhabitants of the forests of the Gañjām district.

Among the three Vaishnava teachers named in the inscription, Purushōttama-mahātīrtha is not mentioned in the lists of the Mādhva teachers preserved in the *Maṭhas*,<sup>1</sup> which begin with Ānandatīrtha. The *Madhvavijaya*,<sup>2</sup> a *kāvya* by Nārāyaṇapandita, the son of Trivikramapandita, which describes in detail the life of Ānandatīrtha and his dialectical victories over the *Māyāvādins* or followers of Śaṅkarāchārya, mentions as the spiritual *Guru* of Ānandatīrtha a certain Achyutaprēkshāchārya, who had the surname of Purushōttamatīrtha,<sup>3</sup> by which he is referred to in verse 1 of the subjoined inscription.

Ānandatīrtha, the second of the teachers mentioned in the inscription, is the famous founder of the Dvaita school of philosophy and occupies in the history of Indian religion a position not in any way unequal to those of the great Śaṅkarāchārya and of Rāmānujāchārya. Vaishnavism, the most characteristic feature of which is *bhakti*, or love for god, that may be freely practised by one and all, irrespective of creed and caste, was first started by Rāmānujāchārya in the 11th century, was eagerly spread by Ānandatīrtha in the 13th century, and eventually assumed large proportions in the 16th century under Krishna-Chaitanya, the celebrated Vaishnava teacher of Bengal. Ānandatīrtha is known by three other names, viz. Pūrṇaprajña, Madhvāchārya and Madhyamandāra. His system has been explained in the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* of Śāyaṇāchārya under the heading *Pūrṇaprajña-darśana*. Ānandatīrtha's direct disciples were Padmanābhatīrtha, Naraharīrtha, Mādhvatīrtha and Akshōbhyaīrtha, who succeeded one after the other to the pontifical seat after the death of Ānandatīrtha.<sup>4</sup>

Several interesting facts regarding the life of Naraharīrtha, the third teacher mentioned in the inscription, are recorded in a *stōtra* entitled *Naraharīyatistōtra*, which is included in the *Stōtramahodadhī*, Part I.<sup>5</sup> It states that, before conversion to the Mādhva faith, the *Tīrtha* was called Śāmaśāstrin,<sup>6</sup> and that he was styled Naraharīrtha after receiving initiation from Pūrṇaprajña. The latter ordered his pupil to go at once to the capital of the Gajapati king and to be a ruler there. Naraharīrtha, who had learnt the true import of the *Bhāṣya*<sup>7</sup> from his teacher, would have preferred to become a *saṁnyāsīn* and said —“Lord! what do I gain by ruling a kingdom?” The master replied —“There in the Gajapati kingdom are the images of Rama and Sītā, which you must try to acquire with great skill, in order that I may worship them.” Accordingly Naraharīrtha went to the country of the Gajapati king and was hailed there by the people and the infant king as a fit ruler for their country. The *stōtra* continues to say that the teacher ruled the Kalinga country for twelve years. When the prince attained his majority, he handed back the kingdom to him and, as a present and compensation for the services rendered, requested the king to give him the images of Rāma and Sītā, which were in the royal treasury. These being secured, Naraharīrtha returned and gave them to his master Ānandatīrtha. The latter worshipped the images for 80 days and made them over to his first pupil, Padmanābhatīrtha, who in his turn worshipped them for six years and handed over the charge of

<sup>1</sup> Several *Maṭhas* or schools of the Mādhvas are known to exist. The Karnātaka and Dēśastha Brāhmanas follow three of them, viz. the Uttārādimaṭha, Vyāsarāyamaṭha and Rāghavēndrasvāmimaṭha. Most of the Śivāṇi, Kōṭa and Kōṭṣēvar Brāhmanas of South Canara are adherents of nine other *Maṭhas*, viz. eight *Maṭhas* at Udipi and one at Subrahmanya (with a branch at Bhandārakēri near Bārakūr). Lists of Mādhva *Gurus* are preserved in each of the three chief *Maṭhas* and are available for inspection. A similar list has been published by Dr Bhandarkar in his *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1892-93*, Appendix II p. 203.

<sup>2</sup> The chief incidents in the life of Madhvāchārya as related in the *Madhvavijaya* have been put together in a pamphlet entitled “Madhvacharya — A short historic sketch,” by Mr. C. N. Krishnaswami Aiyar, M.A., of the Coimbatore College.

<sup>3</sup> *Madhvavijaya*, vi verse 33.

<sup>4</sup> The nine *Maṭhas* of South Canara recognise only Padmanābhatīrtha and their nine founders as direct disciples of Ānandatīrtha.

<sup>5</sup> Printed at Bombay by the Nirnayasāgara Press in 1897.

<sup>6</sup> The lists (see note 1 above) give the name Rāmaśāstrin.

<sup>7</sup> This probably refers to the commentary of Ānandatīrtha on the *Prasādhānatraya*, see below, p. 265, note 6.

them to Naraharītīrtha in the *Raktākṣi-saṁvatsara*. Having thus acquired the images and having become the preceptor of the world,<sup>1</sup> Naraharītīrtha went about touring and preaching. While resting for the night in a certain town, he dreamt of an image of Nārāyaṇa (Vishnu) merged in a tank near that town. The next day he had the image taken out, consecrated it, and called the town in consequence of that incident Nārāyaṇadēvarkere (i.e. 'the tank of the god Nārāyaṇa'). This place still exists under the same name in the Hospêt taluka of the Bellary district. Having made over the charge of the images to Mādhavatīrtha, the third pupil of Ānandatīrtha, Naraharītīrtha retired to the banks of the Tungabhadra and died there in the cyclic year *Śrīmuḥha*. To this the lists of the *Mathas* add that, at Chakratīrtha<sup>2</sup> on the bank of the Tungabhadra, Naraharītīrtha established a *Matha*, occupied the *sthānādhipatya* or pontifical seat for a period of nine years, and wrote a commentary on the *Bhāṣhya*, probably that of his teacher Ānandatīrtha.<sup>3</sup>

This traditional history of Naraharītīrtha's life agrees with the statement made about him in verse 6 of the inscription and fully accounts for the existence in the Kalinga country of several inscriptions which record his gifts to temples.<sup>4</sup> It will be seen from the sequel that Naraharītīrtha succeeded to the pontifical seat in A.D. 1324 and died in A.D. 1333. His governorship in the Kalinga country, which took place before his becoming a *Guru*, must therefore be placed in the period before A.D. 1324. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that Naraharītīrtha's inscriptions in the Kalinga country range between Śaka-Samvat 1186 and 1215 (= A.D. 1264 and A.D. 1294).<sup>5</sup>

Before discussing the dates of Ānandatīrtha and his successors, I have to draw attention to the fact that the Śaka dates, which are assigned to the pontificate of each teacher in the lists of the *Mathas*, are to be accepted with caution. Dr Bhandarkar<sup>6</sup> says that "in the older lists the year of the cycle of sixty years in which each high-priest died was alone given, and from this was determined the Śaka year. But this method is uncertain and liable to error if in any case the pontificate of any one of these extended over more than sixty years." It will be seen from what follows that such an error has actually been committed and that the dates given in the lists for each *Guru* will have to be pushed forward by two full cycles, i.e. one hundred and twenty years. According to the traditional lists preserved in the three chief *Mathas*, Ānandatīrtha was born on the 4th *tithi* of the dark half of Āshādhā in Śaka-Samvat 1040, the *Velambi-saṁvatsara* (= A.D. 1118) and died on the 9th *tithi* of the bright half of Māgha in Śaka-Samvat 1119, the *Pingala-saṁvatsara* (= A.D. 1197).<sup>7</sup> In his *Bhāratatātparyanirṇaya*<sup>8</sup> Ānandatīrtha is

<sup>1</sup> It may be noted that this transmission of the images from teacher to pupil is still going on in the existing Mādhva *Mathas*. The installation of a new *Guru* means, among other things, the receiving over of the charge of the images to be regularly worshipped. The same custom obtains among the Smārta (Advaita) *Mathas* as well. There arises often a dispute among the *Mathas* as to whether the images worshipped therein are the same as those which were worshipped by the first teacher, the founder of the *Matha*, or are imitations acquired second or third hand.

<sup>2</sup> This place is said to have been situated at Hampe between the temples of Virūpākṣa and Viṭthala.

<sup>3</sup> At Udipi I was told that Naraharītīrtha's *Tippaṇi* on Ānandatīrtha's *Bhāṣhya* is still in existence.

<sup>4</sup> An inscription of Śaka Samvat 1214 at Simhāchalam (No. 305 of 1900) shows the great influence that Naraharītīrtha exercised on the people of that country, for it records a grant to the Lakṣmī Narasiṁhasvāmīn temple at Simhāchalam, made by the Matsya chief Jayanta of Oddavādi at the instance of Naraharītīrtha. Another inscription at Śrīkūrmam (No. 367 of 1896), which records a gift of gold by Naraharītīrtha, is dated in Śaka Samvat 1215 and in the 18th year of the reign of Vira śrī Naranārasimhadēva, i.e. the Ganga king Narasiṁha II.

<sup>5</sup> The *Narahariyatistōtra* quoted above says that the *Tīrtha* ruled the Kalinga country for 12 years, while his inscriptions in that part of the country range over 30 years.

<sup>6</sup> See his *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1892-93*, p. 16.

<sup>7</sup> See Dr Bhandarkar, *ibid* p. 202.

<sup>8</sup> Chapter xxii verse 131, which runs as follows:—

चतुस्त्रहस्रे त्रिंशतोन्नरे गते सवत्सराणां तु कलौ पृथिव्याम् ।  
आव पुनर्विप्रतनुस्व मीनो देवेर्भिगूढ हरितस्वनाङ्गः ॥

supposed to have given the date of his own birth as Kali 4300 (= A D. 1198)<sup>1</sup> Thus a difference of 80 years exists between the date found in the lists and the date contained in the *Bhārataśāstraparyāyā*. Even the second date cannot be reconciled with the dates of the inscriptions of Ānandatīrtha's pupil Naraharīrtha and is perhaps due to an interpolation. As regards the dates given in the lists, I am inclined to adopt Dr Bhandarkar's suggestion that the Jovian years may be perfectly reliable while their Śāka equivalents are later inventions, and to accept the statement of the lists that Ānandatīrtha was born in the year *Vilambin*, lived for 79 years, and died in the year *Pingala*. The lists further state that he was succeeded by his pupil Padmanābhatīrtha, who occupied the seat for seven years and was followed by Naraharīrtha in the cyclic year *Raktākshin*. This teacher occupied the seat for nine years and died in the year *Śrīmukha*. He was succeeded by Mādhavatīrtha, who in his turn occupied the seat for seventeen years and was followed by Akshōbhyatīrtha, who occupied the *sthānādhipatyā* for another seventeen years. With the help of these statements the actual time of Ānandatīrtha can be easily determined by calculating backwards from the dates of Naraharīrtha's inscriptions. Two other facts derived from different sources are also of some value in this direction, viz the statement in the *Guruparamparāprabhāva*<sup>2</sup> that Akshōbhyatīrtha was a contemporary of Mādhavāchārya-Vidyāranya, and the statement in the *Madhvaviyaya*<sup>3</sup> that a certain king Śīvarādēva in Mahārāshtra tried in vain to take Ānandatīrtha into his service. Mādhavāchārya-Vidyāranya was the minister of the Vijayanagara king Bukka I. whose inscriptions range between A D 1353 and A D 1371<sup>4</sup>. Roughly, therefore, Akshōbhyatīrtha, a contemporary of Mādhavāchārya, will have to be assigned to this period. To get to the time of Ānandatīrtha, the total period of the *sthānādhipatyā* of the intervening teachers, Padmanābhatīrtha, Naraharīrtha and Mādhavatīrtha, viz 33 years, will have to be deducted, say, from A D 1362, and this brings us to A D 1329. Now the nearest year to A D 1329 which corresponded to *Pingala*, the traditional date of the death of Ānandatīrtha, was A D 1317. As noted above, Ānandatīrtha is supposed to have lived for 79 years, and consequently the date of his birth, the cyclic year *Vilambin*, would correspond to A D 1238. The statement of the *Madhvaviyaya* confirms this date, for Śīvarādēva of Mahārāshtra has been identified by Mr Krishnaswami Aiyar<sup>5</sup> with the Yādava king Mahādēva of Dēvagiri, who reigned from A D 1260—1271<sup>6</sup>. Ānandatīrtha's date being thus fixed, the dates of his successors can be easily determined with the help of the lists which give the traditional Jovian years for each teacher's succession to the pontifical seat and for his death. Thus Naraharīrtha, the second in succession, must have ascended the pontifical seat in A D. 1324, the year *Raktākshin*, and died in A D. 1333, the year *Śrīmukha*.

## TEXT 7

East Face

1 देव[\*] श्रीमलाविलासलहरीपात्रं कलिप्रो[न्मि]लत्क्षेत्रक्षेत्रजनेखिलक्षि[ति]-  
तलि <sup>8</sup>सलीलबो[धो].<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> With this agrees a statement of the Mādhva Svāmī at Phalmāru near Mulki in South Canara, who told me that, according to the tradition of his *Matha*, Ānandatīrtha was born in Śāka-Samvat 1119, *Pingala*, *Māgha śuddha 7*, and died in Śāka Samvat 1199, *Śīvara*, *Māgha-kṛṣṇa 9*.

<sup>2</sup> Madras edition, p 108

<sup>3</sup> Chapter x verse 3 f. Two other names mentioned in the *Madhvaviyaya*, if identified, may also help in fixing the date of Ānandatīrtha, viz a king Jayasīmha who restored the library to the teacher, and a *Guru* of the Samkarāchārya *Matha* at Sringeri who had a dispute with Ānandatīrtha at Trivandrum. The former has not been identified, but Mr Krishnaswami Aiyar of the Combatores College identifies the latter with a certain Vidyāsankara, who is supposed to have occupied the Sringeri seat from A D 1228—1333, i.e. for no less than 105 years (!).

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol III p 36

<sup>5</sup> See his pamphlet "Madhvaacharya — A short historic sketch," p 14

<sup>6</sup> See Dr Fleet's *Dyn Kan Distr* p 519. <sup>7</sup> From two inked estampages prepared in 1896.

<sup>8</sup> Read सलीन<sup>0</sup>

<sup>9</sup> The *akshara* धी of धीधो has both an *au* & an *o* attached to it.



- 2 'दये [1\*] स्वीयश्रीपदपङ्कजैकशरणान्<sup>2</sup> [स]रक्षितुं सन्मुनिर्जात[:\*] श्री-  
पुरुषोत्तमाभिध[म](1)-<sup>3</sup>
- 3 हा[ती]र्त्यसुमत्यग्रणी । [१\*] यन्मुनिभाषितभाष्य वाण्यं<sup>4</sup> किल तीर्थिक-  
प्रवरसंग्रहः [1\*] उ-
- 4 न्मदवादिद्विरदप्रतिकुम्भमकुश भवति<sup>5</sup> ॥ [२\*] तस्य ज्ञानकलाकलोदय-  
कलो वैय्य[1]-
- 5 सीक<sup>6</sup> गोगणं (1) मदै[र्भिर्]न्नपथप्रधारितमलं<sup>7</sup> सुव्यक्तभेदे पथि । नेतुं  
सधृतदड-
- 6 मडितकरो यः प्रादुरासीन्मुनिव्रातैस्तेव्यपदारविद्युगळादानंदती[र्त्यो] सु-  
7 नि. । [३\*] यन्मुखनि[:\*]स्तभाषा ललिता ललितप्रकारपदविन्यासा [1\*]  
कमलाप[ति]पदकमलं भ-
- 8 जते भजमानभवभयारा[ति] । [४\*] आनन्दतीर्थभगवत्पादाचार्यसरस्वती [1\*]  
लोकेत्र
- 9 हरिपादाजयुगळप्राप्तये न<sup>8</sup> सा । [५\*] तस्मात्सौकसुरक्षणातिनिपुणात्संप्राप्तक-  
10 र्त्तव्यधीदेधामुत्र<sup>9</sup> तधात्र<sup>10</sup> योवति जनान् <sup>11</sup>क[1\*]लिगभूस[भ]वान् [1\*]  
पिच्याचारमुपैति
- 11 सू[नु]रिति सन्नीतिस्थितो धर्मतश्शत्रुक्षमापतिवर्गदुर्गनिवहान् भीतानभीत[:\*]  
स्वय । [६\*] यश्च
- 12 <sup>12</sup>श्रीकमठाधिनायकमहाकायैकवडव्रतस्तस्य प्र[च्यु]तिवारणाय शवरानीक-

*North Face*

- 13 क्षितीप्राशनिं [1\*] धत्ते [स]त्करवालमस्य त[टि]ता<sup>13</sup> संत्यक्तजीवे रिपौ  
हतव्यानवशेषणा-
- 14 त्रिजविधिनी<sup>14</sup> यस्य बोध्यस्तरां । [७\*] तेनानेन श्रीमन्नरहरितोर्त्ताख्यमुनि-  
वरेण्येन<sup>15</sup> [1\*] क-
- 15 लिसमयप्रह्लादप्रवावपरितोयनृहरिरूपेण<sup>16</sup> ॥ [८\*] स्वस्ति श्रीशकवत्सरे हुतवह-

<sup>1</sup> Lines 2, 3, 4 and 5 are written between parallel lines

<sup>2</sup> The final न् is inserted below the line

<sup>3</sup> The *akshara* सा at the end of the line appears to be corrected from घ.

<sup>4</sup> Read भाष्य

<sup>5</sup> In the second half of this verse the metre requires one or more additional syllables which are missing in the original.

<sup>6</sup> Read वैयासिक.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'प्रतारित'

<sup>8</sup> Read नु

<sup>9</sup> Read 'धीदेधा'

<sup>10</sup> Read तथात्र

<sup>11</sup> The syllables कलिगभूसभवा are written on an erasure

<sup>12</sup> Read 'कार्यैक'

<sup>13</sup> Read तडिता.

<sup>14</sup> Read 'विधिनी'.

<sup>15</sup> Read 'तीर्त्याख्य'

<sup>16</sup> Read 'प्रभाव'.

- 16 व्योमद्वयस्मायुते मेघे <sup>1</sup>शुक्लशशाकशेखर[दि]ने वारे [च\*] सौम्ये वरे [।\*]  
 प्रासाद कमठा[धि]-  
 17 पश्य पुरतो निर्माय शर्मप्रदो योगानन्दसिंह<sup>2</sup> ए[ष\*] भगवान् प्रीत्या  
 प्रतिष्ठापि-  
 18 तः । [८\*]

## TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) The god (Vishnu), (*who is*) the recipient of the abundant dalliance of the goddess Kamalā (Lakshmi),—in order to protect those whose only refuge are his divine lotus-feet on the whole surface of the earth where men were oppressed by the suffering produced by the Kali (*age*), (*and*) where the rise of knowledge had ceased,<sup>3</sup>—took birth (*in the person of*) a great saint (*mahātīrtha*) named the holy Purushōttama, a pious ascetic (*and*) a leader of the wise <sup>4</sup>

(V. 2) The commentary (*bhāṣya*)<sup>5</sup> pronounced by this sage is, indeed, worthy of being repeated by crowds of chiefs of saints (*tīrthika*), (*and*) a goad on every frontal globe of the furious elephants—proud disputants <sup>6</sup>

(V 3) From the pair of lotus-feet of this (Purushōttama), which is worthy to be worshipped by crowds of sages, was produced<sup>7</sup> the ascetic Ānandatīrtha, who caused the rising of the moon of wisdom,<sup>8</sup> (*and*) whose hand was adorned with a staff<sup>9</sup> held (*in it*), (*and who was therefore*) able to lead on the easily distinguishable path<sup>10</sup> the cows of Vyāsa,<sup>11</sup> which had been enticed on the wrong path by ignorant men.<sup>12</sup>

(V 4) The charming speech proceeding from his mouth (*and*) consisting of words arranged in a charming manner resorts to the lotus-foot of (Vishnu) the lord of Kamalā, which destroys the fear of rebirth of (*its*) devotees

(V 5) The speech of the holy preceptor (*Bhagavatpādāchārya*) Ānandatīrtha (*leads*) indeed (*already*) in this life to the attainment of the pair of lotus-feet of Hari (Vishnu)

<sup>1</sup> The rest of the inscription after शशा is engraved very faintly The letters can however be read from the back of the estampage

<sup>2</sup> Read °दसिंह.

<sup>3</sup> The reason assigned in this verse for the *avatāra* of Vishnu agrees with what Kṛishna says in the *Bhagavad-gītā*, chapter iv. verse 7 f. —

यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति भारत । ऋभुरयानमधर्मस्य तदात्मानं सृजाम्यहम् ॥  
 परिव्राणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम् । धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय संभवामि युगे युगे ॥

<sup>4</sup> The word *sumati*, 'the wise,' seems to have been a standing designation of the followers of the Dvāita doctrine, just as *dharmya* is applied to the Jains, for the Bāghavēndrasvāmimatha at Nāūjāngūd, one of the three chief *Maṭhas* of the Mādhyas, is otherwise called Sumatīndramatḥa

<sup>5</sup> The commentary referred to may be assumed to have been one on the *Brahmasūtras*, the ten important *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavadgītā*—collectively known by the name *Prasthānatraya*, see Dr Bhandarkar's *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1882-83*, p 18

<sup>6</sup> The 'proud disputants' are the followers of the Advaita system of Śamkarāchārya

<sup>7</sup> I.e. 'his pupil was'

<sup>8</sup> *Kaldkala* may be taken in the sense of *kaldāhara* The rising moon assists the cows which are mentioned afterwards in finding their way, and the wisdom is required for the explanation of the *Vyāsaśūtras*.

<sup>9</sup> The staff is one of the attributes of an ascetic, but the cowherd's stick is also implied here.

<sup>10</sup> Or, 'on the path where the distinction (*bhēda*) (between *Jvātman* and *Paramātman*) is quite clear,' i.e. the Dvāita system

<sup>11</sup> Or, 'the words of Vyāsa,' i.e. the *Vyāsaśūtras*, on which the Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvāita systems are based

<sup>12</sup> These negligent cowherds are the followers of Śamkarāchārya

(V. 6.) From him (*viz* Ānandatīrtha), who was very experienced in well protecting men, has obtained the knowledge of duty he (*viz*. Naraharītīrtha), who protects the people born in the Kālinga country both in the next (*world*) and in this, who as a (*dutiful*) son follows the profession of (*his*) father,<sup>1</sup> practising high politics in a righteous manner (*and*) himself facing the frightened garrisons (?) of the fortresses of crowds of hostile kings,

(V 7.) And who, being devoted exclusively to the great service of the lord of Śrikamatha,<sup>2</sup> holds, in order to prevent the ruin of this (*temple*), an excellent sword (*which is*) a thunderbolt to the mountains—the bands of Śabarās,—(*but*) the proper action of which was totally imperceptible because no victim was left, the enemy having lost his life through its (*mere*) flashing<sup>3</sup>

(V 8.) This best of sages, called the holy Naraharītīrtha, a man-hon incarnate, who is to be worshipped by those who possess the power of Prahlāda<sup>4</sup> in the Kālī age,—

(V 9) Hail<sup>1</sup> in the prosperous Śaka year joined with the fires (3), the sky (0), the pair (2), and the earth (1),—(*i.e* 1203),—in (*the month of*) Mēsha, on the day of the moon-crested (Śiva),<sup>5</sup> in the bright (*fortnight*), and on an excellent Wednesday,—having built a temple in front of the lord of Kamatha, consecrated (*therein*) with pleasure this god Yôgānanda-Nṛsiṃha, the bestower of bliss.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

Professor Kielhorn very kindly contributes the following remark on the date of the preceding inscription —

"In Śaka-Samvat 1203 expired the 8th *tithi* of the bright half in the month of Mēsha ended 6 h 23 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 29th March A.D. 1281, and in Śaka-Samvat 1203 current the same *tithi* ended 3 h. 37 m after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 9th April A.D. 1280. As all the other inscriptions of Naraharītīrtha (see below) quote expired Śaka years, the day intended by the date would be expected to be Saturday, the 29th March A.D. 1281; but if it were so, the word *Saumyē* of the date would have to be altered to *Saurē*—(*i.e* 'of Saturn')."

Besides this inscription, the Vaishnava temples at Śrikūrmam and Simhāchalam (in the Vizagapatam district) contain five other inscriptions recording gifts by Naraharītīrtha. I subjoin their dates, which Professor Kielhorn has been good enough to calculate as well

#### 1.—In the Kūrmēśvara temple at Śrikūrmam.<sup>6</sup>

5	U(ā)na-chaturdaśa-varshē	dvādaśa-śata-vatsarē	[I*]
6	Kanyā-māsē-sitē	pakshē trayōdaśyām	Kavēr-ddinē [II*]
9	Svasta	śrī-Śaka-varushambala	1186 n=āmatti
10	Kanya-kri(kri)shna	13 Śukravāramuna	.

"In the (*Śaka*) year twelve hundred less fourteen years, in the month of Kanyā, in the dark fortnight, on the thirteenth *tithi*, on Friday."

"On Friday, the 13th (*tithi*) of the dark (*fortnight*) of Kanyā in the Śaka year 1186 "

For Śaka-Samvat 1186 expired the date corresponds to Friday, the 19th September A.D. 1264, when the 13th *tithi* of the dark half ended 20 h 23 m after mean sunrise. The day by the Ārya-siddhānta was the 23rd day of the month of Kanyā — F K

<sup>1</sup> It follows from this statement that both Naraharītīrtha and his father were ministers of the king of Kalinga

<sup>2</sup> *I.e* Śrikūrmam, compare above, Vol V p 35, note 1

<sup>3</sup> By this the poet means to say that Naraharītīrtha, though he wore a sword, was not put to the necessity of using it and thereby avoided incurring the sin of destroying life

<sup>4</sup> Prahlāda was the son of the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu who was killed by Viṣṇu in his Nṛsiṃha *avatāra*.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e*. the eighth *tithi*, see above, Vol V p 168, note 4

<sup>6</sup> No. 369 of 1896.

2.—In the Lakshmi-Narasimhasvāmīn temple at Sīmhāchalam.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti [||\*] Śāk-ābdē Rāma-dhātṛi-nayana śasi-mitē Paushya-māsī prasiddhē . ś[ā]pāt<sup>2</sup>  
 Ārkavāra-  
 2 Śravana-parinatē śasvad-Ardhōday-ākhyē | bhūya[h\*] <sup>3</sup>Svarbbhāma-bhānugrahana-  
 ja-samayē  
 3 tat-ti[thau] Sōmavārē punyē kāla-dvayē-pi . . . . .  
 7 . . Svasti śrī-Śāka-varushambulu 1213 gun-ēmti Paushya māsamuna Śravapa-  
 Vyatipāt-Ārkavāra-sa-  
 8 hitam=aina Arddhōdayam=anu pēram gala [a]māvāsya nāmdunu 1(i) divasamuna  
 sūryyagrahana sa-  
 9 hitam=aina Sōmavāramu nāmd[n]nu . . . . .

"In the Śāka year measured by the Rāmas (3), the [earth (1), the eyes (2), and the moon (1),—(i.e. 1213),—in the well-known month of Paushya, on (the occasion) called Ardhōdaya, ever brought about by (the union of the yōga) Vyatipāta, a Sunday and (the nakshatra) Śravana,—again on the occasion arising at the sun's eclipse by Rāhu, on the tithi of this (eclipse), on Monday,—at both of these auspicious times "

"In the month of Paushya of the Śāka year 1213, on the day of the new-moon tithi bearing the name Ardhōdaya, combined with Śravana, Vyatipāta and Sunday, and on Monday combined with an eclipse of the sun on this day."

For Śāka-Samvat 1213 expired the two days quoted by the original date correspond to Sunday, the 20th January, and Monday, the 21st January, A.D. 1292. On the Sunday, the new-moon tithi of Paushya commenced 2 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise, and the nakshatra was Śravana for 22 h. 20 m., and the yōga Vyatipāta for 18 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise. As therefore during the new-moon tithi of Paushya, on a Sunday in day-time, the nakshatra was Śravana, and the yōga Vyatipāta, the coincidence is correctly described as Ardhōdaya (compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI p. 186, Paushya-kṛṣṇapaksha XV)—On the Monday, at 3 h. 39 m. after sunrise, there was an annular eclipse of the sun which was visible in India. For a place in Southern India of longitude 77° and latitude 15° the magnitude of the greatest phase was about six digits—F. K.

3.—In the Lakshmi-Narasimhasvāmīn temple at Sīmhāchalam.<sup>4</sup>

- 7 . . . . Śāk ā[bdē] Vēda-chandra dyuman[1]-sugantē Śrāvanē māsī śu-  
 8 klē Viṣṇōr=ahny=[Ā\*]rkkavārē . . . . .  
 11 . . . . Svasti śrī-Śāka-varushambulu 1214 gu-  
 12 n-ēmti Śrāvana-śukla ēkādaśiyun Śanaishcharavāramu nāmdu . . . . .

"In the Śāka year well reckoned by the Vēdas (4), the moon (1), and the suns (12),—(i.e. 1214),—in the month Śrāvana, in the bright (fortnight), on the day of Viṣṇu,<sup>5</sup> on Saturday "

"On Saturday, the eleventh tithi of the bright (fortnight) of Śrāvana in the Śāka year 1214 "

For Śāka-Samvat 1214 expired the date corresponds to Saturday, the 26th July A.D. 1292, when the 11th tithi of the bright half ended 10 h. 29 m. after mean sunrise—F. K.

4.—In the Kūrmēśvara temple at Śrīkūrmam.<sup>6</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī-Śāka-varushambulu 1215 gun-ēmdu Vīra-śrī-Na-  
 2 ranārasimhya(ha)dēvaru(ra) vijaya-rājya-sa[mvva]tsarambula-7

<sup>1</sup> No. 311 of 1900<sup>2</sup> Read *Vyātipāt*.<sup>3</sup> Read *Svarbbhāma*.<sup>4</sup> No. 305 of 1900<sup>5</sup> I.e. the eleventh tithi.<sup>6</sup> No. 367 of 1896.<sup>7</sup> Cancel the syllable *la* at the end of the line.

3 lu 18 gu śrāhi Rī(rī)śhabha-śukla-paurṇa(rṇa)miyu Guruvā-  
4 ramuna . . . . .

"In the Śaka year 1215 (*and*) in the 18th year of the victorious reign of the glorious Vira-Narmāśimhadēva,—on Thursday, the full-moon *tithi* of the bright (*fortnight*) of Rāshabha."

For Śaka-Samvat 1215 expired the date corresponds to Thursday, the 21st May A.D. 1293, when the full-moon *tithi* ended 15 h 22 m after mean sunrise. The day by the Ārya-siddhānta was the 27th day of the month of Rāshabha — F K

5 — In the Kūrmāsvara temple at Śrikūrmam<sup>1</sup>

1 Svasti śrī-Śaka-vatsarō śara-dharā-tigmāmsu-śa(sa)mkhy-ānvitē . . . .  
4 . . . . . Svasti śrī-Śaka-varushambulu 1215 gun-āmṭti Mā-  
5 [gha]-śukla-pamchchamiyu Raviv[ā\*]ramunay-amddu . . . . .

"In the Śaka year joined with the number of the arrows (5), the earth (1), and the suns (12),—(*i e* 1215) "

"On Sunday, the fifth *tithi* of the bright (*fortnight*) of Māgha in the Śaka year 1215 "

For Śaka-Samvat 1215 expired the date corresponds to Sunday, the 3rd January A.D. 1294, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h 50 m after mean sunrise — F. K

No 26 — TSANDAVOLU INSCRIPTION OF BUDDHARAJA,  
SAKA-SAMVAT 1093

By E. HULTZSCH, PH D

This inscription (No 249 of 1897) is engraved on three faces of a pillar opposite the Lingōdbhavasvāmīn temple at Tsandavōlu in the Rēpalle tāluka of the Kistna district. The alphabet is Telugu. The inscription consists of 13 Sanskrit verses, a passage in Telugu prose (ll 56 to 81), and two Sanskrit verses at the end.

The inscription is dated at the winter-solstice (*Saumyāyana*, v 13, or *Uttarāyana*, l 70 f) in Śaka-Samvat 1093 (in numerical words, v 13, and in figures, l. 70) and records the grant of a field at Nādindla (v. 13 and l 72) and of a lamp to the Śiva temple of Pandīśa (v 13) or Pandīśvara (ll 69 and 79) at Dhanadapura (v. 13), Dhanadaprōlu (l 69) or Dhanadavōlu (l 78 f) in Velanāndu (v 13). Nādindla is the modern Nādendla in the Narasārāyapēta tāluka of the Kistna district<sup>2</sup>. As stated before,<sup>3</sup> Dhanadapura or Dhanadaprōlu is the modern Tsandavōlu, which was the capital of the chiefs of Velanāndu.<sup>4</sup> According to an inscription which is now built into the roof of the Lingōdbhavasvāmīn temple, the temple of Pandīśvara was named after one of the chiefs of Velanāndu.<sup>5</sup>

The donor of this inscription was Buddhārāja (vv. 9, 12 and 13) or, in Telugu, the *Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara* Kondapadmatī-Buddarāja (l 67 f), who bore the surnames *Aniyanka-Bhima* (l 60 f), *Eladāyasimha* (l 61 f), and 'the lion of the mountain—the Durjaya family'<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> No 291 of 1896

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol IV p 37, and Vol VI. pp 111 and 115

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol IV Additions and Corrections, p v

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid* p 33

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol V. p 151

<sup>6</sup> This was also a surname of the chief Nambaya, see page 227 above. And the Kākatīya king Ganapati traced his descent to an ancestor named Durjaya, above, Vol V p 142. Though Ganapati claims to be a descendant of the Sun, Manu and Raghu (*Ind Ant* Vol XXI p 201, and above, Vol V p 142), the Kākatīyas must have belonged to the Śūdra caste, because they intermarried with Śūdra chiefs (above, Vol III p 94, and Vol VI p 147). In the Yenamadala inscription, which chronicles the marriage of Gaṇapāmbā to Bāta, both parties preserve a discreet silence regarding their Śūdra descent.

(1 59) As he calls himself a 'worshipper of the feet of Kulóttunga-Chôdadêva' (1 57 f), it may be assumed that he or his predecessors had been vassals of the Châlukya-Chôla king Kulottunga-Chôla II. Among his remaining *birudas* we find Gṛipaśchimaśāsana, 'the ruler (of the country) west of the hill' (1 64), and Śailapāśchātyadipa, 'the light (of the country) west of the hill' (v 12). These are Sanskrit equivalents of the Telugu term Kondapadmati, '(the ruler of the country) west of the hill,' which is prefixed to his name in line 68. When editing the Amarāvati inscription of Kēta II, I pointed out that the district of Kondapadumati corresponds to the eastern portion of the Sattenapalli tāluka<sup>1</sup>. Hence the expression 'west of the hill' must refer to the Kondavidu hills, which form part of the eastern boundary of that district.

Buddharāja's ancestor Buddhavarman belonged to the Chaturthābhijana (v. 2), i.e. to the Śūdra caste, and was a servant (v. 3) of king Kubja-Vishṇu of the lunar race (v. 1), i.e. of the Eastern Châlukya king Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana I., who conferred on him 'the country west of the hill, which contained seventy-three villages' (v. 4). The immediate descendants of Buddhavarman are not mentioned by name in the inscription, which passes on to the *Mandalēstvara* Manda I. or Mandana, who "was born from that family," his son Ganda, (v. 5), and his grandson Manda II. (v. 6). Buddharāja was the son of Manda II and Kundāmbikā (v. 8), and the brother of Ankama (v. 12), who became the wife of Rājendra-Chôda, the son of Gonka (v. 11). This chief has to be identified with Rājendra-Chôda, the son of Gonka II of Velanāndu, and his wife Ankama with Akkāmbikā or Akkama, whose name occurs in verse 49 of the Pithāpuram pillar inscription of Prithivisvara<sup>2</sup> and in a fragmentary inscription at Bāpatla<sup>3</sup>. The son of Rājendra-Chôda, Gonka III, followed the example of his father in marrying Jāyāmbikā, who belonged to the family of the chiefs of 'the country west of the hill.'<sup>4</sup>

In the foot-notes on the text I have quoted the various readings of two Nādendia inscriptions of Buddharāja, of which the first (No. 233 of 1892) contains verses 1-10 of the subjoined inscription, and the second (No. 228 of 1892) the list of *birudas* (ll 56 to 68).

#### TEXT<sup>5</sup>

##### West Face.<sup>6</sup>

- 1 श्रीं [॥\*] अस्ति श्रीस्तनकुकुमाकितविराज[ब्यू]-<sup>8</sup>
- 2 डवच्चस्थलो देवशीतमयूख-
- 3 वंशतिलक[\*] श्री[कु]जविष्णुर्निपः<sup>9</sup> । य-<sup>10</sup>
- 4 स्यारातिनरेन्द्रहर्म्यविलस[द्वू]र्वा-

<sup>1</sup> Page 148 above

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol IV pp 35 and 51. I avail myself of this opportunity for issuing a collotype plate of the four Pithāpuram pillar inscriptions between pages 270 and 271.

<sup>3</sup> This inscription (No. 181 of 1897) refers itself to the reign of "Chôda Gonka mahārāja, the son of Alhama mahādêvi, the younger sister of [Budda] mahārāja."

<sup>4</sup> *Parvat-āpara-mahā*, above, Vol IV p 51.

<sup>5</sup> From an inked estampage prepared by Mr H Krishna Sastri, B.A.

<sup>6</sup> The symbols of the sun and the moon—implying that the grant is to continue *āchandr-ārka*—are engraved at the top of this face.

<sup>7</sup> Expressed by a symbol

No. 233 of 1892 reads °शृप

<sup>8</sup> No. 233 of 1892 reads °विराजि°, read °ब्यू°

<sup>10</sup> Read यस्साराति° (?)

- 5 [भि]लाषीहस्तक्षीभीत्संगकुरंगशीत-<sup>1</sup>  
 6 किरणस्यास्ये[द्यशीभां]<sup>2</sup> दधौ । [१\*] आसीञ्चतु-  
 7 र्याभिजनाव[तंस][:]\*] [त्री]बुधवर्मा[१]<sup>3</sup> कृत-  
 8 पुण्यकर्मा [१\*] [सं]ग्रामरगे निजनाथवर्मा  
 9 संपादिताशेषक[वी]द्रशर्मा । [२\*] भृत्यकृत्य-  
 10 विनयेन रंजयन्नजुनेय<sup>4</sup> इव राव-  
 11 णच्छिद [१\*] वैनतेय इव चक्रिणं च तं सार्वभौ-  
 12 मतिलकं स [शोभते]<sup>5</sup> । [३\*] त्रिसप्ततिग्रामवतीम्-  
 13 ह्रीन्महीपतिप्रसादोपनतान्नताहितः [१\*]  
 14 गिरिप्रतीचीभिजराजलांछनैश्च पालयामा-  
 15 स विलासवासवः । [४\*] वंशकर्तृयु<sup>6</sup> गतेषु केषुचि-  
 16 त्तत्कुलादजनि [मं]डभूपतिः [१\*] मंडलेश्व-  
 17 रसिखडमंडनो<sup>7</sup> मंडनादजनि गडभू-  
 18 पतिः । [५\*] अथ रविरिव <sup>8</sup>पूर्वशैलश्रिंगा[त्तुहि]न-  
 19 मरोचिरिवांबुधेः कुमारः [१\*] <sup>9</sup>शरवन[वन]-  
 20 [जा]दिवीक्ष्वार्थं समजनि मंडविभुर्वि-  
 21 भोरमुष्मात् । [६\*] अस्य<sup>10</sup> खड्गलतिकाश्रि-  
 22 ता जय(१)श्रीर्भुजाश्रितभुवादिराज-<sup>11</sup>  
 23 <sup>12</sup>भिर्भुक्तवत्यपि पतिव्रता कृता तन<sup>13</sup> राज-  
 24 तनयेन मानिना ॥ [७\*] पुरंदरस्त्रेव<sup>14</sup> पु-  
 25 लीमपुत्री सीतेव रामस्य रमेव शीरेः [१\*]  
 26 बभुव<sup>15</sup> देवी जनपस्य तस्य कुंदांभिका<sup>16</sup>  
 27 राजभर्तृभिकेव<sup>17</sup> । [८\*] ताभ्यामुभाभ्यां ज-  
 28 गदुत्सवाय <sup>18</sup>श्रीबुद्धराजोजनि  
 29 कीर्त्तिदानी<sup>19</sup> [१\*] तेनैव जातास्सह वह्मा-<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> No 233 of 1892 reads °चीवी°.

<sup>2</sup> Read °बुध°

<sup>3</sup> No 233 of 1892 reads सेवते.

<sup>4</sup> No 233 of 1892 reads °सिखड°.

<sup>5</sup> No 233 of 1892 reads शरवण°.

<sup>6</sup> Read °श्रीर्भुजा°

<sup>7</sup> No 233 of 1892 reads तेन

<sup>8</sup> No 233 of 1892 reads बभूव.

<sup>9</sup> No 233 of 1892 reads °निकेव

<sup>10</sup> No. 233 of 1892 reads °जानि[:]\*°.

<sup>11</sup> No 233 of 1892 reads °स्याच्छेद्यशीभां.

<sup>12</sup> Read °यद्वाजनेय

<sup>13</sup> No 233 of 1892 reads °कर्तृषु

<sup>14</sup> Read पूर्वशैलश्रिंगा°

<sup>15</sup> No 233 of 1892 reads यस्य

<sup>16</sup> Read °मि । भुक्त°

<sup>17</sup> No 233 of 1892 reads °रस्त्रेव.

<sup>18</sup> No 233 of 1892 reads कुंदांभिका

<sup>19</sup> No 233 of 1892 reads श्रीबुद्ध°

<sup>20</sup> No. 233 of 1892 reads वह्मा°.





The image shows a document page that is almost completely illegible due to extreme noise and high contrast. The text is arranged in columns, but the characters are too distorted to be read. On the left side, there is a vertical strip of text that appears to be a list of numbers or a margin, but it is also heavily obscured by noise. The overall appearance is that of a severely degraded scan of a document.

- 30 न[<sup>1</sup>]स्यत्यार्जित(ग)त्यागपराक्रमाश्च<sup>1</sup> [॥ ८\*]  
 31 'येस्यासीत्यविदारितारिकरटिप्रस्यो-<sup>2</sup>  
 32 'तकुभस्यलस्यालोस्यूलविमुक्तमुक्त-  
 33 निकरास्यूर्त्नी<sup>3</sup> विकीर्त्नी र[र्ण] [1\*] वार्ह-<sup>4</sup>  
 34 लोखरविखलेखनद[ल\*]द्रक्तप्रसिकत्ति-<sup>5</sup>  
 35 तौ (i) प्रत्युपा<sup>6</sup> इ[व] कीर्त्तिवोजम[ण]यो भां-<sup>7</sup>  
 36 [त्ति] ऋ<sup>10</sup> [षो]मांकुराः । [१०\*] श्रीमत्संग्रामवो-  
 37 [र]क्षितपतिरभवत्तोकभू[प]ाल[पु]त्र[ः\*]

## South Face

- 38 <sup>11</sup>श्रीमान्वित्रारिभोगः <sup>12</sup>प्रभलरिपु-  
 39 <sup>13</sup>न्निपांभोजपुंजाम्बिताश[ः\*]<sup>14</sup> [1\*] शशस्त्री-  
 40 क[र]तभक्तो गुणनिधिरमलो वाक्पतिः  
 41 पुण्यमूर्त्तिधूमदूदेवहृदयस्-<sup>15</sup>  
 42 कलजननुतो भाति <sup>16</sup>राजेद्रचोडः [॥ ११\*]  
 43 तस्योर्व्वीवक्षभस्य प्रियवरललना  
 44 <sup>17</sup>[व]धपट्टांकमाख्या भाति श्रीसन्निभा]-  
 45 <sup>18</sup>तिसुरितनिखिलदिक्पूर्वसत्कीर्त्ति-<sup>19</sup>  
 46 वक्षो [1\*] तद्भाता बुद्धूपो<sup>20</sup> नरपतिति-  
 47 लकशैलपाश्चात्यदीपः सन्मानो[द्य]-  
 48 [द्दि]कीर्त्तिर्गुणमणिनिकरो राजते  
 49 [पु]ण्यमूर्त्ति[ः\*] । [१२\*] शाकाव्दे शक्तिनंदां-  
 50 वरशशिगणिते [भू]रिसौम्यायने  
 51 वा क्षेत्रमादिङ्गु[पु]य्या धनधपु-<sup>21</sup>  
 52 रमधिस्थाय पंडीशनाम्ने [1\*] नैवेद्या-  
 53 र्त्त्यम्हत्वा<sup>22</sup> भिरतरमनिश खड्ग[क]

<sup>1</sup> No 233 of 1892 reads 'त्योर्जित'<sup>2</sup> No 233 of 1892 reads 'प्रस्यो'<sup>3</sup> Read 'रास्यूर्' विकीर्ण रणे<sup>4</sup> No 233 of 1892 reads 'प्रसिक्त'<sup>5</sup> The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line<sup>6</sup> No 233 of 1892 reads 'अ वामांकुराः'<sup>7</sup> Read 'प्रबल'<sup>8</sup> Read 'मूर्त्तिर्धूम'<sup>9</sup> Read 'स्फुरित'<sup>10</sup> Read 'धनधपुरमधिष्ठाय'<sup>11</sup> No 233 of 1892 reads 'यस्यासिप्र'<sup>12</sup> Read 'कुभ'<sup>13</sup> No 233 of 1892 reads 'वाह्यलो'<sup>14</sup> No 233 of 1892 reads 'प्रत्युपा'<sup>15</sup> Read 'श्रीमावृषारि'<sup>16</sup> Read 'नृपा'<sup>17</sup> Read 'राजेद्र'<sup>18</sup> Read 'दिक्पूर्वण'<sup>19</sup> Read 'महात्मा चिर'<sup>14</sup> Read 'गामृतांग'<sup>17</sup> Read 'वज्र'<sup>10</sup> Read 'बुद्धमूर्त्ति'

- 54 बाहुसख्य दीप<sup>1</sup> प्रादादखंडं [ख]-  
 55 यमपि वेलनांडभूतले बुद्ध[भू]पः  
 56 ॥ [१३\*] स्वस्ति समधिगतपंचमहाशब्दम-  
 57 [हा]मड[लि]श्वर<sup>2</sup> कुलोत्तुगचो[ड]देवर<sup>3</sup>  
 58 दिव्यश्रीपादपद्माराधक परवलसाध-  
 59 क दुर्जयकुलाचलमृगेंद्र सत्यह-  
 60 रिचंद्र प्रतिज्ञापुरुसराम<sup>4</sup> अनिय-  
 61 कभीम सत्यराधेय श्रीचगांगेय<sup>5</sup> ए-  
 62 लदायसिंह विक्रमत्रिसिंह<sup>6</sup> सुज-  
 63 नजनवनवसत काताजयत वि-  
 64 वेकपद्मासन गिरिपश्चिमशासन वित-  
 65 रणरणविनोद 'कस्तुरिकामीद ह-  
 66 यवत्तराज राजमनोज नामादि-  
 67 समस्तप्रशस्तसहित<sup>7</sup> श्रीमन्महामं-<sup>8</sup>  
 68 डलेश्वर कोडपड्मटिवुहराजुलु  
 69 धनदग्रोलि श्रीपंडीश्वरमह[१\*][देव-  
 70 रकु शकवर्षवुलु १०८३ नेटि [उ]त्त(१)-  
 71 रायणनिमित्तमुन निवेद्याल्यमु-  
 72 नकु नादिंडु वेटिन<sup>10</sup> भूमि ख २ [॥\*]  
 73 इ<sup>11</sup> देवरक अखडवर्त्तिदीपवुनकुं<sup>12</sup>

*East Face*

- 74 वेटिन गोठियलु ५५ [१\*] वीनिं जेको-  
 75 नि चामेनवोयुनि कोडकु सूर्य-  
 76 वोयिनि पट्टु कोमनवोयिनि कोडकु  
 77 भीमनवोयुडु तन पुत्रालु-  
 78 पौत्रिकमु आचंद्रार्कमु धनदव्रो-  
 79 लि श्रीपंडीश्वरमहादेवरकुनखं-  
 80 डवर्त्तिदीपवुनकु नित्य मा[नि]डु

<sup>1</sup> Read नेप

<sup>2</sup> No. 228 of 1892 inserts वीरमहेश्वर

<sup>3</sup> No. 228 of 1892 reads 'देवदिव्यश्रीपादाराधक,

<sup>4</sup> No. 228 of 1892 reads 'परशुराम

<sup>5</sup> No. 228 of 1892 reads श्रीचालुनेय (१)

<sup>6</sup> No. 228 of 1892 reads 'वृत्तिह

<sup>7</sup> No. 228 of 1892 reads कस्तूरिका,

<sup>8</sup> No. 228 of 1892 reads 'प्रशस्ति'

<sup>9</sup> The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line

<sup>10</sup> Read वेटिन.

<sup>11</sup> Read ई देवरकु

<sup>12</sup> The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line

- 81 नेचि पीयंगलवांडु ॥ स्वदत्तां प-  
 82 र[द]त्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [1\*] पष्टि<sup>1</sup>  
 83 वर्षसहस्राणि विद्यायां जायते कृमिः [॥ १४\*]  
 84 बहुविर्वसुधा दत्ता बहुमिच्चा[नु]-<sup>3</sup>  
 85 पालिता [1\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्त-  
 86 स्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [१५\*]

## ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1 praises king Kubja-Vishṇu, the ornament of the race of the Moon. His servant was Buddhavarman, the ornament of the Chaturthābhijana, i.e. of a family belonging to the fourth (Śūdra) caste (v. 2 f)

(V. 4) "He to whom enemies bowed, (and who resembled) Vāsava (Indra) in happiness, protected the country west of the hill, which contained seventy-three villages, (and which he had) received through the favour of the king along with his royal emblems"

(V. 5) "After some ancestors had passed away, there was born from that family king Manda [I], the crest-ornament of rulers of provinces (*maṇḍalēśvara*), (and) from Mandana was born king Gaṇḍa."

His son was Manda [II] (v. 6), who married Kundāmbikā (v. 8). Their son was Buddharāja (v. 9). His sister Ankama was the wife of Rājendra-Chōḍa, the son of Gonka (v. 11 f)

(V. 13) "In the Śāka year counted by the powers (3), the Nandas (9), the sky (0), and the moon (1),—(i.e. 1093),—and at the great Saumyāyana,<sup>4</sup> the high-minded king Buddha himself gave to (*the god*) named Pandiśa, who resides at Dhanadapura in the country of Velanānd[u], a field (*of*) two *khaṇḍukas*<sup>5</sup> in the town of Nādiṇḍla for (*providing*) offerings uninterruptedly for a very long time, and a perpetual lamp"

(Line 56) "Hail! The glorious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kondapadmatī-Buddarāja, who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds; the worshipper of the divine lotus-feet of Kulōttunga-Chōḍadēva; the destroyer of hostile armies, the lion of the mountain—the Durjaya family, a Harischandra in truthfulness, a Paraśurāma in (*keeping*) vows, Anyanka-Bhīma; a Rādhēya (Karpa) in truthfulness, a Gāngēya (Bhīshma) in purity, Eladāyasimha, a Nṛsimha in valour, the season of spring to the forest—virtuous men, a Jayanta to (*the eyes of*) women, a Brahmā in wisdom, the ruler (*of the country*) west of the hill; he who delights in making gifts and in (*fighting*) battles, he who is fond of musk,<sup>6</sup> a Vatsarāja in (*the management of*) horses, and a Cupid among kings,—in the Śāka year 1093, on the occasion of the Uttarāyana,—gave to the god Pandiśvara-Mahādēva at Dhanadaprōlu 2 *kha[nḍi]* of land at Nādiṇḍla for (*providing*) offerings"

(L. 73) "To the same god (*he*) gave 55 sheep for a perpetual lamp Having received these (*sheep*),—Sūrya-Bōya, the son of Chāmēna-Bōya, standing security,<sup>7</sup>—Bhīmana-Bōya, the son of

<sup>1</sup> The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line

<sup>2</sup> Read बहुमि<sup>0</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Read °मियातु<sup>0</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> This term is synonymous with Uttarāyana (l. 70 f)

<sup>5</sup> Literally, 'the *khaṇḍuka* whose number were the (two) arms'

<sup>6</sup> The *śrūṣṭa* Kāstūrīkāmōḍa makes me suspect that Kāstūrīkāmōḍinī, one of the queens of Anantavarman alias Chōḍagaṇḍa of Kalinga (Vol V above, Appendix, p. 53, No. 367), was the daughter of one of the Kondapadmatī chiefs

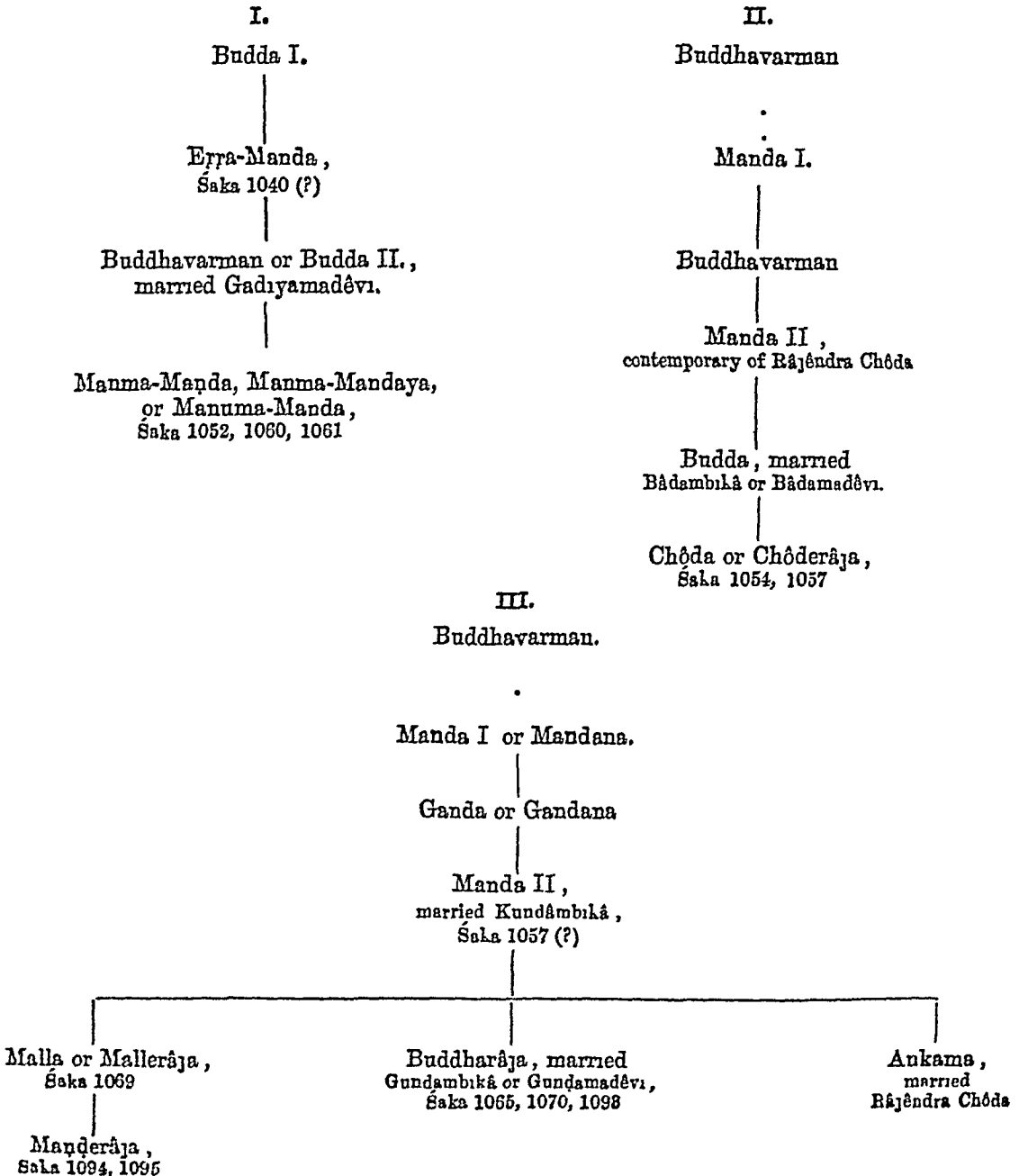
<sup>7</sup> *Pāṇṭa* is the same as *pūṭa*, on which see Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*

Kommana-Bôya, with his sons and further descendants has to supply one *māna* of ghee daily for a perpetual lamp to the god Pandīśvara-Mahādēva at Dhanadavrôlu as long as the moon and the sun shall last "

The inscription ends with two of the customary verses

### POSTSCRIPT.

The two temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu at Nādendla contain 12 inscriptions of the Kondapadmatī chiefs, and there are two others at the Sômēśvara temple at Irlapādu near Nādendla I subjoin abstracts of these records, which, along with the Tsandavôlu inscription of Buddharāja, establish the following three pedigrees



## 1.—On a pillar in the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Nāḍendla (No. 227 of 1892)

Language Telugu prose and verse Date Śaka-Samvat 1052,<sup>1</sup> Mēsha-siti-pañchami,<sup>2</sup> Thursday<sup>3</sup> The son of the *Mahāmandalēśvara* Buddha—"who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahāmandalēśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds, Vīra-Mahēśvara, the worshipper of the divine feet of Kulōttunga-Chōḍadēva, the destroyer of hostile armies, Eladāyasimha, Sāhasōttunga, a Rāma on the battle-field, Anaanka-Bhīma (!), a Rādhēya in truthfulness, a Gāngēya in purity, a moon to the water-lily and the milk-ocean—the Durjaya family, a mine of very bright virtues, he whose delight is the sport of valour, he whose delight is poetry, the mango-tree to the parrots—excellent poets, the support of virtuous men, a Rēvanta in (the management of) horses, the death to enemies, a Brahmā in wisdom, and Giripaśchimaśāsana"—was Erra-Manda.<sup>4</sup> His son was Buddhavarman; and his son Manma-Manda, who gave two lamps and land at Noñchinipāḍu to the Mūlasthāna temple at Nāḍindla

## 2—On a pillar in the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Nāḍendla (No. 217 of 1892)

Language Telugu Date Śaka-Samvat 1080 Gift of certain taxes levied at Noñchinipāḍu, for the maintenance of two lamps in the temple of Mūlasthāna-Mahādēva at Nāḍindla, by the *Mahāmandalēśvara* Manma-Mandaya.

## 3—On a pillar in the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Nāḍendla (No. 222 of 1892)

Language Telugu verse and prose Date Śaka-Samvat 1061,<sup>5</sup> Māgha-sita-pañchami, Friday.<sup>6</sup> Manma-Manda, the eldest son of the *Maṇḍalika* Buddha and of Gadīyamadēvi, built a temple (*guḍi*) of Śiva at Nāḍendla and gave to it the village Noñchedlapūndi. His mother Gadīyamadēvi, the daughter of Mēda and Mēdamāmba, gave a lamp to the Mūlasthāna temple at Nāḍindla Further Manma-Manda gave many ornaments to Śiva. Finally the inhabitants of Noñchinipāḍu had to pay a tax to the temple.

## 4—On a pillar in the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Nāḍendla (No. 214 of 1892).

Languages Sanskrit and Telugu. Date Śaka-Samvat 1054 or 1057.<sup>7</sup> The two first verses praise king Kubja-Vishnu, the ornament of the race of the Moon. His servant was Buddhavarman, the lion of the mountain—the Chaturthakula (v. 3 f), who "protected the country west of the hill, which contained seventy-three villages, (and which he had) received through the favour of (his) master along with the royal emblems"<sup>8</sup> (v. 5) After some princes of his family had passed away, Buddhavarman, surnamed Eladāyasimha, was born from Maṇḍa [I] (v. 6) His son was Manda [II.], surnamed Anyanka-Bhīma (v. 7).

<sup>1</sup> *Ambaka sāyak āmbara mṛigāṅka*

<sup>2</sup> The word *siti* or *ṣiti* means both 'white' and 'black' and may refer either to the bright or to the dark fortnight. Prof Kielhorn states that, for the dark half of Mēsha in Śaka-Samvat 1052 current, the date corresponds to Thursday, 11th April A.D. 1129

<sup>3</sup> *Nṛjaraṇḍha mantri-vāra*

<sup>4</sup> He is styled *Chaturthavamsa nṣāḍraka* and his son *Chaturthānvay-ābāḥ chandra* A damaged Telugu inscription of Śaka-Samvat 1040 (in figures and in numerical words *gagan ābāḥ vi[ya]d ind[u]*), the Vilambin year, at Chēbrōlu (No. 157 of 1897) mentions Sūra, the minister of the Giripaśchima king Erra-Manda

<sup>5</sup> *Uduvallabha-tarka* [kh ē]ndu

<sup>6</sup> *Kavi-vāsara* Professor Kielhorn kindly informs me that "the date regularly corresponds, for Śaka-Samvat 1061 expired, to Friday, the 26th January A.D. 1140, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h 40 m. after mean sunrise"

<sup>7</sup> *Jalarāṣi mārgaṇa viyat tārddhindha* Compare above, Vol IV p. 228 and note 10

<sup>8</sup> *Mahīm . . . givi pratichit sāka rāja lāṅchakḥanais-trisaptatī grāmavāṭim*

(V 8) "Having torn up, like a mound, the army of the Ganga (*king*) of Kalinga,<sup>1</sup> having consumed, like straw, the warriors of the bold enemy, and having cut off, (*like*) lotuses, their heads, the mighty rutting elephant—the *Mandalika* Manda [II] is roaring"<sup>2</sup>

(V 9) "[Having defeated] the army of the enemy, he gave to Rājendra-Chōda<sup>3</sup> mighty elephants which had been captured there, (*and*) whose temples were bright with rut"<sup>4</sup>

His son was Buddha (v 10), whose wife was Bādāmbikā (v 12) His son Chōda (v 13) gave a lamp, ornaments, a bell, a trumpet and a conch to the Mūlasthāna temple at Nādindla, and land to Brāhmanas

5—On a pillar in the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Nādendla (No 215 of 1892).

Language Telugu Undated. Gift of a lamp and of land at Nonchinipādu to the temple of Mūlasthāna-Mahādēva at Nādindla by the *Mahāmandalēśvara* Chōderāja, "who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahāmandalēśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds, Vīra-Mahēśvara, the lion of the principal mountain—the Durjaya family, a Harischandra in truthfulness, he whose hair is covered by the dust of the divine feet of Kulōttunga-Chōdadēva, as bees are covered by the pollen of the lotus, a Shanmukha at the head of battles, Anyanka-Bhima, a Paraśurāma in (keeping) vows, he whose wife is (the goddess) Vijaya-Lakshmi, a son to the wives of others, a Nrisimha to the demons—heroes, and Eladāyasimha" Also gift of a lamp by the same chief for the merit of his mother Bādamadēvi.

6—On a pillar in the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Nādendla (No 219 of 1892)

Language Telugu Date Śaka-Samvat 1054. Gift of land at Nādindla to some Mahājanas by the *Mahāmandalēśvara* Chōd[e]rāja.

7—On a pillar in front of the Sômēśvara temple at Irlapādu (No 111 of 1893).

Languages Sanskrit and Telugu Date Śaka-Samvat 1057<sup>5</sup> Gift of land and of a lamp to the temple of Sômēśvara-Mahādēva at Irlapādu by the *Mahāmandalēśvara* Chōderāja,<sup>6</sup> "who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahāmandalēśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds, Vīra-Mahēśvara; the lion of the principal mountain—the Durjaya family, a Harischandra in truthfulness, a bee at the divine lotus-feet of Kulōttunga-Chōdadēva, a Shanmukha at the head of battles, a Paraśurāma in (keeping) vows, Anyanka-Bhima, he whose wife is (the goddess) Vijaya-Lakshmi, a son to the wives of others, Eladāyasimha, and Sâhasōttunga"

8—On a pillar in front of the Sômēśvara temple at Irlapādu (No 109-10 of 1893)

Languages Sanskrit and Telugu. Date Śaka-Samvat 1057<sup>7</sup> Sômana-Peggada, an officer of the *Mandalika* Manda who belonged to the family of the Durjayas and was the lord

<sup>1</sup> Evidently Anantavarman *alias* Chōdaganga of Kalinga, who reigned from Śaka-Samvat 999 to 1064, Vol V above, Appendix, p 51, No 358, and p. 52, No 363

<sup>2</sup> कालिगगकटकं तटव[दिप]ाव्य जग्ध्वा कट(ङ)करवदारभटारिवीरान् [\*]  
उच्छिद्य [ग]र्जति शिरस्सरसीरहाणि तेषा च मङलिकमङमददि[पे]द्र ॥

<sup>3</sup> This statement refers to Rājendra Chōda of Velanādu, the husband of Ankama or Alkāmblā, the daughter of Manda II, see above, p. 269 and notes 2, 3

<sup>4</sup> The first half of this verse is only partially preserved, . . . वैरिसेना [\*] तत्र गृहीतान्मद-  
धीतगडात्राजिंद्रीचोदाय ददी गजैद्रान् ॥

<sup>5</sup> *Saila bāna ghanamār[ga] śīlakrit.*

<sup>6</sup> In the Sanskrit portion he is called Chōda and 'the lord of the country west of the hill' (*saila pāchima-  
rasundhar-ādhipa*)

<sup>7</sup> In figures and in numerical words *giri-sara-viyad indu.*

of the country west of the hill,<sup>1</sup> built a temple of Śiva, named Sômesvara-Mahâdêva, at Irralû-ru<sup>2</sup> and gave to it a tank, which he had constructed on the north of the village, and a lamp

9 — On a pillar in the Gôvardhanasvâmin temple at Nâdendla (Nos 239-241 of 1892)

Languages Sanskrit and Telugu. Date Śaka-Samvat 1069.<sup>3</sup> Verse 1 praises king Kubja-Vishnu, the ornament of the race of the Moon His servant was Buddhavarman, the founder of the race of kings of the fourth (caste)<sup>4</sup> (v 2 f), who "protected the country west of the hill, which contained seventy-three villages, (and which he had) received through the favour of (his) master along with his royal emblems"<sup>5</sup> (v 4) "After some ancestors had passed away, there was born from that family king Manda [I.] " or Mandana, whose son was Ganda or Gandana, whose son was Manda [II.] (v 5).

Here some lines are lost Then the inscription refers to the birth of Malla. This *Mahâmandalêśvara* Kondapadumati-Mallerâja—"who was possessed of all the glory of such names as the *Mahâmandalêśvara* who has obtained the five great sounds, Vira-Mahêśvara, the worshipper of the divine feet of Kulôttunga-Chôdadêva, the destroyer of hostile armies, the lion of the principal mountain—the Durjaya family, a Hariśchandra in truthfulness, a Parasurâma in (keeping) vows, Aniyanka-Bhîma, a Râdhêya in truthfulness, an Âñjanêya in purity; Eladâyasimha, a Nṛsimha in valour, the season of spring to the lotus—virtuous men, a Jayanta to (the eyes of) women, a Brahmâ in wisdom, Giripaśchîmasâśana, he who delights in making gifts and in (fighting) battles, he who is fond of musk, a Vatsarâja in (the management of) horses, a Cupid among kings, the son of Kundâmbikâ, and a Samkrandana in happiness— gave a lamp to the temple of Kêśavadêva at Nâdindla, and another lamp to the temple of Mûlasthâna-Mahâdêva at Nâdindla.

10 — On a pillar in the Gôvardhanasvâmin temple at Nâdendla (No. 237 of 1892).

Language · Telugu Date Śaka-Samvat 1094. Gift of a lamp to the temple of Kêśavadêva at Nâdindla by an officer of the *Mahâmandalêśvara* Ko[n\*]dapadumati-Mand[e\*]-râja.

11 — On a pillar in the Gôvardhanasvâmin temple at Nâdendla (No 234 of 1892)

Language Telugu. Date Śaka-Samvat 1095. Records that the *Mahâmandalêśvara* Manderâja, the son of the *Mahâmandalêśvara* Kondapadumati-Mallerâja, gave to the temple of Kêśavadêva a lamp, and some land below the Mallasamudra tank which he had constructed on the north-west of Nâdindla

12 — On a pillar in the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Nâdendla (No. 233 of 1892)

Languages · Sanskrit and Telugu Date Śaka-Samvat 1065<sup>6</sup> Gift of a lamp to the Mûlasthâna temple at Nâdindla by Buddarâja. Gundamadêvi, the wife of the *Mahâmandalêśvara* Buddarâja, gave to the temple of Mûlasthâna-Mahâdêva a tank named Gundasa[mu\*]dra which she had constructed on the south of Nâdindla

<sup>1</sup> *Kutkila-pratyag urvi vîkhu*

<sup>2</sup> This village is stated to have been situated 'on the west of the hill' (*gîrêh paschîmatah*) and to have been granted by the mythical king Trinnavana Pallava to an ancestor of the donor, Vennayabhaṭṭa Sômayâjin, when he had defeated in disputation a certain Gaudabhaṭṭa who had hung up a challenge in public (*krîta pattra lamba*, compare above, Vol III p 201 and note 3)

<sup>3</sup> In figures and in numerical words: *Jalajâlasambhava ras-âkâś êndu*

<sup>4</sup> *Chaturth âdhipa vamśa kartâ*

<sup>5</sup> *Gîri prathîn-niya-râja lâmchcha(chha)nais=trisaptatî grâmapattîmahîm, etc*

<sup>6</sup> In figures and in numerical words, *śara tarka târakapatha êvêtâmśu*



13 — On a pillar in the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Nādendla (No. 228 of 1892)

Language Telugu Date Śaka-Samvat 1070. Gift of two lamps to the temple of Mūlasthāna-Mahādēva at Nādindla by the *Mahāmandalēśvara* Kondapaḍmatī-Buddarāja.

14.— On a pillar in the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Nādendla (No 230 of 1892).

Languages Sanskrit and Telugu Date Śaka-Samvat 1093.<sup>1</sup> Gift of a lamp to the temple of Mūlasthāna-[Mahādēva] at Nādindla by Gundāmbikā or Gundamadēvi, the chief queen (*agramahishī*) of the *Mahāmandalēśvara* Buddarāja.

### No 27.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS

By F KIELHORN, PH D, LL D, C I E., GÖTTINGEN

(Continued from page 24)

#### A.— KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA I.

39.— Near the Nāgēśvara temple at Chēbrōlu.<sup>2</sup>

1	Svasti	Śakha(ka)-varahamblu	998	n=ēmti	Nala-sam(sam)vatsa-
2	ra	śrāhi	svasti		Sarvvalōkāśraya-śrī-
3	Vishnu(shnu)	varddhana-mahārājula			pravarddhamā-
4	na-vijaya-rājya-sam(sam)vatsara[mblu]		7	n=ēndu	.
6	.	.	.	.	Māgha-māsamuna
7	punnamayu	Su(śa)kravāramuna			sōmagrahana-
8	numittamunan=.				

"In the Śaka year 998, in the year<sup>3</sup> (*which was*) the Nala year, (*and*) in the 7th year of the increasing reign of victory of the asylum of the whole world, the glorious Vishṇu-vardhana-mahārāja,— on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on Friday, the full-moon *tithi* of the month of Māgha "

As the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla I commenced<sup>4</sup> between the 14th March and the 8th October A D 1070, a date in the month of Māgha of his 7th year must fall about the commencement of A D 1077, in Śaka-Samvat 998 expired which was the Jovian year Nala (Anala) In this year the full-moon *tithi* of Māgha ended 23 h 51 m after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 11th January A D 1077, when there was no eclipse But there was an eclipse of the moon, visible in India, from 17 h 9 m to 20 h 13 m after mean sunrise of Friday, the 10th February A.D. 1077, which was the full-moon day of Phālguna I have no doubt that this is the day intended by the inscription, and that in the original date the month of Māgha has been quoted erroneously<sup>5</sup> instead of Phālguna

<sup>1</sup> In figures and in numerical words *guna Nanda kh ēndu*

<sup>2</sup> No 151 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897, see p 220 above

<sup>3</sup> For the word *śrāhi* compare *Ind Ant* Vol XXV p 285

<sup>4</sup> See above, p 24

<sup>5</sup> The case is different with the date of the Nausāri plates of Suvarnavarsha Karkarāja of Gujārāt, edited in *Jour Bo As Soc* Vol XX p 135 ff., which quotes a lunar eclipse in the month of Magha of Śaka Samvat 788 expired The eclipse undoubtedly is the one of the 5th February A D 817, which by the rules now in force would be the full moon day of Phālguna The original date is nevertheless correct, because by the rules of mean intercalation Māgha in Śaka Samvat 788 was an intercalary month, so that the month which we now should call Phālguna, in accordance with those rules would have been called the second (or proper) Māgha, or simply Māgha, as it is actually called in the inscription In Śaka-Samvat 998 expired there was no intercalation of either description

40.—In the Bhimēśvara temple at Drākshārāma.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 [Sva]stī Śaka-va[r\*]shambulu 1036 svastī Sarvvalōkāśraya-śrī-Vishṇuvarddhana-  
mā(ma)hārājulu  
2 [pra]varddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-divya-samvatsa 45 Dhanu-māsamuna śukla-  
pa[kshamu]na ākāda-  
3 [ś]iṇu Budhavāramu nāndu uttarāyana-vyatīpāta-<sup>2</sup>nimittamuna

"In the Śaka year 1036 (and) the 45th heavenly year of the increasing reign of victory of the asylum of the whole world, the glorious Vishṇuvardhana-mahārāja,— on Wednesday, the eleventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Dhanus,— on the occasion of the *vyatīpāta* of the Uttarāyana."

A date in the month of Dhanus of the 45th year of the king's reign will be expected to fall near the end of A D 1114, in Śaka-Samvat 1036 expired. In this year the 11th *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of Dhanus commenced 7 h 52 m after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 9th December A D 1114 (when the *nakshatras* were Aśvinī and Bharanī, and the *yōgas* Śiva and Siddha, Nos 20 and 21, not Vyatīpāta, No 17), and ended 5 h 53 m after mean sunrise of the following day — The sidereal Uttarāyana-samkrānti took place, by the Ārya-siddhānta, 20 h 18 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 24th December A D 1114, which was the last day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight ended 14 h 48 m after mean sunrise. The *nakshatra* on the same day was Anurādhā, and the *yōgas* were Ganda and Vṛddhi, Nos 10 and 11 — Lastly, the tropical Uttarāyana-samkrānti took place on Wednesday, the 16th December A D. 1114, on which ended the 3rd *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of Dhanus.

Having considered these results of my calculations, I have come to the conclusion that the choice of the proper equivalent of the original date can only lie between Wednesday, the 9th, and Thursday, the 24th December A D 1114, and the following reasons make me decide in favour of Wednesday, the 9th December A.D. 1114. If we were to accept Thursday, the 24th December A D 1114, as the equivalent of the date, the writer would have been guilty of quoting, not only a wrong weekday, but also a wrong lunar fortnight. On the other hand, accepting Wednesday, the 9th December, as the equivalent, we indeed have to admit that the words *uttarāyana-vyatīpāta-nimittamuna*—supposing them to be intended for 'on the occasion of the Uttarāyana-samkrānti,<sup>3</sup>—have been wrongly added, but similar statements are added, apparently wrongly, in many other dates where the word *vyatīpāta* is made use of.<sup>4</sup> In the date under discussion and in a number of other dates this term can neither denote the *yōga* Vyatīpāta nor convey any of the three other meanings of *vyatīpāta* which I have given in *Ind Ant.* Vol XX p 292 f. What it means exactly, I do not know, but it may be suggested that *e.g.* in the present date the writer by *uttarāyana-vyatīpāta* wishes to say, not that the donation—for such I suppose to be spoken of—was actually made at the Uttarāyana-samkrānti, but that it shall be regarded as equivalent in merit to one which may be made on the occasion of an Uttarāyana-samkrānti.

## B — VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

41.—In the Kailāsanātha temple at Śevilimēdu.<sup>5</sup>

- 2 . . . . . Śrīmad-Vikra[ma]-Chōladēva-nripatēr=vva[rshā] śubhā  
shōdaśē grāmē śrī-Nripasundar-īta viditē Vaiśākha-māsē=parē [i\*] pakshē  
s-Ōttara-Chandravāra-viditē kālē

<sup>1</sup> No 374 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1893, see above, p 220 f

<sup>2</sup> Read *-vyatīpāta*.

<sup>3</sup> *Uttarāyana vyatīpāta* undoubtedly is equivalent to *uttarāyanasamkrānti-vyatīpāta* which occurs in at least eight other dates.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Ind Ant* Vol XXV p 292 note 52. The dates referred to in that note are all in Kanarese, and I have not found yet any Sanskrit date in which the word *vyatīpāta* is similarly employed.

<sup>5</sup> No 43 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1900, see above, pp. 228 and 229,

"In the auspicious sixteenth year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Vikrama-Chôladêva, . . . in the month of Vaisâkha, in the second fortnight, at the time known as Monday combined with an Uttarâ (*nakshatra*)"

The term *Uttarâ* of the date might denote any one of the three *nakshatras* Uttarâ Phalgunî, Uttarâ Ashâdhâ, and Uttarâ Bhâdrapadâ. As it occurs here in connection with the dark fortnight of Vaisâkha, it must denote either Uttarâ Ashâdhâ which is generally joined with the 5th *tithi*, or Uttarâ Bhâdrapadâ which is generally joined with the 11th *tithi* of that dark fortnight. The calculation of the date shows that the *nakshatra* intended is really Uttarâshâdhâ, and that the *tithi* of the date would be the 5th of the dark fortnight of Vaisâkha.

I have previously<sup>1</sup> arrived at the conclusion that the reign of Vikrama-Chôla commenced 'most probably' on the 18th July A.D. 1108. There remained just the possibility<sup>2</sup> that it might have commenced on the 15th July A.D. 1111. If it commenced on the earlier date, the present date, of the month of Vaisâkha of the 16th year of the king's reign, ought to fall in A.D. 1124, in Śaka-Samvat 1046 expired, and if it commenced on the later date, the present date ought to fall in A.D. 1127, in Śaka-Samvat 1049 expired. It so happens that the date would be quite correct for either Śaka year.

In Śaka-Samvat 1046 expired the 5th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Vaisâkha ended 14 h 57 m after mean sunrise of Monday, the 5th May A.D. 1124, when the *nakshatra* was Uttarâshâdhâ, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h 8 m, and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 6 h 34 m, after mean sunrise.

And in Śaka-Samvat 1049 expired the same *tithi* ended 19 h 54 m after mean sunrise of Monday, the 2nd May A.D. 1127, when the *nakshatra* was Uttarâshâdhâ, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 23 h 38 m, and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 17 h 4 m, after mean sunrise.

There is absolutely nothing which could make us prefer one of these possible equivalents to the other, and it is only the following date, No. 42, which in my opinion definitely shows that the king's reign commenced in A.D. 1108, and that the true equivalent of the present date therefore is Monday, the 5th May A.D. 1124.

42.—In the Késavasvâmin temple at Chêbrôlu.<sup>3</sup>

10	.	.	.	.	śrîma[t*]-Tribh[un]-
11	vanachakravartî				Vikrama-Chô-
12	ladêvara		pravardda	(rddha)mâna-vi-	
13	jaya-râjya-samvatsarambu-				
14	lu	9	agun=ê[nti]	Sa(śa)ka-[va]-	
15	rushambulu		1049	a-	
16	gu	Shla(pla)va-samvatsara		Jêshta- <sup>4</sup>	
17	mâsa		sômagrahana(na)-nimitya-		
18	muna.				

"In the 9th year of the increasing reign of victory of the glorious emperor of the three worlds, Vikrama-Chôladêva, (*and*) in the Plava year which was the Śaka year 1049,—on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon in the month of Jyaishtâ."

In Śaka-Samvat 1049 expired which was the year Plavanga—not Plava, which would be Śaka-Samvat 1043 expired—there was a lunar eclipse, visible in India just after sunset on the 27th May A.D. 1127, which was the full-moon day of Jyaishtâ. If the king commenced to reign on the 18th July A.D. 1108, this day would fall in the 19th, not the 9th year of his reign.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. IV pp. 73 and 264.

<sup>3</sup> No. 153 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897, see above, pp. 224, 226, and 227.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Jyêshtâ* or, more correctly, *Jyaishtâ*.

I have no doubt that the 27th May A.D. 1127 is the proper equivalent of this date, and believe that the writer erroneously has quoted the 9th instead of the 19th regnal year, and the year Plava instead of Plavanga. And, as intimated already, this date, faulty as it is, in my opinion would definitely prove that Vikrama-Chôla commenced to reign on the 18th July A.D. 1108.

43 — In front of the Chôlêśvara temple at Nidubrôlu.<sup>1</sup>

- 62 Svasti śrīmat-Tribhuvanachakravartī  
 63 śrī-Vikrama-Chôladêvara vijaya-  
 64 rājya-samvatsarambulu pa[d]iyêd-a-  
 65 gun=êmdu Śaka-varahambulu 1054  
 66 gun=êmtti Vaiśākha-suddha-ttittīyya-  
 67 yu<sup>2</sup> Garuvāramu nāndu ||

"In the seventeenth year of the reign of victory of the glorious emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chôladêva, (and) in the Śaka year 1054,— on Thursday, the third *tithi* of the bright (*fortnight*) of Vaiśākha "

The date is correct for Śaka-Samvat 1054 current, when the 3rd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha ended 6 h 14 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 2nd April A.D. 1131.

According to what we have found before, this day would fall in the 23rd, not the 17th, year of Vikrama Chôla's reign. A date in the month Vaiśākha of his 17th year would fall in A.D. 1125, in Śaka-Samvat 1048 current, but for that year the date would be incorrect. I can only assume that the writer has quoted the regnal year erroneously.

C — KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III

44 — In the Êkāmranātha temple at Conjeeveram.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigal Maduraiyum Pāndiya[n] mudi-  
 ttalai[yu]n=gond=aru[li]ya śrī-Kulottunga-Sôladêvaru yāndu 27 āvadu  
 2 . . . . . ivv-āndai Vaigāsi-masattu=p[pa]dinonrān=diyadīyum Vi[yā]la-  
 kula]mai peṇṇa Aṇṇamum=ānav=anṇu

"In the 27th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chôladêva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pāndya,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eleventh day of the month of Vaigāsi in this year "

As we have found<sup>4</sup> that Kulōttunga-Chôla III commenced to reign between the 8th June and the 8th July A.D. 1178, a date in the month of Vaigāsi, i.e. the solar month Jyaishta, of his 27th year must fall in A.D. 1205, in Śaka-Samvat 1127 expired. In this year the Vṛṣabhāsamkrānti by the Ârya-siddhānta took place 15 h 44 m after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 24th April A.D. 1205, and the 11th day of Vaigāsi therefore was Thursday, the 5th May A.D. 1205. The *nakshatra* on this day was Anurādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h 51 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 4 h 36 m, after mean sunrise.

D.—RAJARAJA III

45 — In the Jambukêśvara temple near Śrirangam<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrīh [||\*] [Śī]r manṇi . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> No 163 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897

<sup>2</sup> Read *trittīyayū*

<sup>3</sup> No 10 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1893, compare *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III p. 122 and note 9

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 24

<sup>5</sup> No 23 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1891

- 3 . . . kó Irāsakēsamparmar=āna Tīmbu[va]nachchakkaravatt[gal śrī]-  
Rājarājadēvarku yāndu 16 vadu  
4 edir=ām=āndu Kaṇṇi-nāyaṟṟu=ppūrvva-pakshattu daśamiyum Śani-kkīlamaiyu[m]  
peṟṟa Tīruvōnattu nāl

"In the year which was opposite the 16th year (*of the reign*) of king Rājakēsari-varman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Śravana, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kanyā "

To simplify matters, I may state here at once that this date and the following dates 46-54 work out well on the supposition that the reign of Rājarāja III commenced between (approximately) the 17th March and the 13th August A D. 1216

The year opposite the 16th was the 17th year of the king's reign. A date in the month of Kanyā of this year must fall in A D. 1232, in Śaka-Samvat 1154 expired. In this year the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of Kanyā ended 13 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 25th September A D 1232, when the *nakshatra* was Śravana, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 5 h. 16 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 6 h. 34 m, after mean sunrise

46 — In the Ēkāmranātha temple at Conjeeveram <sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svast[ī] śr[ī]h [6\_] Tr[ī]bhuvanaścha(cha)kravattagal śr[ī]-Rājarājadēvarkku  
yāndu 17 vadu . . .  
2 . . . Magara-nāyaṟṟu pūrvva-pakkattu=Tśe(chche)vvāy-kkīlamaiyum  
Aśvatiyum=ā[na]v-aṇṇu

"In the 17th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Aśvinī and a Tuesday in the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

This date, in the month of Makara of the 17th year of the king's reign, must fall in Śaka-Samvat 1154 expired. In this year the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of Makara ended 8 h 47 m after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 18th January A D 1233, when the *nakshatra* was Aśvinī for 20 h 59 m after mean sunrise

47.—In the Dharmēśvara temple at Manimangalam <sup>2</sup>

- 1 . . . Tribhuvanachchakkarava[t]tagal śrī-Rājarājadēvarkku yāndu 18  
vadu Simha-nā-  
2 [ya]ṟṟu apara-pakshattu dvit[ī]yayūñ=Jevvāy-kkīlamaiyum peṟṟa Rēvatī nā[ī],

"In the 18th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the second *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha "

This date, in the month of Simha of the 18th year of the king's reign, may be expected to fall in A D 1233, in Śaka-Samvat 1155 expired. In this year the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of Simha ended 8 h 30 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 23rd August A D 1233, when the *nakshatra* was Rēvatī from 3 h 56 m after mean sunrise.

48 — In the Rājagōpāla-Perumāi temple at Manimangalam.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 . . . . . T[ī]ribhuvanachchakkaravatt[ī]ga[ī] śrī-Rājarājadēva-

<sup>1</sup> No 6 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1893

<sup>2</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr* Vol. III, No. 41

<sup>3</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr* Vol. III, No 89.

- 2 lu yāṇḍu 18 vadu Dhanu-nāya[r̥]u pūrvva-pakshattu pañchamiyum Budan-  
kīlamaiyum pe-  
3 r̥ra Avittatti-nā[1]

"In the 18th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Dhanishthā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanus "

This date, in the month of Dhanus of the 18th year of the king's reign, must fall in the same year as the last, Śaka-Samvat 1155 expired In this year the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of Dhanus ended 17 h 21 m after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 7th December A D 1233, when the *nakshatra* was Dhanishthā for 8 h 32 m after mean sunrise

49 — In the Rājagōpāla-Perumāi temple at Manimangalam <sup>1</sup>

- 2 . . . Tribhuvanachchakrava[r̥]ttaga[1] śrī-Rājarājadēvaṛku yāṇḍu 18  
āva[d]u  
3 Magara-nāyaṛru pūrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Tingat-kīlamaiyum perra  
Tiruvō[nat]tu nāl

"In the 18th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Monday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara "

This date, in the month of Makara of the 18th year of the king's reign, also must fall in Śaka-Samvat 1155 expired In this year the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of Makara ended 11 h 3 m after mean sunrise of Monday, the 2nd January A D 1234, when the *nakshatra* was Śravaṇa for 17 h 4 m after mean sunrise

50.— In the Ādhipurīśvara temple at Tiruvorriyūr <sup>2</sup>

- 2 . . . Tribhuvanachcha[k\*]karavattagal śrī-Rājarāja-  
3 d[ē]vaṛku yāṇḍu 19 vadu Si[m\*]ha-nāyaṛru=p-  
4 pū[r̥vva]-pakshattu tṛtiyayum Uttarattādiyum pe-  
5 r̥ra Nāyaṛru-kīlamai-nāl

"In the 19th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on a Sunday which corresponded to (the day of) Uttara-Bhadrapadā and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha."

This date, in the month of Simha of the 19th year of the king's reign, ought to fall in A D 1234, in Śaka-Samvat 1156 expired This it undoubtedly does, but the date is not quite correct In Śaka-Samvat 1156 expired the third *tithi* of the bright fortnight in the month of Simha ended 16 h 56 m after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 30th July A D 1234, when the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalgunī for 21 h 1 m after mean sunrise, and the third *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the same month ended 14 h 53 m after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 13th August A D 1234, when the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Bhadrapadā for 5 h 55 m after mean sunrise This shows that either the *nakshatra* *Uttirattādi* has been wrongly quoted for *Uttiram* (Uttara-Phalgunī), or that instead of *pūrvva-pakshattu* we must read *apara-pakshattu* I am inclined to adopt the latter alternative,<sup>3</sup> and to regard Sunday, the 13th August A D 1234, as the proper equivalent of the date

<sup>1</sup> South Ind Inscr Vol III No 40

<sup>2</sup> No 110 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1892

<sup>3</sup> At the same time, I may state that in one of the Vijayanagar inscriptions (P S O C I No 25) Uttara-Bhadrapadā has really been wrongly quoted instead of Uttara Phalgunī The mistake made in the present inscription has also been made in the Kadamba plates in Ind Ant Vol VII p 35

51 — In the Śvētāranyēśvara temple at Tīruvengādu.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrīḥ [||\*] Tribuvanachchakkaravattugal śrī-Rājarājadēvar[kku yā]ndu 22 vadu Mīna-nāyar[ru] apara-pakkattu śa[d]n[x\*]tthiy[u]m Śe[v\*]v[āy]-kīlamay[u]m peṛra Uṭṭrattādi-nāl

In the 22nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Bhadrapadā, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mīna."

This date, in the month of Mīna of the 22nd year of the king's reign, would be expected to fall in A D 1238, in Śaka-Samvat 1159 expired, and it undoubtedly does so, but the wording of the date is intrinsically wrong because, in the month of Mīna, the *nakṣatra* can never be Uttara-Bhadrapadā on the 4th *tithi* of the dark fortnight. What suggests itself at once is that the fourth *tithi* has been quoted wrongly instead of the fourteenth, and for this *tithi* the date is correct. In Śaka-Samvat 1159 expired the 14th *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of Mīna ended 21 h 37 m after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 16th March A.D. 1238, when the *nakṣatra* was Uttara-Bhadrapadā, by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga during the whole of the day, and by the equal space system from 9 h 51 m after mean sunrise. I feel certain that this is the proper equivalent of the date.

52 — In the Rājagōpāla-Perumāl temple at Mannārgudi.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrīḥ [||\*] Tribhuva[n]achcha[k]k[arava]ttugal [śrī]-Rājarājadēvar[kku yā]ndu [i]rubattirān[d]avadu[ṇ] edir-ām-āndu <sup>3</sup>Mīna-nāyar[ru] [a]para-paksha[t]tu navam[i]yum Tīngal-kīlamayum peṛra Pūr[āda]ttu [nā]l

"In the year which was opposite the twenty-second year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Pūrvāshādhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mīna."

The year opposite the 22nd year of this date and of the two following dates was the 23rd year of the king's reign, and the three dates, being all of the month of Mīna, will therefore be expected to fall in A D 1239, in Śaka-Samvat 1160 expired. In this year the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of Mīna entirely occupied<sup>4</sup> Monday, the 28th February A D 1239, when the *nakṣatra* was Pūrvāshādhā, by the equal space system the whole day, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 11 h 10 m, and according to Garga for 16 h 25 m, after mean sunrise.

53 — In the Kailāsanātha temple at Mannārgudi.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Svast[i] śr[i] [||\*] Tr[i]bhuvā[n]achchakkaravattugal śrī-Rājarā[ja]dēvar[kku yā]ndu [i]rubat[\*]tūrandāva[d]i[n] edir-ām-āndu Mī(mi)na-nāya[r]ru apara-pa[kshat]tū da[śam]i[yum] Budan-kīla[mayum] p[e]ṛra Uṭṭirāda[t\*]tu nāl

"In the year which was opposite the twenty-second year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Uttarāshādhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mīna."

<sup>1</sup> No 119 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1896

<sup>2</sup> No 104 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897

<sup>3</sup> Read *Mīna*.

<sup>4</sup> It commenced 38 m before mean sunrise of the Monday and ended 1 h. 12 m after mean sunrise of the following Tuesday, and would therefore be properly described (for the Monday) as *prāṭhama naram*.

<sup>5</sup> No 99 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897.

In Śaka-Samvat 1160 expired<sup>1</sup> the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of *Mina* ended 2 h 59 m after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 2nd March A D 1239, when the *nakshatra* was Uttarāśādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 9 h 51 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 3 h 17 m, after mean sunrise

54 — In the Kailāsanātha temple at Mannārgudi.<sup>2</sup>

1 Svasti [śrī] [||\*] Tribhuvanachchakkaravatti[ga]l śr[ī]-Rājarājadēvarkku [y]ān[du]  
irubattirandāvadī[n ed]i[r]=ām=[ān]du M[i]ṇa-nā[yar]u a . . . . .<sup>3</sup>  
[tray]ē[d]i[ś]iyu[m] Velh]-kk[i]lam[ai]yum] p[e]r[ra] A[vittat]tu nāl

"In the year which was opposite the twenty-second year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Dhanishthā, which corresponded to a Friday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of *Mina* "

In Śaka-Samvat 1160 expired<sup>5</sup> the 13th *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of *Mina* commenced 5 h 57 m after mean sunrise of Friday, the 4th March A D. 1239, when the *nakshatra* was Dhanishthā for 13 h 8 m after mean sunrise

No 28 — PLATES OF DANTIVARMAN OF GUJARAT,  
SAKA-SAMVAT 789

By D R BHANDARKAR, M A.

These copper plates were brought to my father, Dr R G Bhandarkar, from Gujarāt, but he does not know the name of the village where they were found. The plates are three in number, each measuring about 1' 1" by 9¼". Their edges are raised into rims for the protection of the writing. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, the remaining two being engraved on both sides. They are strung on a copper ring which measures about 3½" in diameter and is about ⅝" thick. The ring had not yet been cut when the plates were sent to Dr Hultzsch. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of a circular seal, measuring about 1½" in diameter and bearing, in high relief on a countersunk surface, a much corroded figure of Garuda, squatting and facing to the full front. The engraving is clear, bold and deep, but not well executed. Very often the letters are not fully engraved, and in a good many places they are drawn carelessly. — The language is Sanskrit throughout. There can be no doubt that the *kāśmār* has engraved the original document without understanding it, as will be seen from the numerous mistakes pointed out in the footnotes. Allowing for the misspellings and inaccuracies due to an unskilled engraver, there are certain solecisms for which the official who drew up the grant must be held responsible. There is one compound in line 55, which cannot be justified by the rules of grammar. Other grammatical mistakes may be noticed in such instances as *Sarhātāilāṭakiya-dvichatvārmīaty-āntarggata*<sup>4</sup> in line 59, *-mahāparvva=uddītya* in line 66, and so forth. — As regards lexicography, attention may be drawn (1) to the word *vāsāpaka*<sup>5</sup> (l 58) which occurs in the list of the officials and functionaries to whom the royal grantor addresses himself, and (2) to the term *Talaprahāri* (l 57) which appears to have been an appellation of Dantivarman. — In respect of orthography, it deserves to be noted (1) that the rules of *sandhi*

<sup>1</sup> See date No 52

<sup>2</sup> No 96 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897

<sup>3</sup> Restore *apara-pakshattu*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *trayōdakīyūm*

<sup>5</sup> See date No 52

<sup>5</sup> [Compare *Ind Ant Vol XIII* p 69, note 31 — E H]

<sup>6</sup> [Note also *sēnahhōgika* (l 81), which is an older form of *sēnahhōga*, *sēnahhōva*, etc., 'the clerk of a village or of some village.' (Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*) — E, H]



are often disregarded, (2) that there is an indifference about the doubling of consonants after *r*, (3) that the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; (4) that *dh* is doubled (by *d*) in conjunction with a following *y* or *r* in ll. 42 and 82, (5) that the vowel *ri* is employed instead of *ri* in *bhūpas=trivishapa*<sup>o</sup> (l. 6) and *-Kanakādīr=Umd-arāja* (l. 7), and (6) *ch* instead of *h* in *rāja-singha* (l. 3), (7) that the *jihāmāliya* and the *upadīmāliya* are used in *bhritiyah=kisha(ya)dbhir=* (l. 9) and in *udyatah-pranatā* (l. 49); (8) that the *visarga* followed by *s* has been twice changed to that letter, in *manastat=samam-ēva* (l. 4) and *tanayas=samabāt* (l. 41), (9) that the final *m* of a word, instead of being changed to an *anuvāra*, is joined to a following *p*, *bh* or *v* in ll. 9, 25, 40, 45, 46 and 78, (10) that the *anuvāra* before *y*, *i* and *e* is sometimes represented by *n* (ll. 3, 21, 25, 26, 58); and (11) that the sign of *anuvāra* is employed once in l. 51 — The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets and in general agree with those of the grants of the Gujarat Rāshtrakūta princes, but the sign for *d* in the words *yadā* and *āra(da)ḍṭa* in ll. 76 and 78 and the sign for the conjunct *nn* in the words *dheastar-naga-n* *abhimukhō* (l. 2), *prabhinna* (l. 6), etc. are worthy of note. Another point that calls for special notice is that most of the letters of the sign-manual of Dhruvarāja and one letter of that of Dantivarman at the end, and a few in the benedictory verse at the beginning, are engraved with their tops nail-headed.

The inscription is one of Dantivarman, of the Gujarat branch of the Rāshtrakūta family, or, as he is described in line 56 f., 'the *Talaprahāri śrī-Dantivarmadēva*, who has the *bruda* of *Aparimitavarsha*, who is the lord of great feudal chiefs (*mahātāmanā*), and who has obtained the five great sounds (*mahāśabda*)' The inscription opens with the salutation *ōm ōm narō Buddhāya*, which furnishes an indication, at the very outset, of the grant being Buddhist. It then gives one verse (which is well known from other Rāshtrakūta grants) invoking the protection of Vishnu and Śiva. Then in lines 1-49 the genealogy of Dantivarman is set forth, exactly in the same verses (with a few unimportant variants) as in the Bagamrā plates of Dhruvarāja II. Then follow three verses (ll. 49-52) which are peculiar to this grant, and which tell us that Dantivarman was a younger brother of Dhruvarāja II. After this there is another well known verse on the vanity of this life. The proper object of the inscription is stated in prose, in ll. 53-67. Dantivarman informs all the officials called *rāshtrapati*, *śalayapati*, *grāmakāṭa*, *niyukta*, *ādhyakṣika*, *vāsāpaka*, *mahattara*, etc. that, having bathed in the great river *Pūrāvi*, on the ninth *tithi* of the dark half of *Pausha* in *Śaka-Samvat 789* (in words and in figures), on the great occasion of the *Uttarāyana*, he granted to the *vihāra* at the sacred place (*tīrtha*) of *Kāmpilya* the village of *Chokkhakuti*, situated in the north-west of, and included in, the forty-two (villages) named after *Sarthātallāta*, to be enjoyed by the succession of the pupils of the holy *Āryasamgha*, for defraying the expenses of perfumes, flowers, frankincense, lamps and ointments, and of the repairs of the temple broken in parts. The boundaries of the village granted were, in the east the village of *Da[nt]jellamka*, in the south the village of *Apasundara*, in the west the village of *Kālūpallikā*, and in the north the river *Mandākinī* (*Gangā*). Lines 67-72 contain a request to future rulers to respect the donation, and threaten with spiritual punishment those who might resume it. Lines 73-80 quote seven of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And the inscription then (from line 80) concludes thus — "The *dātaka* of this (charter) is the great minister *śrī-Kṛṣṇabhadda*. And this has been written by the *sēnabhōgi* *Golla*, the son of *Rānappa*. (This is) the pleasure of me, the glorious Dantivarman, the son of the glorious *Akālavarshadēva*. Also, (this is) the pleasure of me, the glorious *Dhruvarājadēva*, the son of the glorious *Akālavarshadēva*."

The gain from this inscription for the social and political history of Gujarat is considerable. In the first place, this grant, as will be seen from the above summary of the contents, was made to the *Āryasamgha*, or Buddhist community, settled at *Kāmpilya*. This shows that Buddhism was still in the latter half of the ninth century of the Christian era a living religion, favoured by kings in Western India. Secondly, the inscription adds to the list of the Gujarat

Rāshtrakūta princes the name of Dantivarman, who, as stated above, is styled a *mahāsāmantā-dhīpati* who had obtained the *pañcha-mahāśabda*. This indicates that he was ruling over some province as a minor chief. Further, as we have seen, the sign-manual of Dantivarman is followed by that of his elder brother Dhruvarāja II. From this it is plain that both Dhruvarāja II and Dantivarman were alive when the charter was issued, and that Dantivarman was wielding power under Dhruvarāja II. This enables us to settle another point of importance, connected with the history of the Gujarāt branch of the Rāshtrakūtas. The Bagumrā plates of Śaka-Samvat 810<sup>1</sup> mention Krishnarāja-Akālavarsha (II.) as their donor. And to judge from their contents, which are full of misspellings and omissions, he appears to be the son of Dantivarman. Dr Hultzsch, who edited the grant, held that this Dantivarman must be placed between Dhruvarāja II and Krishnarāja II. Dr Bhagwanlal Indraji, however, was of opinion that this Dantivarman, the father of Krishnarāja II, was identical with Dantivarman, the *dātaka* of the Baroda plates of Karka<sup>2</sup>. Now, the date of the Baroda plates is Śaka-Samvat 734, and that of the plates of Krishnarāja II is Śaka-Samvat 810, so that if, according to Dr Bhagwanlal Indraji's supposition, we hold that Dantivarman, the *dātaka* of the Baroda charter dated Śaka-Samvat 734, was the father of Krishnarāja II whose grant bears the date Śaka-Samvat 810, the son is separated from the father by no less than seventy-six years. This is highly improbable, though not altogether impossible. But our grant mentions another Dantivarman as brother of Dhruvarāja II, and its date is Śaka-Samvat 789, whereas that of Krishnarāja II, as has been just stated, is Śaka-Samvat 810. Thus the Dantivarman of our grant is brought close to Krishnarāja II, and there can be little doubt that Dantivarman, the father of Krishnarāja II, is no other than Dantivarman, the younger brother of Dhruvarāja II, the donor of our grant. The new plates therefore show that the view of Dr Hultzsch is correct.

As regards the places mentioned in the inscription, the *Kāmpilya tīrtha* is, in my opinion, to be identified with Kampil in the Kaimgang tahsil of the Farukhābād district in the North-West Provinces. This Kampil, whose ancient name was Kāmpilya, was for long the capital of Southern Pañchāla and was once a sacred place of the Jains. The river *Pūrāvi* is perhaps identical with the modern *Pūrṇā*, in the Surat collectorate. For, in an unpublished grant belonging to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the *Pūrāvi* is spoken of as being in the vicinity of *Nāgasārikā*, which is evidently the modern *Nausāri*, and the river which is close by Nausāri is the *Pūrṇā*. The river *Mandākinī*, which is mentioned in defining the boundaries of the village granted, cannot be identified with the Ganges, as we have no grounds whatever to suppose that the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūtas extended their dominions as far as the Ganges. And since the name *Mandākinī* is used also to designate other rivers than the Ganges, the river *Mandākinī* mentioned in these plates may have been some river in Gujarāt, and the village granted was probably situated in that province. Instances of grants made to religious establishments remote from the village granted are not wanting in modern times, and there can therefore be nothing improbable in the supposition that the Buddhist *vihāra* at Kampil in the North-West Provinces enjoyed the income accruing from a village in Gujarāt.

### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

#### First Plate

1 श्री<sup>4</sup> श्री न[मो] बुद्धाय<sup>5</sup> ॥ स वीव्याद्विषसा धाम य(र)वाभिकमल  
कृत । हरय यय<sup>6</sup> कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलकृतं ॥ [१\*] आसीद्विषति-<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XIII p 66 ff

<sup>2</sup> *History of Gujarāt in the Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I Part I p 127 f

<sup>3</sup> From the original plates

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>5</sup> Read बुद्धाय.

<sup>6</sup> Read यय.

<sup>7</sup> Read आसीद्विषति<sup>0</sup>

- 2 मिरसु[द्य]तमंडलाग्रो ध्वस्तिन्नयन्नभिमुखो रणशर्वरोषु । भूप' शुचि[र्वि]-  
धुरिवास्तदिगन्तकीर्त्तिर्गोविंदराज' इति र[ज]<sup>2</sup>
- 3 राजसिंघः' ॥ [२\*] दृष्टा' चमूमभिमुखो' सुभटाट्टहासामुन्नामित[न्स]पदि'  
ये[न] रणेषु नित्यं । दष्टाधरेण दधता भृकुटीं
- 4 ललाटे खड्गं कल'<sup>7</sup> च हृदयञ्च निज च सत्व' ॥ [३\*] खड्गं करा-  
ग्रान्मुखतश्च शोभा मानो म[न]स्तस्ममेव यस्य । महाहवे ना-
- 5 [म] निश(ग)म्य स[द्य]स्त्रय[य]<sup>9</sup> रिपूणां विगलत्यकाण्डे ॥ [४\*] तस्या-  
त्मजो जगति <sup>10</sup>विश्रुतशुभ्रकीर्त्तिरार्त्तार्त्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधा-
- 6 मधारो । <sup>11</sup>भूपस्तृविष्टपट्टपानुक्ततिः कृतज्ञः श्रीकर्कराज इति गोत्रमणिर्वि-  
भूव<sup>12</sup> ॥ [५\*] तस्य प्रभिन्नकरटच्युतदानद[न्ति]-
- 7 दन्तप्रहाररुचिरोल्लिखितांसपोठः । [क्ष्मा]पः क्षिती चपितशत्रुरभूतनूजः  
सद्राद्रकूटकनकादृरिवेद्रराजः<sup>13</sup> ॥ [६\*]
- 8 तस्योपार्जितमहसस्तन[य]श्चतुर्दधिवलयमालिन्याः । भोक्ता<sup>14</sup> भुवः शतक्रतु-  
सदृशः <sup>15</sup>श्रीदन्तिदुर्गराजोभूत् ॥ [७\*] कांची-
- 9 [श]किरलनराधिपचोलपाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवज्रविभेदविधा[न]दत्तं । <sup>16</sup>कर्णाटक[स्व]-  
लमचिंत्यमजेयमन्येभृत्यैक्षिप्रझिरभि<sup>17</sup>
- 10 यः सहसा जिगाष<sup>18</sup> ॥ [८\*] आ सेतोर्व्विपुलोपलावलिलसङ्गोलोर्मिमा-  
लाजलादा प्रालियकलंकिवाम[ल]शिलाज[ग]ला-<sup>19</sup>
- 11 तुषाराचलात् । आ पूर्व्वापर[वा]रिराशिपुलिनप्रान्तप्रसिद्धावधेयेने[य]ञ्जगती<sup>20</sup>  
<sup>21</sup>स्वविक्रमवलेनैकातपचीकृता ॥ [९\*] न[क्षि]<sup>22</sup>
- 12 दिवं [प्र]पाते<sup>23</sup> वल्लभराजेकतप्रजावाधः<sup>24</sup> । श्रीकर्कराजसूनुर्महीपतिः कृष्णराजो-  
भूत् ॥ [१०\*] यस्य स्वभुजपराक्रमनिःशे-
- 13 षोत्सादितारि[दि]क्कक्रं । कृष्णस्येवाकृष्णं चरित श्रीकृष्णराज[स्य] ॥ [११\*]  
शुभतुंगवंगतुरगप्र[वृ]द्धरेणू[र्द्ध]रुद्धर[वि]करणः<sup>25</sup> । श्रीसे-
- 14 पि नभो निखिलं प्रावृट्कालायने<sup>26</sup> [स्य]ष्टं ॥ [१२\*] राहुष्यमा[त्मभु]-  
जजातव[ला]वलेपमाजौ<sup>27</sup> विजित्य निशिता[सि]लताप्रहारैः । पालि-

<sup>1</sup> Read 'गोविन्द'<sup>4</sup> Read 'दृष्टा'<sup>7</sup> Read 'कुल'<sup>10</sup> Read 'कीर्त्ति'<sup>12</sup> Read 'कनकाद्रि'<sup>13</sup> Read 'कर्णाटक बल'<sup>14</sup> Read 'कलकिता'<sup>22</sup> Read 'तस्मिन्'<sup>23</sup> Read 'शूर्प' and 'किरण'.<sup>2</sup> Read 'राजसु'<sup>5</sup> Read 'मुखी'.<sup>8</sup> Read 'सर्व'<sup>11</sup> Read 'स्त्रिविष्टप'<sup>14</sup> Read 'भोक्ता'<sup>17</sup> Read 'मन्ये' and 'यझिरपि'<sup>20</sup> Read 'धेयेने'.<sup>21</sup> Read 'प्रयाते'<sup>24</sup> Read 'यते'.<sup>3</sup> Read 'सिंह'<sup>6</sup> Read 'त सपदि'<sup>9</sup> Read 'स्त्रय'<sup>12</sup> Read 'व्वभूव'<sup>15</sup> Read 'दन्ति'<sup>18</sup> Read 'जिगाथ'<sup>21</sup> Read 'वले'<sup>24</sup> Read 'बाध'.<sup>27</sup> Read 'बला'

- 15 ध्वजावलिशुभामचिरेण यो हि राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतान्ततान ॥ [१३\*]  
पाता <sup>१</sup>यद्यतुरम्पराशिरसनालंकारभाजो भुवः<sup>२</sup> [त्र]प्याचा-
- 16 पि कृत[हि]जामरगुरु[प्रा]ज्याज्यपूजादरो<sup>३</sup> [i] दाता मानभृ[दग्र]णीर्णवतां  
योसौ त्रिवे<sup>४</sup> वल्ल[भो] (i) भोज<sup>५</sup> [स्व]र्गफलानि भूरितपसा
- 17 स्थानञ्जगामामरे<sup>६</sup> ॥ [१४\*] येन खेता[त]पत्रप्रहतरविकरत्रातवापात्स-  
लील<sup>७</sup> जग्मे<sup>८</sup> [ना]सीरधूलीधवलि[त]शिरसा वल्ल[ना]खाः<sup>९</sup> स-
- 18 राजो<sup>१०</sup> । धीमज्ञोवि[न्द]राजो <sup>११</sup>जितज[प्र]दहितःप्रेणवैधव्यदक्षः<sup>१२</sup> तस्याभीतू-  
नुरेकः <sup>१३</sup>क्षरणदलितारातिम[त्ते]भक्तु-
- 19 भः ॥ [१५\*] तस्यानुजः श्रीधुवराज[ना]मा महानुभावः<sup>१४</sup> प्रह[तः]  
प्रतापः । प्रसाधिताशेषन[रेन्द्रचक्र]ः क्रमेण (i)

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 20 <sup>१५</sup>वालाकवपुर्वभूव<sup>१६</sup> ॥ [१६\*] जाते यत्र च राष्ट्रकूटतिलके सद्रूपचूडा-  
मणौ (i) गुर्वी तुष्टिरथाखिलस्य जगतः सुखा-
- 21 मिनि प्रत्यह । सत्य[न्स]त्यमति<sup>१७</sup> प्रशसति सति <sup>१८</sup>क्षामा[म]सुद्रा-  
न्तिका[मा]मोदधर्मपरे [गु]णामृत[नि]धौ सत्यव्रताधि[ष्टि]-<sup>१९</sup>
- 22 ते ॥ [१७\*] रक्षता येन निःशेषं चतुरंभोधिसयुत । राज्य ध[र्मे]ण  
लोकानां कृता<sup>२०</sup> तुष्टिः परा हृदि ॥ [१८\*] तस्यात्मजो [ज]गति
- 23 सग्रथितोरुकीर्त्तिर्गोविन्दराज इति गोत्रललामभूतः । त्यागी पराक्रम-  
धन[ः\*] प्रकटप्रताप(i)सन्तापिताहित-
- 24 जनो जनवल्लभोभूत् ॥ [१९\*] पृथ्वीवल्लभ इ[ति] च प्रथित यस्यापरं  
जगति नाम । यद्यतुरुदधिसुसीमामेकी वसु-
- 25 धाम्श्रे<sup>२१</sup> चक्रे ॥ [२०\*] <sup>२२</sup>एकेनेकनरेन्द्रवृन्दसहितान्यस्तान्समस्तानपि  
मोत्खातासिलताप्रहारविधरा<sup>२३</sup> वध्वा महासन्धु-<sup>२४</sup>
- 26 गे [i\*] लक्ष्मी[म]प्यचलां चकार विलसत्सन्ध्यामरग्राहिणी<sup>२५</sup> सन्सी[दु]हुरु-  
विप्रसक्त[न]सुहृदभूपभोग्यां<sup>२६</sup> भुवि ॥ [२१\*] तत्पुत्रो-

<sup>१</sup> Read °रम्भु°

<sup>२</sup> Read त्रियो.

<sup>३</sup> Read °ब्राततापा°

<sup>४</sup> Read °दाजो

<sup>५</sup> Read °भावीप्रहृत्प्र°

<sup>६</sup> Above the letter *ksha* of *kshana* and *na* of *rana*, what looks like the sign of the vowel *e* is engraved

<sup>७</sup> Read सत्य सत्यमिति

<sup>८</sup> Read कृता

<sup>९</sup> Read °विधुरान्वद्धा.

<sup>१०</sup> Read °दम्भु°

<sup>११</sup> Read भुवस्त्रयाद्यापि

<sup>१२</sup> Read भोक्तु

<sup>१३</sup> Read जग्मे.

<sup>१४</sup> Read °जगदहितस्त्रेण°

<sup>१५</sup> Read वाला°

<sup>१६</sup> Read क्षामासमुद्रा°

<sup>१७</sup> Read °धां वशे

<sup>१८</sup> Read °सयु°

<sup>१९</sup> Read °दर

<sup>२०</sup> Read °भामर

<sup>२१</sup> Read वल्लभास्य

<sup>२२</sup> Read °दक्षसन्ध्यासीत्पुत्र°

<sup>२३</sup> Read °व्यभूव

<sup>२४</sup> Read °हि°

<sup>२५</sup> Read एकी°

<sup>२६</sup> Read °ग्राहिणी ससीद°

- 27 त्र गते नाकमाकम्पितरिपुत्रजे । श्रीमहाराजशर्वाख्यः खातो<sup>1</sup> राजाभ-  
वद्गुणैः ॥ [२२\*] अर्थिषु यथार्थतां यः
- 28 समभीष्टफलावासिलब्धतेषु<sup>2</sup> । वृद्धिन्निनाय परमाममोघवर्षाभिधानस्य ॥  
[२३\*] राजाभूतत्पि[तृ]व्यो रिपुभववि-
- 29 भवोद्भूतभावैकहेतुलक्ष्मीमानिंद्रराजो गुणनृपनिकरान्तश्चसत्कारकारी<sup>3</sup> । [रा]-  
गाद[म्या]न्यदस्य प्रकटितविष-
- 30 या<sup>4</sup> व नृपाः<sup>5</sup> सेवमाना राजश्रीरेव [च]क्रे सकलकविजमीनीततय-  
स्वभावः<sup>6</sup> ॥ [२४\*] निर्व्याणावासिवाणासहितहितज-
- 31 ना यस्य मानाः सुवृत्तं वृत्तं जित्वान्यराज्ञां चरितमुदयवान्सर्वतो  
[हिन्का]केभ्यः<sup>7</sup> । एकाको दृप्तवैरिखलनकृतिगह[पा]<sup>8</sup>
- 32 तिरो[ज्ययाश]कुर्लाटोय मडलं<sup>9</sup> प[स्तन]य इव निजस्वामिदत्तं ररक्ष ॥  
[२५\*] सूरुर्वभूव<sup>10</sup> खलु तस्य महानुभावः<sup>11</sup> शास्त्रार्थबोधमुखला-
- 33 लितरिक्कवृत्तिर्यो<sup>12</sup> गोण[ना]मपरिवारसुवाह पूर्व श्रीकर्कराजसुभ[ग]व्यप-  
देश[सु]चेः<sup>13</sup> ॥ [२६\*] श्रीकर्कराज इति रक्षितरा-
- 34 ज्यभारः सारं कुल[स्य] तनयो नयशालिशौर्यः । तस्याभेव[द्धि]भवनदि-  
तवन्मुसार्थः<sup>14</sup> (i) पार्थः सदेव धनुषि प्रथमः शु[ची]-
- 35 नां ॥ [२७\*] दानेन मानेन सदाज्ञया वा वीर्येण शौर्येण च  
कोपि भूपः । एतेन तुल्योस्ति न वेत्ति<sup>15</sup> कीर्तिः सकीवका<sup>16</sup>  
भ्राम्यति य[स्य] लोके ॥ [२८\*]
- 36 [खेच्छा]गृहीतविषया[न्\*] ददसधभाजः<sup>17</sup> प्रोदृत्तदृप्तयशस्विकराद्रकूटा<sup>18</sup> ।  
उत्खातख[ड्ग]निजवाहवलेन<sup>19</sup> जित्वा यीमोघव-
- 37 ष इति राज्यपदे<sup>20</sup> व्यधत्त ॥ [२९\*] पुत्रीयतस्तस्य महानुभावः कृतो  
कृतज्ञः कृतवीर्यवीर्यः । वशीकृताशेषनरेन्द्रहृन्दो वभूव<sup>21</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read खातो<sup>2</sup> Read °लब्धतेषु<sup>3</sup> Read °समकार°.<sup>4</sup> To this letter 'ya' a superfluous sign of the vowel 'a' is conjoined<sup>5</sup> Read नृपान्.<sup>6</sup> Read °स्वभाव.<sup>7</sup> The reading intended is probably हिस्केभ्य as in the Nausari plates of Karka (J B B R A S Vol XX. p 132)<sup>8</sup> Read °कृतिसहस्रातिरान्येशकु°.<sup>9</sup> Read मण्डल य°.<sup>10</sup> Read °सूरुर्वभूव.<sup>11</sup> Read शास्त्रार्थबोध°.<sup>12</sup> Read °लितचित्तवृत्तिः । यो गोण°<sup>13</sup> Read °सुचे.<sup>14</sup> Read °वन्मु°.<sup>15</sup> Read वेत्ति.<sup>16</sup> Read सकीवका<sup>17</sup> Read °दृप्तय°.<sup>18</sup> Read °कूटा°.<sup>19</sup> Read °वाहवलेन<sup>20</sup> Read °मोघवर्षमचिरात्स्वपदे in accordance with the Baroda plates of Dhruva I<sup>21</sup> Read वभूव.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ॥ मामकाः पाण्डवाश्चैव किमकुर्वत सज्जनाः ॥ १ ॥  
१ ॥ २ ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥ ११ ॥ १२ ॥ १३ ॥ १४ ॥ १५ ॥ १६ ॥ १७ ॥ १८ ॥ १९ ॥ २० ॥ २१ ॥ २२ ॥ २३ ॥ २४ ॥ २५ ॥ २६ ॥ २७ ॥ २८ ॥ २९ ॥ ३० ॥ ३१ ॥ ३२ ॥ ३३ ॥ ३४ ॥ ३५ ॥ ३६ ॥ ३७ ॥ ३८ ॥ ३९ ॥ ४० ॥ ४१ ॥ ४२ ॥ ४३ ॥ ४४ ॥ ४५ ॥ ४६ ॥ ४७ ॥ ४८ ॥ ४९ ॥ ५० ॥ ५१ ॥ ५२ ॥ ५३ ॥ ५४ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५६ ॥ ५७ ॥ ५८ ॥ ५९ ॥ ६० ॥ ६१ ॥ ६२ ॥ ६३ ॥ ६४ ॥ ६५ ॥ ६६ ॥ ६७ ॥ ६८ ॥ ६९ ॥ ७० ॥ ७१ ॥ ७२ ॥ ७३ ॥ ७४ ॥ ७५ ॥ ७६ ॥ ७७ ॥ ७८ ॥ ७९ ॥ ८० ॥ ८१ ॥ ८२ ॥ ८३ ॥ ८४ ॥ ८५ ॥ ८६ ॥ ८७ ॥ ८८ ॥ ८९ ॥ ९० ॥ ९१ ॥ ९२ ॥ ९३ ॥ ९४ ॥ ९५ ॥ ९६ ॥ ९७ ॥ ९८ ॥ ९९ ॥ १०० ॥

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## Second Plate, Second Side.

- 38 सनुर्द्धुवराजनामा ॥ [३०\*] चद्रो जडो हिमगिरिः सहिमः प्रकृत्या  
षातश्चलश्च तपनस्तपनस्वभावः । चारः घ-
- 39 योधिरिति तैः सममस्य नास्ति येनोपमा निरुपम(१)स्तत एव  
गीतः ॥ [३१\*] रणसरसि<sup>१</sup> खड्गघातैर्वृक्ष-
- 40 भदण्डम्पराड्सुखीकृत्य । शस्त्रशतशुद्धदेह[ः\*] स्वर्गमगादेक ए[वा]-  
सौ ॥ [३२\*] तस्याशेषनराधिपहतय-
- 41 शसः स्वर्गलोकगतकीर्त्तिः । श्रीमानकालवर्षस्तन[य]स्वमभूत्कुलालंवः<sup>२</sup> ॥  
[३३\*] वल्लभभाराक्रान्त विघ-
- 42 <sup>३</sup>[टि]तदुष्टान्वजी[वि]वर्गेण<sup>४</sup> । पितृपर्यागतमचिरान्मण्डलमद्भासितं ये-  
[न] ॥ [३४\*] प्रियवादी सत्यध[न]ः श्री-
- 43 माननुजीविवत्सलो मानो । प्रतिपक्षोभकरः शुभतुंगः शुभकरः सुहृ-  
दां ॥ [३५\*] तस्मिन्स्वर्गीभूते गुण-
- 44 वति गुणवा<sup>५</sup> गुणाधिकप्रीतिः । समभूद्धुवराजसमो<sup>६</sup> ध्रुवराजस्तुष्टि-  
ल्लोके ॥ [३६\*] इतोभिमुख-
- 45 'माप[त\*]अवलगीर्जराणाम्बल'<sup>७</sup> इतोभिमुखवल्लभो विह्वतिमागता वा-  
न्यवा<sup>८</sup> । इतोनुजविकु-
- 46 र्वितं सममगात्समस्तम्भयादहो स्फुरणमद्भुतं(१) निरुपमेन्द्र खड्गस्य ते ॥  
[३७\*] <sup>१०</sup>गूर्जरवल्लमतिवल्लव-<sup>११</sup>
- 47 त्समुद्यत वृद्धित<sup>१२</sup> च कुल्येन । एकाकिनैव विहित पराड्सुख लीलया  
येन ॥ [३८\*] यथाभिषिक्तत्मात्रः<sup>१३</sup>
- 48 परं यशः(१)स्त्यागशौर्यसंपन्नः<sup>१४</sup> । शुभतुंगयोनितुंग<sup>१५</sup> पदं पदाप्तेति<sup>१६</sup> ना-  
चित्रं<sup>१७</sup> ॥ [३९\*] यद्य स्तभुजवलार्जि-<sup>१८</sup>
- 49 तज[य]लक्ष्मीन्दातुमुद्यतप्रणते । भयमपि विद्वेषिजने रनर्थदा[व]र्थिते<sup>१९</sup>  
कामं ॥ [४०\*] रामस्येव<sup>२०</sup> सौमित्रिर्द्धर्म-

<sup>१</sup> Read °गिरसि<sup>२</sup> Read °लव<sup>३</sup> The lower end of t is prolonged into a curve turning to the left<sup>४</sup> Read °दुष्टातुजी°<sup>५</sup> Read गुणवान्<sup>६</sup> Read °भूदध्रुव°.<sup>७</sup> Read °रप्रबल°.<sup>८</sup> Read °णां बलमिति°.<sup>९</sup> Read वान्यवा .<sup>१०</sup> Read °बल°<sup>११</sup> Read °वल्लव°<sup>१२</sup> Read वृद्धित.<sup>१३</sup> Read °मात्र<sup>१४</sup> Read °शौर्यतीर्थाप in accordance with the Bagumrā plates of Dhruvarāja II<sup>१५</sup> Read °तुंगजीतितुंग.<sup>१६</sup> Read यदाप्तेति<sup>१७</sup> Read नी चित्र<sup>१८</sup> Read °बल°.<sup>१९</sup> Read धन ददावर्थिते.<sup>२०</sup> Insert हि or some such short syllable after रामस्येव.



- 50 स्येव धनंजयः । अस्य भ्राताभवद्भव्यो दन्तिवर्मेति वीर्यवान् ॥ [४१\*]  
यस्य निशितासि[धारा]मरिकरिणः सग-
- 51 रे सदाऽवर्त्ताः । स( ) दन्तिवर्म्नामा ख्यातोस्यैवानुजः प्रसभ ॥ [४२\*]  
प्रचुरकरिकुम्भदारितविगलि[त\*]मुक्ता-
- 52 फलैरहितकरणां<sup>1</sup> । रंजितदीर्घण्डयुगः<sup>2</sup> विजयति<sup>3</sup> समरे रिपू<sup>4</sup> खड्गे ॥  
[४३\*] तेनेदमनिलविद्युच्चलमव<sup>5</sup>
- 53 लोक्य जी[वि\*]तमसारं(1) । क्षितिदानपरमपुण्यः प्रवर्तितो<sup>6</sup> धर्मदायो-  
य ॥ [४४\*] स [च] हरि[णै]व<sup>7</sup> विक्रमाक्रान्तसम-
- 54 स्तभूमण्डलः<sup>8</sup> दीर्घण्डस[मा]कृष्टकोदण्डकोण्डलितशत्रुमहासामन्तः<sup>9</sup> लक्ष्मीस-  
माध्यासितवक्षः[\*]स्थल

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 55 पवनसूनुरिव<sup>10</sup> निजभुजवलविनिर्जिताशे[ष]वरवैरिपतिप्रजनितजगविविख्यात-  
प्रतापः<sup>11</sup> तो-
- 56<sup>12</sup> क्षणासिलतांप्रहारदलितरिपुकभिकुम्भविगलितमुक्ताफलप्रकररजितदीर्घण्डयुगः स-  
मधिगतपंचमहा-
- 57<sup>13</sup> शब्दमहासामन्ताधिपत्यपरिमितवर्षविरुदतलप्रहारित्रीदन्तिवर्म्भदेवः<sup>14</sup> सर्वानिव  
यथासम्बन्धमानका-<sup>15</sup>
- 58<sup>16</sup> ब्राह्मप्रेतिविषयपतिग्रांमकूटनियुक्ताधिकारिकवासापकमहत्तरादीन्समनुबोधयत्य-  
स्तु<sup>17</sup> वः सन्विदित<sup>18</sup> य-
- 59 या [मा]तापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्यय[शो]भिवृद्धये सार्थातेलाटकीयद्विच-  
त्वारिशत्यान्तर्गतवाय<sup>19</sup>-
- 60 व्यदिग्भागावस्थितचोक्कुटिनामग्रामः कांपिष्यतीर्थकीयविहाराय यत<sup>20</sup> चाघा-  
टनानि पूर्वतो द[न्ते]क्ष-
- 61 क[ग्राम]सीमा दक्षिणतो(अ)पसुंदरग्रामसीमा पश्चिमतो<sup>21</sup> कालूपल्लिकाग्राम-  
सीमा उत्तरतो मदाकिनी

<sup>1</sup> Read °करिणं

<sup>2</sup> Read °युगो

<sup>3</sup> This ought to be विजयते according to the rules of grammar, but this will not suit the metre

<sup>4</sup> Read रिपूखड्गे

<sup>5</sup> Read °विद्युच्च°

<sup>6</sup> Read प्रवर्तितो

<sup>7</sup> Read हरिरिव.

<sup>8</sup> Here and in the following the rules of *sandhi* have not been followed

<sup>9</sup> Read °काण्डदलित°.

<sup>10</sup> Read °वल°.

<sup>11</sup> Read °जगदिख्यात°.

<sup>12</sup> Read °लता° and °करिकुम्भ°.

<sup>13</sup> Read °शब्द°

<sup>14</sup> Read °विरुद°

<sup>15</sup> Read °सवध्यमानका°

<sup>16</sup> Read °ब्राह्मपति° and °ग्रामकूट°

<sup>17</sup> Read °बोध°

<sup>18</sup> Read सन्विदित

<sup>19</sup> Read °शदन्तर्गत°

<sup>20</sup> Read यस्य

<sup>21</sup> Read पश्चिमत

- 62 नदी [1\*] एवं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितः सपरिकरः सवृक्षमालाकुलः ससी-  
मापयन्तः<sup>1</sup> सीत्यद्यमानवेष्टिक-
- 63 <sup>2</sup>धाण्यहिरण्यदेयो(अ)चाटभटप्रवेश्यः सर्वराजकीया[ना\*]महस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः आ-  
चंद्रार्काण्णवावनिस-
- 64 रित्यर्वंतसमकालीनः श्रीआ[र्य]सघस्य<sup>3</sup> शिष्यानुशिष्यक्रमोपभुजतो<sup>4</sup> [पू]र्व-  
प्रदत्तब्रेह्मदायदे-<sup>5</sup>
- 65 [व]दायरहितोभ्यतरसिद्धा<sup>6</sup> शकनृपकालातीतसवत्सरशतेषु स[म]सु नवाशी-  
त्यधिकेष्वंकतोपि सं-
- 66 वत्सरशते ७८८ <sup>7</sup>पौषवहुलनवम्यामुत्तरायणमहापर्वसुद्दिश्य<sup>8</sup> पूरावीमहानद्यां  
स्नात्वोदका-
- 67 तिसर्गं गंधपुष्पधूपदीपोपलेपनार्थं खण्डस्फुटितप्रासादपुनः[\*]सस्करणार्थं  
प्रतिपादितः [1\*] यतीस्यो[चि\*]-
- 68 [त]या देवदा[य]स्थित्या भुजतो भोजापयती वा क्षपतो<sup>9</sup> कर्षापयती  
वा प्रतिदिशतो न केनचित्परिपथ-
- 69 नीयस्तथागामिनृपतिभिः अस्मद्वशजैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यभूदानफलमवेत्य (म)  
विद्युल्लोलान्यनित्यैश्चर्या-
- 70 णि तृणा[य]जलविदुचंचल<sup>10</sup> च जीवितमाकलय्य <sup>11</sup>स्वदायनिर्विशोषीयमस्मदा-  
योनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयित-
- 71 व्यस्य ॥ यश्चान्नानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिद्यादाच्छिद्यमानक<sup>12</sup> [वा]नु[मो]-  
दक<sup>13</sup> स पंचभिर्भ्रंहापात-
- 72 [कै]रुपपातकैश्च सयुक्तः[\*] स्यादित्युक्त[म्]

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 73 भगवता वेदव्यासेन । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि [स्व]र्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः ।  
आच्छेत्ता<sup>14</sup> चानुम[न्ता] च तान्येव (न)
- 74 नरके वसेत् ॥ [४५\*] विध्याट[वी]वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । <sup>15</sup>क्षप्रा-  
हयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदान<sup>16</sup> हरंति

<sup>1</sup> Read °पर्यन्त.

<sup>2</sup> Read °धान्य°

<sup>3</sup> After श्रीआर्यसघस्य the letter य, was originally engraved, but was afterwards cancelled

<sup>4</sup> Read °भोग्य

<sup>5</sup> Read °ब्रह्म°

<sup>6</sup> Read °सिद्धा.

<sup>7</sup> Read °बहुलनवम्यामुत्त°.

<sup>8</sup> Read °पर्वोद्दिश्य.

<sup>9</sup> Read क्षपत

<sup>10</sup> Read °विदु°.

<sup>11</sup> Read °शेषो°.

<sup>12</sup> Read °दाच्छिद्य°

<sup>13</sup> Read °भोदित

<sup>14</sup> Read आच्छेत्ता

<sup>15</sup> Read क्षप्रा°.

<sup>16</sup> Read °दान

- 75 ये ॥ [४६\*] अग्नेरपत्य प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वैष्णवी सूर्य[सु]ताश्च मावः ।  
लोकत्रय तेन भवेद्भि दत्तं<sup>1</sup> यः [का]-
- 76 [च]नं गां च महीं च दद्या[त्\*] ॥ [४७\*] 'वहु[भि]र्व्वसुधा द[त्ता]  
राजभिः [स]गरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य
- 77 तस्य तचा<sup>3</sup> फल ॥ [४८\*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रेर्हानानि 'धर्मा-  
धियसस्कराणि [।] निर्माल्यमानप्रतिमा-<sup>5</sup>
- 78 नि तानि को ना[म] साधुः पुनरारदीत<sup>6</sup> ॥ [४९\*] स्वदत्तां परदत्त-  
स्वा<sup>7</sup> य[त्ना]द्रक्ष नराधिप ॥ महीं<sup>8</sup> म[हि]मतां श्रेष्ठ
- 79 रा रक्षेयो<sup>9</sup> च पालन ॥ [५०\*] इति कमलदलाम्बुविंदलोलां<sup>10</sup>  
श्रियमनुचित्य <sup>11</sup>मनित्यजीवित च । अतिवि[म]ल-
- 80 म[नो]भि[रा]त्मनोर्नैर्न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ [५१\*] दूत-  
कोत्र महामात्यश्रीकृष्णभट्टः [।\*] लिखि[त]
- 81 चैतस्तेनभोगिकगोस्तेन राण्यसुतेनेति ॥ मत मम श्रीदन्तिवर्मणः श्रीम-  
दकालवर्षदेवसू-
- 82 नोः । तथा मत मम श्रीद्रुवराजदेवस्य श्रीमदकालवर्षदेवसूनोः ॥ ॐ ॥

No 29 — SARSAVNI PLATES OF BUDDHARAJA ;

[KALACHURI-]SAMVAT 361.

By F KIELHORN, PH D, LL D, C.I E , GÖTTINGEN

These plates are in the possession of Patel Karsan Daji at Sarsavni (Sarasavani), a village four and a half miles south of Pâdra, in the Pâdra subdivision of the Baroda State Through Mr Keshavlal Ranchhod Khatania they were brought to the notice of Mr Withal Nagar of Baroda, who kindly informed Dr Hultzsch of their existence, and at the latter's request Lieutenant-Colonel C W Ravenshaw, Officiating Resident at Baroda, was good enough to send the plates to him for examination I edit the inscription which they contain from excellent impressions, furnished to me by Dr Hultzsch

These are two copper-plates, either of which measures 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ " broad by 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ " high, and is inscribed on one side only. Their margins are raised into rims Through two holes at the bottom of the first and the top of the second plate are passed two unsoldered plain rings, measuring 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " and 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter There is no seal, and no indication of one having been attached to the plates — The writing is well done and carefully engraved, and throughout in an excellent state of preservation The size of the letters is about  $\frac{3}{16}$ " The characters belong to a variety of the southern alphabet which is well-known from Valabhi inscriptions and from the inscriptions

<sup>1</sup> Read दत्त

<sup>4</sup> Read धर्मार्थयज्ञ

<sup>7</sup> Read 'दत्ता वा

<sup>10</sup> Read 'दलाम्बुविंदु

<sup>2</sup> Read बहु<sup>०</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Read 'वानप्रति<sup>०</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Read महीं

<sup>11</sup> Read मनुष्य<sup>०</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Read तदा

<sup>6</sup> Read 'राददीत

<sup>9</sup> Read दानाक्षेयोदपाख

111 b

74

76

78

80

82

74

76

78

80

82

SCALE 46

Nadagam Plates of Vajrahasta (Vol IV No 24)

111 b

56

58

56

58

SCALE TWO THIRDS

Mayidavolu Plates  
(Vol VI No 8)Plates of the time  
of Sasankaraja

SEALS

FULL-SIZE

E HULTZSCH

Collotype by Römmler &amp; Jonas, Dresden



of the Gujarāt Chalukyas As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the following signs the initial *é*, *e g* in *ésha*, and the initial *ô*<sup>1</sup> in *Kumārivadaô*, both in l 20, the *kh* in *lakhita*—, l 34, and *ashkalita*—, l 6, the *d, e g* in *pidsta*- and *-mandalah*, l 10, the subscript *n* in *arnnava*—, l 21, the *th*,<sup>2</sup> *e g.* in *prithivyām*=*apratiratha*—, l 9, and *dharmamārttha*—, l 32, the *ph, e g* in *phalam*, l 31, the two forms of *l, e g* in *phalam* and *°pālanam*, l 31, *salilā*<sup>3</sup> and *balōpā*—, l 9, the final *m* and *t* in *prajānām*, l 17, and *vasēt*, l 29, the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmaniya, e g* in *parah*=*kalanka*—, l 4, and *vigraha*=*parā*—, l 7 The writing, in line 35, also contains numerical symbols<sup>4</sup> for 300, 60, 10, 5, and 1 — The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and with the exception of five benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 28-32, the text is in prose The orthography calls for few remarks Instead of *anusvāra* the guttural and dental nasals are employed in the words *vanṣa*, ll. 6 and 12, *vanṣya*, l 24, and *pradhvansa*, l 16, final *visarga* is changed to the *jihvāmūliya* in *parah*=*kalanka*- and *rahitah*=*kula*—, l 4, and to the *upadhmaniya* in *vigraha*=*parā*—, l 7, *°patibhah*=*prabala*—, l 24, *°mantavyah*=*pāla*<sup>5</sup>, l 27, and *sādhu*=*punar*—, l 32, *sh* is (wrongly<sup>6</sup>) doubled after *r* in *varshsha*—, l 28, and *dh* (correctly) before *y* in the word *anuddhyāta*, twice in line 14 Besides, the word *prithivī* is written *prithivī* in line 9, and a few times the rules of *sandhi* have been neglected.

The inscription is one of *Buddharāja*, the son of *Śamkaragana* who was the son of *Krishnarāja*, of the family of the *Katachchuris*.<sup>7</sup> It records an order of *Buddharāja*'s, issued from the royal residence or camp at *Ānandapura*, to the effect that he granted the village of *Kumārivadaô*, which was near to *Brihannārikā*, in the *Gōrajā-bhōga* of the *Bharukachchha-vishaya*, to the *Brāhman* *Bappasvāmin*, an inhabitant of *Dēbhaka* It is dated, in words and numerical symbols, on the 15th of the dark half of *Kārttika* of the year 361

The names of the three kings or chiefs—the inscription does not furnish any titles for them—who are mentioned in the preceding paragraph, are not new to us As the date of the inscription must undoubtedly be referred to the *Kalachuri* era, it would fall in either A.D. 609 or A.D. 610,<sup>8</sup> and it is therefore certain that the donor of the grant, *Śamkaragana*'s son *Buddharāja*, is identical with that *Buddharāja*, the son of *Śamkaragana*, who according to the *Nerūr* plates (*Ind Ant* Vol VII p 161) was put to flight by the Western Chalukya *Mangalarāja* (*Mangalēsa*), and to whom the *Bādāmi* (*Mahākūta*) pillar-inscription (of A.D. 602 (?), *ibid.* Vol. XIX p 16) refers when it states that *Mangalēsa*, having set his heart upon the conquest of the northern region, conquered [the *Kalatsūri*] king *Buddha* and took away his wealth *Śamkaragana*, again, clearly is that '*Śamkarana*,' the son of *Krishnarāja*, whose feet according to the *Sāṅkhēdā* plate of *Sāntilla* (*Ep Ind* Vol II p 23) were meditated on by the *Bhōgikapāla Mahāpīlupati* *Nirihullaka*,<sup>9</sup> and our grant proves the correctness of Prof Buhler's suggestion (*ibid.* p 22) that the reading *Samharanah* of the *Sāṅkhēdā* plate should be altered to *Śamkaraganah*

Though the eulogy of the three kings, which fills just one half of the inscription, does not contain any historical allusions, it is not void of interest Some of the epithets applied to the

<sup>1</sup> Compare the same letter in the word *Ōsumbhala*, in the *Surat* plates of the Gujarāt Chalukya *Yuvarāja Śrīśāstraya-Silāditya*, *Vienna Or Congress*, Arian section, p 226, l 21, Plate The initial *ai* occurs in the word *aiṣika*, above, Vol III p 55, l 21, Plate, the initial *au* in *Audamēghayē*, *Ind Ant* Vol V p 155, l 24, Plate

<sup>2</sup> The same form of *th* we have in the *Sātārā* plates of *Viṣṇuvardhana I*, *Ind Ant* Vol. XIX p 309, Plate.

<sup>3</sup> The symbols agree with those given by Prof. Buhler from *Valabhi* plates

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Pāṇini*, VIII. 4, 49. For other instances where sibilants are wrongly doubled, compare *yaśya*, *Gupta Inscr* p 73, and *pañchadaśyām* and *śrētyō*, *ibid.* p 253

<sup>5</sup> So this word is written also in the *Aihole* inscription, above, p 5, l 6 of the text

<sup>6</sup> With my epoch for the later *Kalachuri* dates, the date (for the *pūrṇimānta* *Kārttika*) would correspond to the 3rd October A.D. 609, but in agreement with the dates of the *Nasāri* and *Kāvi* plates of the *Gurjara Jayabhata III* (Nos 402 and 403 of my *List of Northern Inscr*) it would correspond to either the 22nd September or the 22nd October A.D. 610 The date, of course, does not admit of verification.

<sup>7</sup> See my *List of Northern Inscr* No. 427

second king, Śamkaragana, shew that the author was acquainted with, and borrowed or imitated, certain epithets which are found only in some of the Gupta inscriptions<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, it is clear that the eulogistic part of this inscription or of some similar Katachchuri grant was known to, and made use of by, the authors of the corresponding portions of the grants<sup>2</sup> of the Gurjara Dadda [II] Praśāntarāga of the [Kalachuri] years 380 and 385, and of the [Gujarāt] Chalukya Vijayarāja<sup>3</sup> of the [Kalachuri] year 394 Of the last named grant the first two lines may be said to be identical with the same lines of the present grant, and the description of Vijayarāja in lines 5-8 to a great extent literally agrees with the description of Śamkaragana in lines 8-14 of the present inscription<sup>4</sup> In the case of the Gurjara grants the agreement is not so close, but about the fact that their author knew and made use of some such Katachchuri grant as the one here edited, there cannot be the slightest doubt In his opening sentence he too compares the family of the Gurjara kings with the great ocean (*mahōdadhī*), and in describing that ocean he employs the words *vividha*, *vimala*, *gunaratna*, *udbhāsita*, *avilanghitāvadhi*, *gāmbhīrya*, and the phrase *mahāsattvayātriduravagāhē*, which to the reader of the present grant will surely betray their origin Then, as in the present inscription Krishnarāja is described as from his very birth (*ā janmana ēva*) devoted to the service of Śiva, so the eulogist of Dadda makes that chief from his very birth (*utpattita ēva*) worship the sun He moreover, just as is the case in the present grant, continues the description of his chief in a series of relative sentences (*yēna . . . yam cha . . . yasya cha*, etc), and in the clause commencing with *yasya cha* in line 7 and ending with *Vindhyanag-ōpatyakāh* in line 10, he imitates,<sup>5</sup> and labours to improve on, the relative sentence beginning with *yēna cha* in line 6 and ending with *dīśō* in line 7 of the present grant So far as I can judge, his plagiarism, if I may call it so, is not without some importance for the history of the Gurjaras In my opinion, it tends to indicate that the family of these chiefs rose to independence only after the time of the Katachchuri Buddhārāja<sup>6</sup> If Dadda Praśāntarāga had been preceded by other Gurjara kings, a eulogist of his, in drawing up his *prasasti*, most probably would have taken for his model some older Gurjara grant, and would not have allowed himself to be inspired by a Katachchuri grant

<sup>1</sup> See my notes on the translation

<sup>2</sup> See *Ind Ant* Vol XIII pp 82 and 88

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid* Vol VII p 248

<sup>4</sup> The present inscription shews that in line 7 of Vijayarāja's grant the intended reading is *-nīshēvī*, not *-mrmōchī*

<sup>5</sup> In both inscriptions the king is compared with an elephant (*vanavārana-yūthapa* and *bhadra matamga*) Instead of the epithet *ruchira vamsa śōbhin* of the present grant, the author of the Gurjara grant puts *sadvamsā dhīta-śōbhā gaurava*, where also the word *vamsa* has the double meaning of 'backbone' and 'lineage.' The word *ruchira*, which the imitator here discards, he employs in the same line in *ruchira-kīrti-vad-sahāya*, 'accompanied by his bright fame' as the elephant is 'by his charming mate' In a similar way he treats the following epithet of the present inscription, *askhalita dāna prasara* The first and last word of this compound suggest to him his *askhalita padam prasaratāh*, and the sense of the whole compound he expresses, in a more elaborate manner, by the compound commencing with *avirata dāna pravaha* Of his own he adds, that his chief took delight in the lands lying at the foot of the Vindhya mountain — As it concerns a point of history, I may perhaps state, here that I differ from those scholars who understand the epithet *ākṣhīta-śātru nāga-kula-samtat* in lines 3 and 4 of the Gurjara grant (*Ind Ant* Vol. XIII p 82) to mean that Dadda I conquered some hostile tribe or family of the Nāgas In my opinion, *nāga* here means nothing but 'snake,' and the author simply says that Dadda uprooted his enemies as the bird Garuda destroys the snakes The compound is exactly like *prīti dīti madhulāra kula* in line 8 of the same inscription, which everybody would admit to mean that the king (by his liberality) delighted the suppliants as the elephant (by his rutting juice) does the bees If the eulogy of Dadda I does contain any historical allusion, it is furnished, in my opinion, by the epithet *Kṛishna-hṛiday-āhītāspadāh* in lines 2 and 8, the word *Kṛishna* of which, in addition to denoting the god Krishna, may perhaps denote the Katachchuri Krishnarāja, and which therefore may represent Dadda I as a favourite (or feudatory) of that Katachchuri king, as the *Kaustubha* gem is placed on Krishna's breast, so Dadda found a place in Krishnarāja's heart That the epithet *Kṛishna hṛiday-āhītāspadāh*, just like the *Śrī sahasanmā* by which it is preceded, does convey a double meaning, is not at all doubtful, the only question is whether it might not be taken to mean 'he whose actions (*āspadā = kṛitya*) were hostile to the evil minded'

<sup>6</sup> Compare Dr Fleet's *Dynasties*, p 315

I may further point out that in the wording of the formal part of the grants also the two inscriptions of Dadda Prasāntarāga referred to above agree most closely with the inscription here edited. We find in them exactly the same list of officials to whom the order is addressed (*sarvān=ēva rāja-sāmanta-bhōgika-vishayapati-rāshṭragrāmamahattar-ādīkārīk-ādīn*), the same technical and other terms applied to the village granted (from *ēsha grāmah* to *putra-pautr-ānvaya-bhōgyah* in lines 20-22 of the present inscription), with the exception of a single word, the same form of appeal to future rulers to preserve the grant, and, with the omission of one verse, the same benedictive and imprecatory verses, given in the same order. And one cannot help asking oneself how very different all this might have been, if the existing Gurjara grants of Śāka-Samvat 400, 415 and 417<sup>1</sup> were really genuine documents.

Of the localities mentioned in this inscription, Ānandapura, from where the grant was issued, probably is the same Ānandapura from where the Alinā grant of Śīlāditya VII Dhruvabhata of Valabhī of the year 447 was issued, and which has been identified by Dr Fleet<sup>2</sup> with the modern Ānand, the chief town of the Ānand subdivision of the Kaira district. And Bharukachchha, so often mentioned elsewhere, is the modern Broach. Dēbhaka, the place of residence of the donee, apparently is Dabka,<sup>3</sup> a village in the Baroda State, about 8 miles west of Pādra and 40 miles north of Broach. On the remaining localities Dr Fleet, who at my request has kindly searched the sheets No 22, S E (1883) and No 36, S W (1897) of the *Indian Atlas*, of which copies were not accessible to me, has sent me the following note — “The Gōrajā of this grant must be the ‘Goraj’ of sheet No 36, in lat 22° 20', long 73° 32', in the Hālōl subdivision of the Pañch Mahāls it is shewn as a town or large village 11 miles on the south of Hālōl, and is about 54 miles towards the north-east-by-north from Broach. Kumārivadaō must be the ‘Kawarwara’ of sheet No 22, about 11 miles towards the west-south-west from ‘Goraj,’ and about 8 miles east south-east from Baroda, it is about 24 miles almost due east of ‘Dabka.’ And Brihannārikā must be the ‘Banaiya’ of the same sheet, 4½ miles on the south of ‘Kawarwara.’”

#### TEXT.<sup>4</sup>

##### First Plate, Second Side

- 1 Ōm<sup>5</sup> svasti [||\*] Vijaya-skandhāvārād=Ānandapura-vāsakāch=chharad-upagama-prasanna-gaganatala-vimāla-vipulē vividha-purusharatna-guna-
- 2 krana-nīkar-āvabhāsītē mahāsa[t\*]tv-āpāsraya-durllanghē gāmbhīryavati sthity-anupālana-parē mahōdadhāv=iva Kata[cheh]u.<sup>6</sup>
- 3 rinām=anvayē sakala-jana-manōharayā chandrikay=ēva kīrti[ā] bhuvanam=avabhāsayann=ā janmana ēva Paśupati-samāśra-
- 4 ya-parah=kalanka-dōsha-rahīta=kula-kumudavana-lakshmi vibōdhanas=chandramā iva śrī-Kṛṣṇnarājō yas=samśraya-viśē-
- 5 sha-lōbhād=iva sakalair=ābhigāmikair=itarais=cha gunair=upētah sampanna-prakṛiti-mandalō yathāvad=ātmany=āhita-śakti-
- 6 siddhir=yyēna cha ruchira-vanśa-śōbhinā niyatam=askhalita-dāna-prasarēna prathitabala-garimnā vanavārana-yūtha-
- 7 pēn=ēv=āvisankam vicharatā vana-rājaya iv=āvanamitā diśō yasya cha śāstram=āpanna-trānāya vigrabha=par-ā-
- 8 bhimāna-bhangāya śikṣhitam vinayāya vibhav-ārjjanam pradānāya pradānam dharmmāya dharmmas=śrēyō-vāptayē tasya putrah

<sup>1</sup> See my *List of Northern Inscr* Nos 347-349

<sup>2</sup> See the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Pres* Vol VII p 542

<sup>3</sup> From impressions supplied by Dr Hultzsch

<sup>4</sup> The consonants of the *akshara chehu* are not clear in the impressions, but I do not think that the *akshara* can be read differently

<sup>5</sup> Read -vanta-

<sup>6</sup> See *Gupta Inscr* p 173

<sup>7</sup> Expressed by a symbol



- 9 pri(pri)thivyām=apratirathas=chatur-udadhi-salil-āsvādita-yaśā Dhanada-Varun-Ēndr-  
Āntaka-sama-prabhāvah sva-bāhu-bal-ōpā-  
10 tt-ōrjita-rāja-srīh pratāp-ātisay-ōpanata-samagra-sāmanta-mandalah paraspar-āpīdita-  
dharmm-ārttha-kāma-nishēvi  
11 pranatmātra-superitōsha-gambhīr-ōnnata-hrīdayah samyak-prajāpālan-ādhiyata-bhūri-  
dravina-vīsrānan-ā-  
12 vāpta dharmmakriyās=chir-ōtsannānām nripata-vanśānām<sup>1</sup> pratishthāpayit=  
ābhyuchchhritānām=unmūlayitā dīn-āndha kripāna-sa-  
13 mabhlashūta-manōrath-ādika-nikāma-phala-pradāh pūrvv-āpāna-samudr-ānt-ādi-dēsa-  
svāmī mātāpitri pādā-  
14 nuddhyātah parama-Mā[h]ēśvarah śrī-Śankaraganah<sup>2</sup> tasya putras=tat-  
pādānuddhyātah sakala-mahimandal-aika-tīlakah  
15 sātīśaya prathita-naya-vinaya-dayā-dāna-dākshya-dākshnya-dhairya-śaurya-sthairya-ādy-  
asēsha-guna-samanvitah praba-  
16 la-ripu-bal-ōdbhūta-darppa-vibhava-pradhvansa-<sup>3</sup>hētuh sētuh sthūtīnām=āyatanam  
siddhēr=apratihata-chakraś=Chakradha-  
17 ra iv=ārtti-prasamana-karah prajānām parama-Māhēśvarah śrī-Buddharājah

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 18 sarvvān=ēva rāja-sāmanta-bhōgika-vishayapati-rāshtragrāmamahattar-ādihikārik-ādi<sup>4</sup>  
samājñā-  
19 payaty=astu<sup>5</sup> vō viditam=asmābhūh Bharukachehha-vishay-āntargata-Gōrajā<sup>6</sup>  
bhōgē Brihannārikā-pratyāsanna-  
20 Kumārivadaō<sup>7</sup> ēsha grāmah s-ōdrangah s-ōpanikarah sarvv-ādāna-samgrāhyah  
sarvva-ditya-vishit-prātibhēdikā-  
21 parihinō bhūmichchhidra-nyāyēna<sup>8</sup> a-chāta-bhata-prāvēśya ā-chandr-ārkk-ārnnava-  
kshiti-sthita-samakālīnah putra-pau-  
22 tr-ānvaya-bhōgya<sup>9</sup> Dēbhakavāstavya-Pārāśarasagōtra-VājasaneyāKanvasabrahmachārī-  
brāhmana-Bhattu-putra-  
23 Bappasvāmīnē bah-charu-vaiśvadēv-āgnihōtr-ādi-kriy-ōtsarppan-ārttham mātāpitrōr=  
ātmanas=cha puny-ābhivṛddhayē<sup>10</sup>  
24 udak-ātisarggēn=ātisrishtō<sup>11</sup> yatō=smad-vanśyair=<sup>12</sup>anyair=vv=āgāmī-nripatī-bhōgapatībhūh=  
prabala-pavana-prērit-ō-  
25 dadhi-jala-taranga-chañchalam jīva-lōkam=abhāv-ānugatān=asārān=vibhavān=dīrggha-  
kāla-sthēyasaś=cha gunā-  
26 n=ākalayya sāmānya-bhōga-bhū-pradāna-phal-ēpsubhūś=śaśī-kara ruchiram chirāya  
yaśaś=cha chīshubhūr=<sup>13</sup>ayam=asmad-dāyō=nu-  
27 mantavyah=pālayitavyaś=cha [I\*] Yō v=ājñāna-tūmra-patal-āvṛita-matir=āchchhindyād=  
āchchhidyamānam v=ānumōdēta sa pañchabhī-  
28 r=mmahā-pātakaś=samyukta<sup>14</sup> syād=ity=uktañ=cha bhagavatā vēda-vyāsēna Vyāsēna ||  
Shashtim<sup>15</sup> varshsha-sahasrānī svarggē mōdati bhūmī-dah [I\*]  
29 āchchhētā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || Vindhya-ātavīshv-atōyāsu  
śushka-kōtara-vāsinah [I\*] krīshnāhayō hi jāya-

<sup>1</sup> Read *vamānān*

<sup>2</sup> Read *°ganas*=

<sup>3</sup> Read *-pradhvansa*

<sup>4</sup> Read *-ādīn*=

<sup>5</sup> Read *payati* | *Astu vō viditam* | *Asmābhūh*=

<sup>6</sup> It is just possible that the name engraved is *Gōrājā*

<sup>7</sup> This mark of punctuation is superfluous

<sup>8</sup> Read *-nyāyēn=d-chāta-*

<sup>9</sup> Read *-bhōgyō*

<sup>10</sup> Read *°ddhaya*

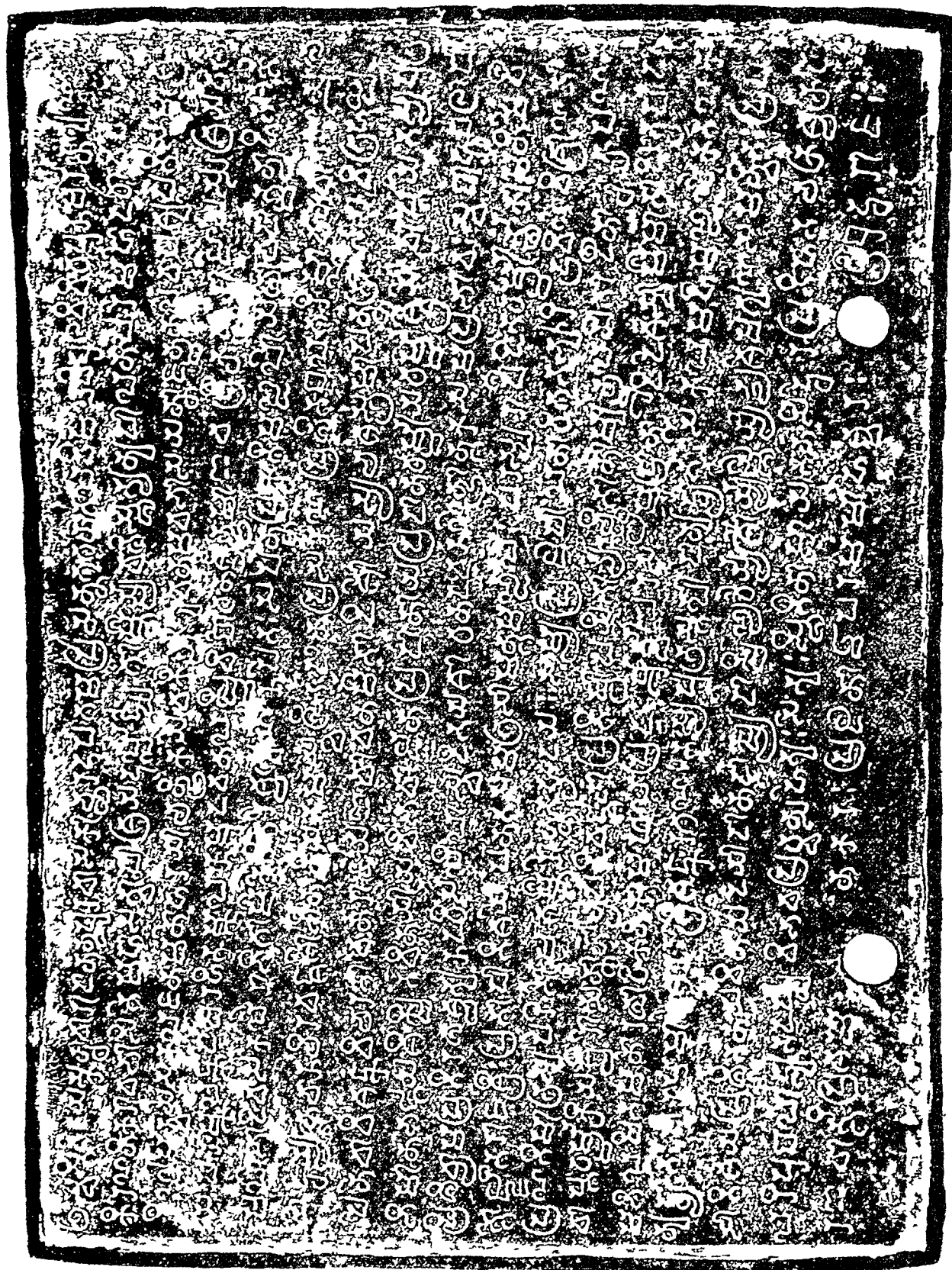
<sup>11</sup> Read *°srishtōh* |

<sup>12</sup> Read *-variyair*=

<sup>13</sup> Read *yaśaś=chīchhī-kubhūr*=

<sup>14</sup> Read *°ktas=nyāyēn* | *Uktān*.

<sup>15</sup> Metre of this and the next three verses *Ślōka* (Anushṭubh) — Read *varsha-*.



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16

*[The page contains dense handwritten text in Devanagari script, which is mostly illegible due to extreme blurring and low contrast. The text appears to be organized into several horizontal lines across the page.]*

- 30 ntô bhûmi-dâyam haranti yô || Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=Sagar-  
 âdibhuh [1\*] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya  
 31 tadâ phalam || Pûrvva-dattâm divyâtibhyô yatnâd=raksha Yudhishthira [1\*]  
 mahi[m\*] mahimats[m] ârêshtha dânach=chhrîtyô=nupâlanam || 1Yân=iha da-  
 32 ttâm parâ narîndrar=ddânâni dharmm-âritha-yaśas-karâni [1\*] nrbbhukta-mâlya-  
 pratimâni tâni kô nâma sâdhuh=punar=âdadati(ta)[||]  
 33 Samvatsara-śata-traye<sup>2</sup> êkashashty-adhikê Kârttika-bahula-pañchadaśyâm  
 Gokulasvâmi-vijñapanayâ mahâbalâ-  
 34 dhukrita-śrî-Prasâhyavîgraha-dûtakam lîkhitam=adam mahâsandhivîgrahâdhikaran-  
 âdhukrita-Śivarâjen=êti ||  
 35 Sam 300 60 1 Kârttika-ba 10 5 ||

## TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Ôm Hail<sup>1</sup> From the royal residence<sup>2</sup> of victory, fixed at Ânandapura.—<sup>4</sup>

In the lineage of the Katachchuris— which, like the great ocean, is extensive and spotless as the vault of the sky clear on the advent of autumn, illumined by the mass of the rays of the manifold excellences of jewels of men (as the ocean is by those of its gems), difficult to be crossed because it is the home of men of great vigour (as the ocean is of large animals), endowed with profundity (and) intent on observing the limits of what is right (as the ocean is on keeping within its proper limits)— (*there was*) the glorious Krishnarâja, who illumined the world with his fame that charmed all mankind, who from his very birth was devoted to the service of Paśupati (Śiva), who promoted the fortune of his family (*and who thus, though*) free from blemish,<sup>5</sup> was like the moon which illuminates the earth with its light pleasing to all mankind, which is ever resting on Śiva, (*and*) which causes the groups of night-lotuses to expand From a desire, as it were, of securing a choice resting-place, he was resorted to by all the qualities that make a king the object of attachment,<sup>6</sup> as well as by every other excellence He was fully endowed with all the constituent elements of royalty, and duly reaped the beneficial results (of his management) of the regal powers<sup>7</sup> As the chief elephant of the herd, distinguished by its splendid backbone, with the flow of its rutting-juice never ceasing, displaying the might of its strength, fearlessly roams about and breaks down rows of forest-trees, so he, who was illustrious by his splendid lineage, and the stream of whose liberality was never failing, and the might of whose power was well-known, marched about without apprehension and brought to subjection the regions He wielded the sword to protect people in distress,<sup>8</sup> made war to break the concert of adversaries, engaged in study to learn propriety of conduct, gathered wealth to make donations, made donations for the sake of religious merit, and acquired religious merit to obtain the bliss of final emancipation

(L 8) His son, who meditated on his parents' feet, (*was*) the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara (Śiva), the glorious Samkaragana, the lord of the countries bounded by the eastern and western seas and of other lands, who<sup>9</sup> on the earth had no antagonist equal to him, whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans, whose might was like that of Dhanada,

<sup>1</sup> Metre Indravajrâ

<sup>2</sup> Read -traya

<sup>3</sup> Or 'from the camp . . . pitched at'

<sup>4</sup> The sentence is continued below, in the words 'the glorious Buddhârâja.'

<sup>5</sup> The beauty of the moon is marred by a dark spot

<sup>6</sup> On the passage containing the word *âbhigâmsika* compare *Gupta Inscr* p 166, l 16, and p 169, note 2

<sup>7</sup> *Viz* the powers of mastery, good counsel, and energy

<sup>8</sup> Compare the *Śakuntalâ*, in the first act, *ârta-trândya vah fastram*

<sup>9</sup> This epithet and the two next— one with a slightly different reading—are well known from Gupta inscriptions, compare *eg Gupta Inscr* p 26, l 1 of the text, and D Fleet's note, *ibid.* p. 14, note 4

Varuna, Indra, and Antaka;<sup>1</sup> who by the strength of his arms<sup>2</sup> acquired the fortune of powerful kings, before whose pre-eminent prowess there bowed down the circle of all the neighbouring princes, who engaged in the pursuit of religious merit, wealth and pleasure, without allowing them to encroach upon one another, whose profound and elevated mind was well pleased only by submission,<sup>3</sup> who accomplished acts of religion by distributing in charity the ample wealth acquired by properly protecting his people, who reinstated families of princes long subverted,<sup>4</sup> and uprooted the exalted, and who to the afflicted, the blind and the poor granted the object of their desire, more fully even than their hearts longed for

(L 14) His son, who meditates on his feet, who is the unique frontal ornament of the whole circle of the earth, who is endowed with all the most celebrated qualities, such as prudence, good conduct, compassion, liberality, cleverness, dexterity, fortitude, heroism, firmness and the rest, who causes the destruction of the might of conceit, arising from power, of powerful enemies, who is a dam to safeguard all ordinances, and a resting-place of success, and who, like the Discus-bearer (Vishnu) with his irresistible disc, with his irresistible army relieves the distress of the people—he, the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara (Śiva), the glorious Buddharaśa, issues this order to all *Rājas*, *Sāmantas*, *Bhōgikas*, *Vishayapatis*, *Rāshtra-* and *Grāma-mahattaras*, *Ādhikārikas* and others —

(L 19) Be it known to you! For the increase of the religious merit of our parents and ourselves we have granted, with pouring out of water, the village of Kumārivadaō which is close to Brihannārikā, in the Gōrajā-bhōga that lies within the Bharukachchha-vishaya,— with the *udranga*, with the *uparikara*, with all imposts and taxes,<sup>5</sup> exempt from all *ditya*, forced labour and *prātibhēdikā*, according to the maxim of *bhūmichchhīdra*, not to be entered by irregular and regular soldiers, for as long as the moon, the sun, the sea and the earth endure, to be enjoyed by the succession of sons and sons' sons—to the Brāhman Bappasvāmin, the son of Bhattu, who is an inhabitant of Dēbhaka, a member of the Pāṇāsara *gōtra*, and a student of the Kanva *śākhā* of the Vājasaneyā Vēda, for the maintenance of the *balī*, *charu*, *vaitradīva*, *agnihōtra* and other rites. Wherefore, let future kings and *Bhōgapatis*, whether of our own family or others—bearing in mind that the world of living beings is unsteady like a wave of water of the sea raised by a fierce wind, that wealth is liable to perish and void of substance, and that virtue endures for a long time—desirous of sharing in the reward of (this) donation of land, and anxious to accumulate for a long time fame as bright as the rays of the moon, consent to this our gift and preserve it! Whosoever, with his mind covered by the veil of the darkness of ignorance, should take it away or permit it to be taken away, he shall be guilty of the five great sins! And it has been said by the holy Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas —[Here follow five imprecatory verses]

(L 33) In three hundred years increased by sixty-one, on the fifteenth tithi of the dark half of Kārttika, at the request of Gōkulasvāmin,<sup>6</sup> this (edict)—the *dātaka* of which is the *Mahābalādhikṛita*,<sup>7</sup> the illustrious Prasahyavigraha—was written by the *Mahāsamdhivigrahādhikaranādhikṛita*<sup>8</sup> Śivarāja

The year 300 60 1 Kārttika-badi 10 5.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the guardian deities of the northern, western, eastern and southern quarters

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Gupta Inscr* p 8, l 26, where the compound *Dharada-Varuṇ-Ēndr Antaka-sama* is followed by another, commencing with *śva bhūya bala-*

<sup>3</sup> Compare *ibid* p 8, l 25, *bhaktiyavanatimātra grāhya-mṛidu hrīdayasya*

<sup>4</sup> Compare *ibid* p 8, l 23, *anēka bhraṣṭarājy-ōtsanna-rājavamśa-pratiśthāpana*

<sup>5</sup> The original has *sarvo-ādāna samgrāhya*, which may have some more specific meaning.

<sup>6</sup> I am unable to state the position of this personage with regard to either the donor or the donee

<sup>7</sup> I.e. 'the great-Bal *ādhikṛita* (or general)', see my *List of Northern Inscr* No 427

<sup>8</sup> I.e. 'the great *Samdhivigrah ādhikaran ādhikṛita* (or officer charged with the ministry of peace and war)', compare e.g. the Gurjara grants, *Ind Ant* Vol XIII p 84, l 50, and p 90, l 50

## No 30 — DATES OF PANDYA KINGS

By F KIELHORN, PH D, LL D, C I E, GOTTINGEN

Dr Hultzsch has sent me for examination the texts and English translations of fifty-four Pāndya dates<sup>1</sup> Of this number I now publish, with the results of my calculations, twenty-six dates, together with four others (Nos 1, 5, 14 and 16 of my list), which have been published by Dr Hultzsch in the *Indian Antiquary*, and for two of which (Nos 14 and 16) the European equivalents have been already ascertained by the late Mr S B Dikshit All these dates quote only regnal years, not years of any era, and in a number of cases it was uncertain whether the dates connected with a particular name belonged to the reign of one king or to the reigns of two or more kings bearing the same name How my results will fit into the history of the time to which the dates refer, others may decide, I have been solely guided by the dates, and have not allowed myself to be influenced by other considerations Though the dates do not quote years of any era, the fact that some of them, in addition to the weekday, the *tithi* and the *nakshatra*, also give the corresponding solar day, has helped me greatly in ascertaining what I consider to be the proper European equivalents, and makes me place great confidence in the results which I now put forward The reader will understand this when he sees, that *e g* for the date No 1 there is only a single day in 500 years that would fully satisfy all the requirements of the original date To Dr Hultzsch I owe sincere thanks for having enabled me to do this work

## A —JATAVARMAN KULASEKHARA

1.—Date in the larger Tiruppūvanam grant.<sup>2</sup>

Plate 1 a, line 4 f

Nijē vatsarē pañchavimsā chandāmsāv=ātta-Chāpē Kanakapatī-tithau krishṇapaksh-  
Ārkivāra-Svāti-yōgē,

"in his twenty-fifth year, while the sun was in Chāpa, on the *tithi* of Kanakapatī, at the union of Saturday and Svāti in the dark fortnight "

Plate v b, line 2 f

Padinnmūṇṇāvadīn=edīr pannirandām=āndu Dhanu-nāyaṇṇu nālān=diyadiyum apara-  
pakshattu ēkādaśiyum Śam-kīḷamaiyum perṇa Śōdi-nāl,

"the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Saturday, and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the fourth solar day of the month of Dhanu, in the twelfth year opposite to the thirteenth."

Between A D 1000 and 1500 there is only a single year for which this date would be absolutely correct, viz the year 1214 In this year the Dhanu-samkrānti took place 8 h 43 m after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 26th November, which was the first day of the month of Dhanu The 4th day of the month of Dhanu therefore was Saturday, the 29th November And on this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Mārgaśīrsha) ended 9 h 38 m, and the *nakshatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system for 19 h 3 m, according to Garga for 6 h 34 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 2 h 38 m, after mean sunrise Accordingly, if the date does fall between A D 1000 and 1500 and has been correctly recorded, Saturday, the 29th November A D. 1214, must be its proper equivalent

<sup>1</sup> [ It is but right to state that these dates were looked up, transcribed and translated by my First Assistant, Mr V Venkayya, and that I have done nothing but checking his transcripts and renderings —E H ]

<sup>2</sup> See Dr Hultzsch in *Ind Ant* Vol XX p 288

2.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti [śrī] [||\*] [Pūvi]n kīlatti<sup>2</sup> . . . . .  
 5 . . . . . śrī-kô=Chchadaiypan[ma]-  
 6 r=[ā]na Tri[bhuvana]chchakravartigal śrī-Kulaśēgarad[ē]vaykku yandu  
 padinmu(mû)nrā[vadī]n edirām=āndu Mīna-nāyarū nālān=diyadiyum apara-pakshattu  
 daśa-  
 7 [mīyum] Viyāla-kkīlamai[yum] peṇṇa Pūr[ā]dattu nāl

“In the year opposite to the thirteenth year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Pūrvāshādhā, which corresponded to a Thursday, and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the fourth solar day of the month of Mīna.”

Under No 1 we found that a date of the 12th opposite to the 13th year, *i.e.* of the 25th year, of the king's reign fell in November A D 1214. If such was really the case, this date No 2, of the month of Mīna of the year opposite to the 13th, *i.e.* of the 14th year, of the same reign, must fall in February-March of either A D 1203 or 1204. As a matter of fact, the date is correct for Thursday, the 26th February A D. 1204. In A D 1204 the Mīna-samkrānti took place 3 h 12 m after mean sunrise of Monday, the 23rd February, which was the first day of the month of Mīna. The fourth day of the month of Mīna therefore was Thursday, the 26th February, and on this day the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Phālguna) commenced 3 h 33 m, and the *nakshatra* was Pūrvāshādhā, by the equal space system for 14 h 27 m, and according to Garga for 1 h 58 m, after mean sunrise.

The way in which this date works out proves that the equivalent found for the date No 1 undoubtedly is the proper equivalent of that date, and the two dates together shew that the reign of Jatāvarman Kulaśēkhara commenced between (approximately) the 27th February and the 29th November A D 1190.

B.—MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I<sup>3</sup>3.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Śrī-kô Mārāpanmar=āna Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigal Śōnādu  
 kondu Mudikondaśō-  
 2 lapurattu vi(vi)rābhishēkam panniy=arulīya śrī-Śundara-Pā[n]diyadiyēvaṅku yāndu  
 padinēlāvadī[n\*]  
 3 edirām=āndu[n\*] edī[r]ām=āndu  
 5 . . . . . yivv-ā[t]-  
 6 tai=Ppurattādi-māsattu ālān=diyadiyum deśa[m]iyum T[ī]n[ga]t-k[ī]lamaiyu[m]  
 peṇṇa Uttarādattu nā[l]

“In the year opposite to the year opposite to the seventeenth year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndiyadēva who was pleased to take the Chōla country and to perform the anointment of heroes at Mudikondaśōlapuram,—on the day of Uttarāshādhā, which corresponded to a Monday, and to the tenth *tithi*, and to the seventh solar day of the month of Purattādi in this year.”

Between A D 1200 and 1300 the only year for which this date would be correct, is 1234. In this year the Kanyā-samkrānti took place 16 h 3 m after mean sunrise of Monday, the 28th

<sup>1</sup> No 123 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

<sup>2</sup> See the larger Tiruppāvanam grant.

<sup>3</sup> I add the numbers 'I' and 'II' here and below merely for convenience of reference so far as this list is concerned. There may have been other kings of the same names before those here numbered as I.

<sup>4</sup> No 155 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.



August The 7th day of the month of Kanyâ (or Purattâdi) therefore was Monday, the 4th September A D 1234, and on this day the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Bhâdrapada) ended 13 h 6 m, and the *nakshatra* was Uttarâshâdhâ, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h 42 m, and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 13 h 8 m, after mean sunrise

4.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.<sup>1</sup>

- 1                                      Śrī-kô [M]âra[va]nmar=âna      Tirubhu[va]nachchakra[va]rttagal  
    Śônâdun=gondu      Mudikonda-
- 2                                      . [v]irâbhishêkam      panni-y-aruliya      śrī-Sundara-Pândyadêvar[ku]  
    yându      17vadın=edirâm=ândın=edirâm=ân-
- 3                                      . . . . . ru      iruba[t]tô[l]ân=diyadyu[m]      pûrvva-[pa]ksha[t]tu prathamaiyun=  
    Dingal-[k]ilamaiyum      perra      Pûiâ(ra)tt[â]di-nâl

"In the year opposite to the year opposite to the 17th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Mâravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pândyadêva who was pleased to take the Chola country and to perform the anointment of heroes at Mudikonda[sôlapuram],—on the day of Pûrva-Bhâdrapadâ, which corresponded to a Monday, and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight, and to the twenty-seventh solar day of . "

Although the name of the solar month of this date is broken away or quite illegible, the fact that during that month the first *tithi* of the bright half was joined with the *nakshatra* Pûrva-Bhâdrapadâ, at once suggests the conjecture that the month was that of Kumbha; and this conjecture is shewn to be correct by the calculation of the date. The date, which is of the same regnal year as No 3, corresponds to Monday, the 18th February A D 1235. In A D 1235 the Kumbha-samkrânti took place 8 h 16 m after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 24th January, which was the first day of the month of Kumbha. The 27th day of the month of Kumbha therefore was Monday, the 19th February, and on this day the first *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Phâlguna) commenced 0 h 30 m, and the *nakshatra* was Pûrva-Bhâdrapadâ, by the equal space system for 14 h 27 m, according to Garga for 2 h 38 m, and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 3 h 17 m, after mean sunrise

5 —In the Ranganâtha temple at Śrirangam.<sup>2</sup>

- 1                                      Śrī-kô      Mârapanmar=âna      Tirubuvanachchakkaravatt[i]gal      Śônâdu  
    valang      aruliya      śrī-Śundara Pândiyadêvar[k\*]ku      yându      onbadâvadu
- 2      Mêsha-nâyarru      apara-pakshattu      tritiyaiyum      Velli-kkilaiyaiyum      perra      Viśâgattu  
    nâl

"In the ninth year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Mâravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pândyadêva who was pleased to present the Chôla country,<sup>3</sup>—on the day of Viśâkhâ, which corresponded to a Friday and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mêsha "

As the two preceding dates Nos 3 and 4, of the year opposite to the year opposite to the 17th year, i.e. of the 19th year, of the king's reign fell in A D 1234 and 1235, this date No 5, of the 9th year of the same reign, will be expected to fall in A D 1224 or 1225. The date actually corresponds to Friday, the 28th March A D. 1225, which was the 4th day of the month of Mêsha, and on which the third *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Chaitra) ended 22 h 45 m, and the *nakshatra* was Viśâkhâ, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h 50 m, and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 7 h 13 m, after mean sunrise

<sup>1</sup> No 133 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894

<sup>2</sup> See *Ind Ant* Vol XXI p 344,

<sup>3</sup> See the smaller Tiruppûnam grant.



6.—In the Agniśvara temple at Tirukkāttuppallī<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kô Māraparma[r=ā]na Tirubuvanachchakkaravattigal Śônādu  
vaṅgiya Sundara-Pāndiyadē[va]rkku yāndu 7āvadu Mina-nāyarru=ppūrvva-  
pakshattu navamiyu[m] . . [yu]m [pe]rra Pūsattu nāl
- 2 Rishabham muhūrttattu

“In the 7th year (*of the reign*) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Sundara-Pāndiyadēva who presented the Chōla country,— on the auspicious occasion of the Rishabha (*lagna*) on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to . . . and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mina ”

The three preceding dates Nos 3-5 shew that a date of the month of Mina of the 7th year of the king's reign should fall in A D 1223, and in my opinion this date No 6 undoubtedly corresponds to [Monday,] the 13th March A.D. 1223, which was the 19th day of the month of Mina, and on which the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Gaiga for 19 h 42 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 17 h 44 m, after mean sunrise There is the difficulty that by our Tables the 9th *tithi* of the bright half had ended 0 h 21 m *before* mean sunrise of the 13th March, but it may be reasonably supposed that by other Tables it ended shortly *after* mean sunrise The name of the weekday which would have removed all doubt unfortunately is illegible or broken away — On the day found Rishabha was *lagna* from 2 h 28 m to about 4 h 28 m after mean sunrise

The four dates Nos 3-6 together prove that the reign of Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya I commenced between (approximately) the 29th March and the 4th September A.D. 1216.

## C — MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II

7.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Śrī-kô Mārapan[ma]r=āna Tirubuvanachchakkarava[t]t[il]gal śrī-  
Sundara-Pāndiyadēverkkku yāndu padin-onrāvad[īn]=edir[ā]m=āndin=edirām=āndu  
Magara-nāyarru [i]rubattunālān=diyadiyum apara-pakshattu daśamiyu[m] Budan-  
kīlamaiyum perṛa Anīlattu nā-
- 2 1

“In the year opposite to the year opposite to the eleventh year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndiyadēva,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday, and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the twenty-fourth solar day of the month of Makara.”

Between A D 1150 and 1350 the only year for which this date would be correct, is 1251. The Makara-samkrānti took place 0 h 38 m. after mean sunrise of Monday, the 26th December A D 1250, which was the first day of the month of Makara. The 24th day of the month of Makara therefore was Wednesday, the 18th January A D 1251, and on this day the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Pausha) ended 17 h, and the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā by the equal space system and according to Garga for 3 h 56 m, after mean sunrise

8 — In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kô Mārapanmar=āna Tirubuvanachchakkaravattigal śrī-[Śunda]ra-  
[P]ā[n]diya[d]ē[va]rkku yāndu [il]va[d]īn edirām=ān[dī]-
- 2 n edirām=āndu Magara nāyarru irubat[t]unālān=diyadiyum a[pa]ra-paksha[ttu] da-  
śamiyum Bu[dan]-kīlamai[um] perṛa Anīla[t]tu nāl

<sup>1</sup> No 52 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897

<sup>2</sup> No 148 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894

<sup>3</sup> No 146 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894

“In the year opposite to the year opposite to the [11]th year (*of the reign*) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday, and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the twenty-fourth solar day of the month of Makara”

This date is the same as No 7, except that in the expression ‘opposite to the 11th year’ numeral figures are used by the writer

9.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely <sup>1</sup>

- 1 . . . Śrī-kô Mārapanmar=āna Tribh[u]va[na]chchakkaravattiga[l] śr[i]-Sundara-Pāndiyadēvarkku [y]āndu padin-onrāvadin=eduām=[â\*]ndin=e[dī]rām=â[n]dn M[i]ṇa-nāyarū=ppat[t]on[bad]ān=dī[ya]dyudiyum<sup>2</sup> a[pa]ra-[pa]kshattu navamiyūm Budan-kkūlamaiyūm peṇṇa Aśvati-nāl

“In the year opposite to the year opposite to the eleventh year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Aśvinī, which corresponded to a Wednesday, and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the nineteenth solar day of the month of Mīna”

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong, because during the month of Mīna a 9th *tithi* of the dark half can never be joined with the *nakshatra* Aśvinī. The probability is that the month intended was that of Mithuna, and calculation proves that it *was* that month. The date, which is of the same year as No 7, corresponds to Wednesday, the 14th June A D 1251. In A D 1251 the Mithuna-samkrānti took place 22 h 56 m after mean sunrise of Friday, the 26th May. The 19th day of the month of Mithuna therefore was Wednesday, the 14th June, and on this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Jyāishtha) ended 5 h 19 m, and the *nakshatra* was Aśvinī for 20 h 21 m, after mean sunrise.

10.—In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely <sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kô Mārapan[ma]r=āna Tribhu[vana]chchakra[vat]t[ī]gal śr[i]-Sundara-Pāndiyadēvarkku yāndu pad[ī]no-  
2 nrāvadu Vaigāsi-[m]āsattu mudar=tiyadī Nāyirru-kkūlamai peṇṇa Attattu nāl[ī]

“In the eleventh year (*of the reign*) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to Sunday, the first solar day of the month of Vaigāsi”

As the dates Nos 7-9, which are of the year opposite to the year opposite to the 11th year, *i.e.* of the 13th year, of the king’s reign, have been found to fall in A D 1251, this date No 10, which is of the 11th year of the same reign, will in the first instance be expected to fall in A D 1249. It actually corresponds to Sunday, the 25th April A D 1249, which was the first day of the month of Vaigāsi—the Vṛishabha-samkrānti having taken place 0 h 54 m after mean sunrise—and on which the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h 6 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 11 h 50 m, after mean sunrise.

The dates Nos 7-10 together prove that the reign of Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya II commenced between (approximately) the 15th June A D 1238 and the 18th January A D. 1239.

<sup>1</sup> No 147 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1894.

<sup>2</sup> Read =*dyadyum*

<sup>3</sup> No 143 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1894.

## D — JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I

11.—In the Pañchanadēśvara temple at Tiruvaiyāru.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrīh [||\*] Kô=Chchadapanmar=âna Tir[ri]buvanachchakkaravattigal śrī-  
 Śundara-Pāndiyadēvarkku yāndu 2āvadu Mēsha-nāyarru apara-pakshattu  
 ēkādāśiyum Viyāla-kkalamaiyum perra Śad[ai]yat[ta nāl]

“In the 2nd year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha ”

To shorten my remarks, I may state here at once that the six dates Nos 11-16 work out correctly on the assumption (and prove thus) that the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I commenced between (approximately) the 20th and 28th April A D 1251

This date, No 11, corresponds to Thursday, the 27th March A D. 1253, which was the third day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Chaitra) ended 2 h 20 m, and the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 13 h 47 m, according to Garga for 5 h 16 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 2 h 38 m, after mean sunrise

To ascertain whether this date could possibly be one of the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II, I have calculated it also for the years A D 1277, 1278, and 1279, and have found that it would be incorrect for any one of these years The same remark applies to the dates Nos 12 and 13

12 —In the Vaidyanātha temple at Tirumalavādi.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kô=Chchadaiva[ri\*]mmar=âna Tribhuvanachchakravattigal śrī-  
 [Su]ndara-Pāndiyadēvarkku yāndu 2vadu Mēsha-nāyarru apara-pakshattu  
 śadu[r]tthiyum Śani-kk[ai]lamaiyum perra Mu(mū)lattu nāl

“In the 2nd year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha ”

The date corresponds to Saturday, the 19th April A D 1253, which was the 26th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 4th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Vaiśākha) ended 2 h 59 m and the *nakshatra* was Mūla by the equal space system for 5 h 16 m, after mean sunrise

13 —In the Vaidyanātha temple at Tirumalavādi.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kô=Chchadapa[nmar=âna] Tiru(ri)bu[va]nachchakkaravattigal śrī-  
 Śundara-Pāndiyadēvarkku yā[n]du 3vadu Vriśchika-nāyaru pūrvva pakshattu  
 [sha]shthiyum Budan-kalamaiyum perra Utrādattu nāl

“In the 3rd year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Uttarāshādhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vriśchika ”

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 29th October A D 1253, which was the second day of the month of Vriśchika, and on which the 6th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Kārttika) ended 18 h 4 m, and the *nakshatra* was Uttarāshādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 12 h. 29 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h 55 m, after mean sunrise

<sup>1</sup> No 254 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894

<sup>2</sup> No 90 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895

<sup>3</sup> No 89 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895

14 —In the Vēdagiriśvara temple at Tirukkalukkunṇam <sup>1</sup>

- 2 . . Tribhuvanachakra[r]ttiga[l] śrī Sundara-Pāndiyadēvaṛku yā[n]du  
 9ivadu Ishava-nā[ya]rru pūrvva-pakshattu pañchamiy[u]m Śe[v\*]vāy-kkiṇa-  
 3 maiyum perṛa Punarpuśattu nāl

"In the 8th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,— on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha "

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 29th April A.D 1259, which was the 4th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Vaiśākha) ended 6 h 44 m, and the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 6 h 34 m, and by the Brahma siddhanta for 5 h 55 m, after mean sunrise

15 —In the Vēdagiriśvara temple at Tirukkalukkunṇam <sup>2</sup>

- 1 Śrī-kōṛ=Chadaipanmar=ina Tiru(r)buvaanachchakaravattigal emma-  
 2 ndalamun=gond=aruḷya śrī-Śundara-Pandi[ya]dēvaṛku y[a]-  
 3 ndu 9ivadu Mīduna-nīyarṛu apara-pakshattu navamiyum Nāyarṛu-[k]kalamai-  
 4 yum perṛa Irēba(va)di-nal

"In the 9th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva who was pleased to take every country, — on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mithuna "

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 15th June A.D 1259, which was the 20th day of the month of Mithuna, and was entirely occupied by the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Jyāishtha), and on which the *nakshatra* was Rēvatī for 9 h 51 m after mean sunrise

16 —In the Jambukēśvara temple near Śrirangam <sup>3</sup>

- 2 Ko=Chchadaipanmar=ina Tribhuvanachchakaravattigal emmandalamun=  
 gond=aruḷya śrī-Śundara-Pāndiyadēvaṛ[ku] yāndu 10ivadu pattavadu Rishabha-  
 nayarṛu apara-[pa]kshattu Budan-kalamaiyum prathamaiyum perṛa A[m]-  
 3 lattu nāl

"In the 10th—tenth—year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva who was pleased to take every country,— on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha "

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 28th April A.D 1260, which was the 4th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which the first *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Vaiśākha) ended 0 h 4 m, <sup>4</sup> and the *nakshatra* was Anurādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 3 h 56 m, after mean sunrise

17.—In the Pushpavanēśvara temple at Tirupbandurutt <sup>5</sup>

- 1 Svasti śr[i] [||\*] Pū-[ma]llar [va]llar . . . . .  
 16 . . . . . śrī-[k]o=Chcha[da]panmar=āna Tribhuvanachcha[k]karavattigaḷ śrī-  
 Śu[n]dara-Pāndiya[d]ē[va]ṛku yāndu

<sup>1</sup> See *Ind Ant* Vol XXI p 343, and Vol XXII p 221

<sup>2</sup> No. 186 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894.

<sup>3</sup> See *Ind Ant* Vol XXI p 121, and Vol XXII p 221

<sup>4</sup> The *tithi* ended later after true sunrise

<sup>5</sup> No 166 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894 The king took Kaṇṇanūr from the Hoysala king and covered the temple at Śrirangam with gold

17 7āvadu Kannu-nāyarru [a]gha(pa)ra-gha(pa)kshattu trayôdaśiyum Nāyarru-  
kk[ī]lamaiyum [p]eṛra Atta[t]tu nāl

"In the 7th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

The wording of this date, so far as I can see, is intrinsically wrong, because during the month of Kanyā a 13th *tithi* of the dark half can never be actually joined with the *nakshatra* Hasta. Judging by the preceding dates Nos 11-16, a date of the 7th year of the king's reign should fall in A.D. 1257 or 1258, and during these two years the date would be correct only for the month of Tulā, which follows immediately upon the month of Kanyā. For the month of Tulā it regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 7th October A.D. 1257, which was the 10th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Āśvina) ended 7 h 31 m, and the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 22 h 20 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 19 h. 3 m, after mean sunrise.

#### 18 —In the Vaidyanātha temple at Tirumalavādi.<sup>1</sup>

1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kō=Chcha[dapa]nmar Tribhuvanachchakkaravattigal śrī-Sundara-  
Pāṇḍiya-  
2 dēvarku yāndu llāvadu Kaṭkadaga-nāyarru apara-pakshattu sha-  
3 shthiyum Viyāla-kkīlamaiyum peṛra Āsvati-nāl

"In the 11th year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Āśvini, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the sixth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Karkataka."

As this date is of the month of Karkataka of the 11th year, it should fall in A.D. 1261, if it is a date of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pandya I, but for that year it does not work out properly. In A.D. 1261 the 6th *tithi* of the dark half in the month of Karkataka ended 7 h 22 m after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 19th July, which was the 23rd day of the month of Karkataka, and on which the *nakshatra* was Āśvini from 1 h 58 m after mean sunrise. As I obtain no really better result for other years of the same reign, and no satisfactory result at all for the 11th year of the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pandya II, I would take Tuesday, the 19th July A.D. 1261, to be the intended day, and assume that in the original date the weekday has been given incorrectly.

#### E —MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I

##### 19 —In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.<sup>2</sup>

2 Śrī-[k]ō Mārapanmar=ā[na] Tribhuvanachcha-  
3 kravart[t]igal e[m\*]mandalamun=gon-  
4 d=aruliya śrī-Kulaśēgaradēvarku [y]ā[n\*]-  
5 du 27va[d]u Dhanu-nā[ya]rṇu 14 tīyadiyu[m]  
6 Velli-kkīlamaiyum apara-paksha[t]tu  
7 saptamiyum peṛra U[t]tara-nāl

"In the 27th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to the seventh *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to a Friday, and to the 14th solar day of the month of Dhanu."

<sup>1</sup> No 71 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895

<sup>2</sup> No 187 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894

Between A D 1200 and 1350 the only year for which this date would be correct, is 1294. In this year the Dhanuh-samkrānti took place 1 h 23 m after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 27th November, which was the first day of the month of Dhanus. The 14th day of the month of Dhanus therefore was Friday, the 10th December A D 1294, and on this day the 7th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Mārgasīrsha) commenced 4 h 45 m after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalguni, by the equal space system from 7 h 13 m after mean sunrise, and by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga during the whole day.

20 —In the Jambukēśvara temple near Śrirangam <sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrih [||\*] Tēri pōl . . .  
 4 . . . śr[i]-kō Māra[pa]n mā(ma)r=āṇa Tiribuva[na]chechakkaravattigal śri-  
 Ku[la]śēgaradēvarkku yāndu pattāvadu [Ma]gara-nā[ya\*]rru pū[r]vā pakshattu  
 daśamiyum  
 5 yum<sup>2</sup> Budan-kīlamaiy[u]m peṇra [U]rōṣaṇi-nāl

“ In the tenth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,— on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara ”

If the equivalent obtained under No 19 for the date of the 27th year is the true equivalent of that date, this date No 20, of the 10th year of the king's reign, will be expected to fall in about A D 1277. It actually corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th January A D 1278. This day was the 11th of the month of Makara, and on it the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Magha) ended 7 h 39 m after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was Rōhini by the equal space system from 7 h 13 m after mean sunrise, and by the Brahma siddhānta and according to Garga during the whole day.

21 —In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely <sup>3</sup>

- 1 [Sva\*]sti śri [||] Śrī-kō Mārapanmar=āṇa Tribhuvanachchakra-  
 2 [va\*]rttigal emmandalamu[n]=go[n]d=aruliya śri-Kula-  
 3 śēgaradēvarkku [y]āndu [2]vadu Vriśchika-nā[ya]rru  
 4 irubatt[1]ra[n]dā[n]=diyadiyum [a]para [pa]kshattu [dv]iti-  
 5 yayu[m] B[u]dan-kīlamaiyum p[ē]ṇra Puna[r]pūṣa-n-  
 6 [ā]

“ In the [2]6th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva who was pleased to take every country,— on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Wednesday, and to the second *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the twenty-second solar day of the month of Vriśchika ”

The results obtained under Nos 19 and 20 shew that this date, of the month of Vriśchika of the 26th year of the king's reign, must fall in about A D 1293. The date, in my opinion, actually corresponds to Wednesday, the 18th November A.D 1293. In A D 1293 the Vriśchika samkrānti took place 6 h 58 m after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 28th October, which was the first day of the month of Vriśchika. The 22nd day of the month of Vriśchika therefore was Wednesday, the 18th November, and on this day the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h 42 m, and by the Brahma siddhānta for 19 h 3 m, after mean sunrise. But the *tithi* which ended 8 h 39 m after mean sunrise of the same day was the third (not the second) *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Mārgasīrsha) — I have no doubt that in the original date the second *tithi* (*dviyayum*) has been wrongly quoted instead of the third (*tritiyayum*).

<sup>1</sup> No 25 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1891

<sup>2</sup> No 134 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894

<sup>3</sup> Cancel yum

22 —In the Śvêtâranyêśvara temple at Kadappêri.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 . . . . Kô Mâru(ra)panmar Tiru(rî)[buva]ṇachchakravattika(ga)l sri-  
Kulasêgaradêva[*k\**][k]u [y]ându 40 Mî(mi)na-nâyaru pûrvva-pakshattu  
dvitîyayum Śani-kk[*i*]lam[ai]yum perra Rêvati-nâl

"In the 40th year (of the reign) of king Mâravarmān (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasêkharadêva,—on the day of Rêvati, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mîna "

The results obtained under the three preceding dates shew that this date, of the month of Mîna of the 40th year of the king's reign, must fall in either A D 1307 or A D 1308. It actually corresponds to Saturday, the 24th February A D 1308. On this day the Mîna-saṁkrânti took place 8 h 45 m after mean sunrise, and the day therefore was the first of the month of Mîna; the second *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Phalgunâ) ended 12 h 32 m, and the *nakshatra* was Rêvati for 21 h 40 m, after mean sunrise.

The four dates Nos 19-22 together prove that the reign of Mâravarmān Kulasêkhara I. commenced between (approximately) the 25th February and the 18th November A.D. 1268.

## F —JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II

23 —In the Ilamîśvara temple at Târamangalam.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrî [*i*]\* Kô=Chadapanmar=âṇa Tribhuvāṇachchakravattigal sri-Sundara-  
Pāndiyadêvarkku yāndu pad[*i*]mu(mû)nrâvadu Simha-nâyaru  
pûrvva-pakshattu trayôdaśiyum Tingal-kalamayum perra Uttarâdattu nâl

"In the thirteenth year (of the reign) of king Jatâvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadêva,—on the day of Uttarâshâdhâ, which corresponded to a Monday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha "

24 —In the Âdhîpurîśvara temple at Tiruvorriyûr.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrî [*i*]\* Kô=Chadapanmar=âṇa Tribhuvāṇachchakravattigal sri-  
2 Sundara-Pāndiyadêvarkku yāndu padimmu(mû)nrâvadu Simha-nâyaru  
3 a[pa]ra-pakshattu tritîyayum Velli-kk[*i*]lamayum perra Uttirat-  
4 tâd[*i*]-nâl

"In the thirteenth year (of the reign) of king Jatâvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadêva,—on the day of Uttara-Bhadrâpadâ, which corresponded to a Friday and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha "

The two dates Nos 23 and 24 are both stated to be of the month of Simha of the 13th year of the king's reign. In No 23 the 13th *tithi* of the bright half is combined with a Monday and the *nakshatra* Uttarâshâdhâ, in No 24 the third *tithi* of the dark half with a Friday and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Bhadrâpadâ. Of all the years between A D 1236 and 1325 there is only a single year that satisfies all the requirements of both dates, *viz* the year 1289. For that year the date—

No 23 corresponds to Monday, the 1st August A D 1289, which was the 4th day of the month of Simha, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Śrâvâna) ended 5 h 23 m, and the *nakshatra* was Uttarâshâdhâ, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h 53 m, and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 1 h 19 m, after mean sunrise, and the date—

<sup>1</sup> No 134 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1896

<sup>2</sup> No 24 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1900

<sup>3</sup> No 400 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1896

No 24 corresponds to Friday, the 5th August A D 1289, which was the 8th day of the month of Simha, and on which the third *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Śravana) ended 19 h 8 m after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Bhadrapadā, according to Garga and by the Brahma-siddhānta the whole day and by the equal space system from 1 h 19 m after mean sunrise

I may add that, if there were dates of the reign of Jatavarman Sundara-Pāndya I, they would fall in A D 1263, but that either of them would be incorrect both for that year and for A D 1264. For A D 1262 No 24 would be correct but not No 23

25.—In the Ilamiśvara temple at Tāramangalam.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrīh [||] Kor=Chchadapānmar=āṇa Tribhuvanachchakkaravatt[1]ga[1] śr[1]-  
Śutta(nā)ra-Pāndiyadēvaṅku yāṇdu Gāvaṇdu īvaṇdu Karkadaga-nāyaṇṇ[u]  
2 pūrva-pakshattu chru[u]rttiyūm Tingat-k[1]maiyum perṇa Uttirattu nāl

"In the 6th—sixth—year (of the reign) of king Jatavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,— on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fourth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkataka "

Considering that the two preceding dates Nos 23 and 24, which are said to be of the 13th year of the king's reign, fall in A D 1289, this date, which is of the 6th year of the reign, would in the first instance be expected to fall in A D 1282. But the date apparently corresponds to Monday, the 21st July A D 1281, which was the 25th day of the month of Karkataka, and on which the 4th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Śravana) ended 9 h 30 m, and the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalguni, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 51 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 4 h 36 m, after mean sunrise

Here again, if this date belonged to the reign of Jatavarman Sundara-Pāndya I, it would be expected to fall in A D 1256, but for that year it would be incorrect

26 —In the Jayangondanātha temple at Maṇṇārgudi.<sup>2</sup>

- 14 [Ś]rī-kō=Chchadapānmar=āṇa Tribhuvanachchak-  
15 karavattigal śrī-Sundara-Pāndiyadē-  
16 vaṅku yāṇdu paṇṇirandāvaṇdu Kan-  
17 ni-[n]āyaṇṇu pūrva-pakshattu trayōda-iyu[m]  
18 [V]eḷḷi-[11]ḷamuyum perṇa Śōḍi-nal

"In the twelfth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Jatavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,— on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Friday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kanyā "

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong, because during the month of Kanyā a 13th *tithi* of the bright half can never be joined with the *nakshatra* Svāti. Supposing the *nakshatra* to have been given correctly, the *tithi* in the month of Kanyā would in all probability be the third of the bright half. And for this *tithi* the date regularly corresponds to Friday, the 12th September A D. 1287, which was the 15th day of the month of Kanyā, and on which the third *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Āśvina) ended 4 h 7 m, and the *nakshatra* was Svāti by the equal space system for 5 h 55 m, after mean sunrise

Here too, if the date belonged to the reign of Jatavarman Sundara-Pāndya I, it would be expected to fall in A D 1262, but for that year it would be incorrect (also for the third *tithi* of the bright half)

<sup>1</sup> No 25 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1900

<sup>2</sup> No 90 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1897,



27 —In the Ilamiśvara temple at Tāramangalam.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kōr=Chadapaṇmai=āṇa Tirubuvāṇachchakkaravattigal śrī-Sundara-Pāndiyadēvarku yāndu padīnalāvaduk=edirāvadu Rishabha-nāyaṇṇu [pū] . . .  
 . . . [Tin]gat-kīlamaiyum perṇa Pūsattu nāl

“(In the year) opposite to the fourteenth year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāndyadēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Monday, . . . [of the first fortnight] of the month of Rishabha”

Judging by the dates Nos 25 and 26 this date, which is of the year opposite to the 14th, i.e. of the 15th year, of the king's reign, would in the first instance be expected to fall in A.D. 1290. Though the number of the *tithi* is broken away or illegible, the fact that on the *tithi* in question during the month of Rishabha the *nakṣatra* was Pushya, permits us to conjecture that the *tithi* was approximately the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of the month Jyāishtha, or perhaps the seventh *tithi* of the bright half of the month Vaisakha. Now the year A.D. 1290 does contain a day which satisfies all the requirements of the date, and which I therefore take to be its proper equivalent. It is Monday, the 15th May A.D. 1290 which was the 20th day of the month of Rishabha, and on which [the 5th *tithi*] of the bright half (of the month Jyāishtha) ended 4 h 24 m, and the *nakṣatra* was Pushya by the equal space system and according to Gaṅga for 0 h 39 m, after mean sunrise (and somewhat longer after true sunrise).

If this date were one of the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pandya I, it would be expected to fall in A.D. 1265 or 1266. In A.D. 1265 the month of Rishabha contained no Monday on which the *nakṣatra* was Pushya. In A.D. 1266, during the month of Rishabha, the *nakṣatra* was Pushya from 5 h 16 m after mean sunrise of Monday, the 10th May, but the 10th May A.D. 1266 would have belonged to the 16th, not the 15th, year of the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pandya I.

The difficulty presented by the five dates Nos 23-27 is this that, while according to the three dates Nos 25-27 the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pandya II would have commenced between approximately the 13th September A.D. 1275 and the 15th May A.D. 1276, by the two dates Nos 23 and 24, which are both of the 13th year, it could not have commenced before approximately the 6th August A.D. 1276. I can reconcile this discrepancy only by the assumption that in the dates Nos 23 and 24 the 13th year has been wrongly quoted instead of ‘the year opposite to the 13th,’ i.e. the 14th year, an assumption which would make the king's reign commence between (approximately) the 13th September A.D. 1275 and the 15th May A.D. 1276, as suggested by the dates Nos 25-27.

## G —MĀRAVARMAN KULASEKHARA II.

28 —In the Nellaiyappar temple at Tinnevely.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 . . . Śrī-kō M[ā]raṇmar=āṇa [Tr]ibhuvanachchakravattigal śrī-Kulaśēgaradēvarkku yāndu ettāvadū Vriśchika-nāyaṇṇu=ppadīnēlān=  
 2 [diyadiyu]m [apara]-cha(pa)kshatta(ttu) navamiyum [Śa]n[1]-kkīlamaiyum pe[r]ra  
 Uthtrattu nāl

“In the eighth year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Saturday, and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight, and to the seventeenth solar day of the month of Vriśchika.”

<sup>1</sup> No. 23 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1900

<sup>2</sup> No. 122 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1894

Between A.D 1200 and 1400 the only year for which this date would be correct, is 1321. In this year the Vṛ̥schika-samkrānti took place 12 h 48 m after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 28th October. The 17th day of the month of Vṛ̥schika therefore was Saturday, the 14th November A.D 1321; and on this day the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of the month Kārttika) ended 19 h 50 m., and the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalguni, by the equal space system from 3 h 17 m., according to Garga from 8 h 32 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta from 13 h 8 m., after mean sunrise.

If this date were one of Maravarman Kulaśekhara I, it would fall in either A.D 1275 or 1276, I need hardly say that for both these years it would be incorrect.

29 —In the Brihadiśvara temple at Gangaikondaśōlapuram<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrīh [||\*] Kō Ma . . . . . anachchakkaravattigal śrīh(śrī)-  
Kulaś[garā]dēvaṅku yāndu 4vadu Katka(rka)taka-nāyayru pūrvva-pakshattu  
chatu[r]ddaśiyum Śani-[k]ṛlāmayum [p]eṇṇa
- 2 Uttirādattu nāl

"In the 4th year (of the reign) of king Māṛavarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,— on the day of Uttarāshādhā, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkataka"

If the equivalent obtained under No 28 for the date of the 8th year is the true equivalent of that date, this date No 29, of the 4th year of the king's reign, will in the first instance be expected to fall in A.D 1317. It actually corresponds to Saturday, the 23rd July A.D. 1317. This day was the 26th of the month of Karkataka; and on it the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Śrāvana) ended 22 h 22 m., and the *nakshatra* was Uttarāshādhā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h 6 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 8 h 32 m., after mean sunrise.

I may add that, if this were a date of Māṛavarman Kulaśekhara I, it would fall in either A.D 1271 or 1272, but that for both these years it would be incorrect.

30 —In the Brihadiśvara temple at Gangaikondaśōlapuram.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 . . . . . [Kō] Mārapanmar Tribhuvanachchakravattigal śrīh-Kulaśēgaradēvaṅku  
yā[ndu] 5āvadu S[1]mīna-nāyayru
- 2 pūrvva-pakshattu trayōdaśiyum Tinga . . . . . yum peṇṇa Pūśattu nāl

"In the 5th year (of the reign) of king Māṛavarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,— on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Monday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Simha."

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong, because during the month of Simha the *nakshatra* on the 13th *tithi* of the bright half can never be Pushya or any *nakshatra* near Pushya. The probability is that the month of the date was Mīna, and actual calculation shews, not only that it was Mīna, but also that the word Pūśattu of the text should be altered to Pūrattu, so that the *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Phalguni, not Pushya.

I have no doubt that the proper equivalent of the date is Monday, the 5th March A.D 1319. This was the 10th day of the month of Mīna, and on it the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of the month Phālguna) ended 3 h 54 m after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Phalguni, by the equal space system during the whole day, according to Garga for 12 h 29 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h 53 m., after mean sunrise.

<sup>1</sup> No. 75 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1892

<sup>2</sup> No. 78 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1892

The three dates Nos 28-30 together prove that the reign of **Māra-varman Kulaśēkhara II.** commenced between (approximately) the 6th March and the 23rd July A.D. 1314

For convenience of reference I now give a list of the above thirty dates, in the order of the results obtained, with the approximate commencement of the reign of each king put in brackets after his name

**A —Jatāvarman Kulaśēkhara (February 27—November 29, A.D. 1190).**

No 2 Year opp<sup>1</sup> to 13 (i.e. 14th year) February 26, A.D. 1204

No 1 Year 12 opp to 13, or 25th year November 29, A.D. 1214

**B —Māra-varman Sundara-Pāndya I. (March 28—September 4, A.D. 1216)**

No 6 7th year March 13, A.D. 1223

No 5 9th year March 28, A.D. 1225

No 3 Year opp to year opp to 17 (i.e. 19th year) September 4, A.D. 1234

No 4 Year opp to year opp. to 17 (i.e. 19th year) . February 19, A.D. 1235

**C.—Māra-varman Sundara-Pāndya II (June 15, A.D. 1238—January 18, A.D. 1239).**

No 10 11th year April 25, A.D. 1249.

Nos 7 and 8 Year opp to year opp to 11 (i.e. 13th year) January 18, A.D. 1251

No 9 Year opp to year opp to 11 (i.e. 13th year) June 14, A.D. 1251

**D.—Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I. (April 20—28, A.D. 1251).**

No 11 2nd year March 27, A.D. 1253

No 12 2nd year April 19, A.D. 1253

No 13 3rd year October 29, A.D. 1253.

No 17 7th year October 7, A.D. 1257

No 14 9th year April 29, A.D. 1259

No 15 9th year June 15, A.D. 1259

No 16 10th year April 28, A.D. 1260

No 18 11th year July 19, A.D. 1261

**E —Māra-varman Kulaśēkhara I. (February 25—November 18, A.D. 1268).**

No 20 10th year January 5, A.D. 1278

No 21 26th year November 18, A.D. 1293.

No 19 27th year December 10, A.D. 1294

No 22 40th year February 24, A.D. 1308.

**F —Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II. (September 13, A.D. 1275—May 15, A.D. 1276).**

No 25. 6th year July 21, A.D. 1281

No 26 12th year September 12, A.D. 1287

No 23 13th [for 14th] year August 1, A.D. 1289

No 24 13th [for 14th] year August 5, A.D. 1289

No 27. [Year] opp to 14 (i.e. 15th year) May 15, A.D. 1290

G—Māra-varman Kulāśekhara II. (March 6—July 23, A D 1314).

No 29. 4th year July 23, A D 1317

No 30 5th year March 5, A D 1319

No 28 8th year November 14, A D 1321

(To be continued)

## NO 31—KONDAMUDI PLATES OF JAYAVARMAN

By E HULTZSCH, PH D

The copper plates which bear the subjoined inscription were received in June 1901 from Mr R. Morris, I C S, Collector of the Kistna district, along with an abstract of their contents by Mr. J Ramayya B A, B L They had been recently discovered in a mound in the village of Kondamudi in the Tenāli tāluka of the Kistna district and will be deposited in the Madras Museum

The copper plates are eight in number, and measure about 7" in breadth and about 3½" in height Their edges are not raised into rims In the upper left corner of the first side of each plate is cut a hole for the ring on which they were strung The ring measures about 3½" in diameter and about ¼" in thickness, and its ends are soldered into the base of a circular seal of about 1½" diameter The ring had not yet been cut when the plates came into my hands In the centre of the seal is, in relief, a trident the handle of which seems to end in an arrow, a bow (?), the crescent of the moon, and an indistinct symbol of roughly triangular shape Round the margin of the seal runs a Sanskrit legend in archaic characters which differ totally from those employed on the plates<sup>1</sup> The preservation of the plates is tolerably good, but the first side of the first plate is so much corroded that it can be read only with great difficulty Besides, two corners of the first plate are broken off, and it has in this way become detached from the ring

The alphabet of this inscription closely resembles that of the Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman (No 8 above). It shows the same peculiar *s*, *m*, *j*, and *e* The group *ja* (ll 5, 11 and 34) has a different shape, the vowel-mark being attached on the right, and not at the top of the letter as in the Mayidavōlu plates (ll 18 and 24) The *n* (or *ṇ*) is identical in shape with the lingual *d*, but the dental *d* is represented by a separate character, while in the Mayidavōlu plates no distinction is made between all the four letters Initial *o* occurs twice (ll. 19 and 27), and *ph* (l. 4), *dh* (l. 17), *gh* (l. 19), *ih* (l. 37) and initial *i* (l. 18) once

The language is Prākṛit, with the exception of the two Sanskrit words *Mahēśvara* (l. 3) and *Brhatphalāyana* (l. 4) and the Telugu village name *Pamṭūra* (ll 24 and 29). As in the Mayidavōlu plates, the orthography follows the practice of the cave inscriptions, where a single consonant does duty for a double letter<sup>2</sup> Double *n* and double *m* are expressed by *anusvāra* and *n* (ll 15 and 19) and *m* (ll. 5 and 44), respectively, a superfluous *anusvāra* occurs before the groups *mh* and *nh* (ll 7, 8, 10, 16, 17, 24, 26 and 29) The instrumental *eteḥ nam* (l. 35) is known from the Andhra inscriptions and from the Jaina Prākṛit<sup>3</sup> The curious phrases *etasa chasa* (l. 28) and *etam chasim* (l. 36) also have their parallels in the Andhra inscriptions<sup>4</sup> A peculiar word is *asi* (ll 13, 14, 15 and 18), *amsi* (ll 17, 20 and 22) or *amsikā* (l. 21), 'a share,' which seems to be derived from the Sanskrit *amśa* *Divadha* (l. 17) represents the Ardhamāgadhī *divaddha*, 'one and a half'<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Just as here two different alphabets are employed for Sanskrit and Prākṛit, the inscriptions of the Tamil country use the Vatteḷuttu and the Tamil alphabets for Tamil words and the Grantha alphabet for Sanskrit words.

<sup>2</sup> The only exception would be *amsikā=dddhā* (l. 21), if this reading is correct

<sup>3</sup> *A S W I* Vol IV p 104, note 9 Prof Pischel (*Grammatik der Prākṛit Sprachen*, p 114) derives the particle *nam* or *nam* from the Sanskrit *nānam*

<sup>4</sup> *Zoo cāf* text line 8, p 105, text line 5, p 106, text line 11, and p 112, text line 3

<sup>5</sup> Prof. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, p 320

The eight copper plates are marked with the numerical symbols '1' to '8' on the left of the second line of each plate. On plates II to VIII the figure occupies the first side, but the figure '1' stands on the *second* side of the first plate. The reason of this is that the writing on the first side of the first plate does not form part of the inscription itself (which begins on the second side of the first plate), but is a kind of docket which was probably added after the remaining 15 pages had been engraved. In II 12 to 15, 20, 22 and 41 occur further instances of numerical symbols, among them '10' (l 41) and '20' (l 22). A dash resembling the symbol '1' is used as a mark of punctuation at the end of 12 lines, and after 3 words in the middle of lines.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king (*rājan*, l 5) or, as he is styled on the seal, the *Mahārāja Jayavarman*, who belonged to the *gōtra* of the *Bṛihatphalāyanas* and was a worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva). From his camp (or capital), the town Kūdūra, he informs his executive officer at Kūdūra that he has granted the village Pāntūra in the district of Kūdūra (Kūdūrahāra, l 23) to eight Brāhmanas. The royal order was copied on copper plates by a military officer on the 1st day of the 1st fortnight of winter of the 10th year (of the king's reign, l 41).

Neither Jayavarman nor his *gōtra* are known from other records. The alphabet of his inscription shows that he must have lived in the same period as the Pallava prince Śivaskandavarman who issued the Mayīdavōlu plates. Further, the language and phraseology of the inscription are so similar to the Nāsik inscriptions<sup>1</sup> of Gautamiputra Śātakarni (Nos 4 and 5)<sup>2</sup> and Vāsishthiputra Pulumāyi (No 3) that Jayavarman's date cannot have been very distant from that of those two Andhra kings. The archaic Sanskrit alphabet of the seal of the new plates is corroborative evidence in the same direction.

As suggested by Mr Ramayya, Kūdūrahāra may be a more ancient form of Gudrahāra, Gudravāra, Gudrāvāra or Gudrāra<sup>3</sup>. The same district is probably mentioned in the plates of Vijayanandivarman (l 3), where I propose to read from the photo-lithograph *Kudrāhāra* instead of *Kuduhāra*, the reading of the printed texts<sup>4</sup>. Kūdūra, which was the head-quarters of this district and the residence of king Jayavarman, and the village Pāntūra I am unable to identify.

#### TEXT<sup>5</sup>

##### *First Plate, Second Side*

- 1 S [v] pato<sup>6</sup> vijaya-khamdhāvārā
- 2 nagarā Kūdūrāto
- 3 Mahēśvara-pāda-pangahito

##### *Second Plate, First Side*

- 4 Bṛihatphalāyana-sagoto
- 5 rājā suri-Jayavammo
- 6 ānapayati Kūdūre

<sup>1</sup> A still closer resemblance exists between Jayavarman's plates and the Kārī inscription No 19, at the beginning of which the king's name is lost, see below, p 319, notes 1 and 7.

<sup>2</sup> I am quoting the Andhra inscriptions according to Dr Bhagwanlal Indraji's numbering in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVI (Nāsik), and *Inscriptions from the Cave-temples of Western India* (Kārī).

<sup>3</sup> See *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I p 47, note 1, above, Vol IV p 34, and Vol V p 123.

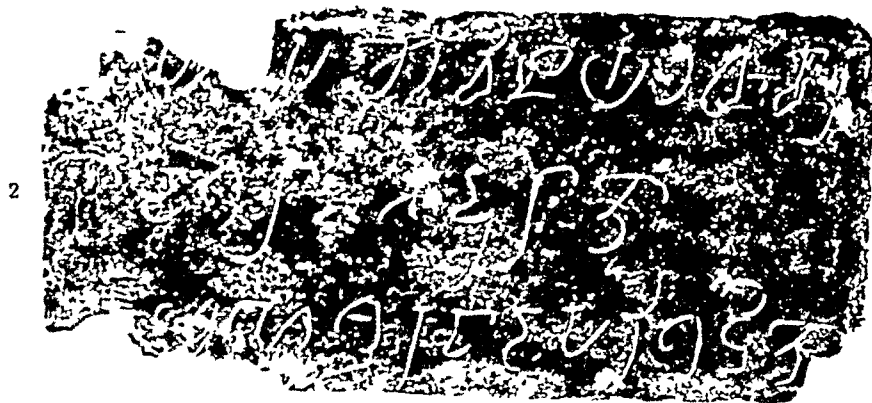
<sup>4</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol V p 176, and Dr Burnell's *South-Ind Pal*, second ed., p 135.

<sup>5</sup> From the original plates.

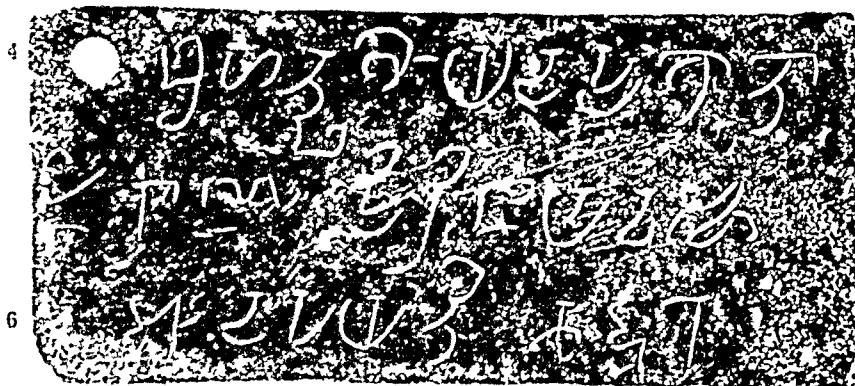
<sup>6</sup> The two first letters are broken away at the top. The lower portion of the letter *v* is preserved on a separate piece of the plate, which is broken off and therefore could not be shown on the accompanying photo-zincograph. Of the two possible restorations, *sava* (*sarva*) and *sira* (*śira*), the second appears preferable, because documents generally open with a word of auspicious import.

*Kondamudi Plates of Jayaraman*

1b



11a



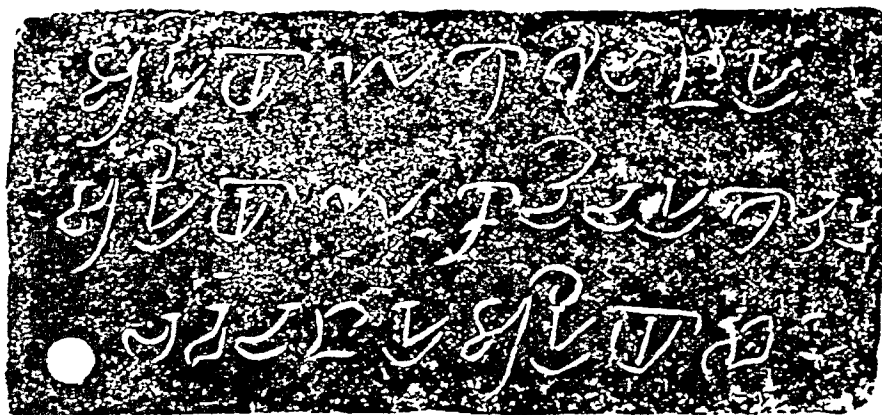
11b



111a

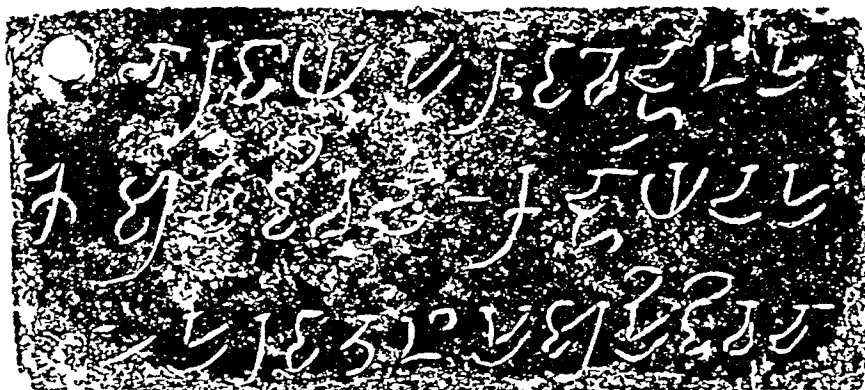


III b



14

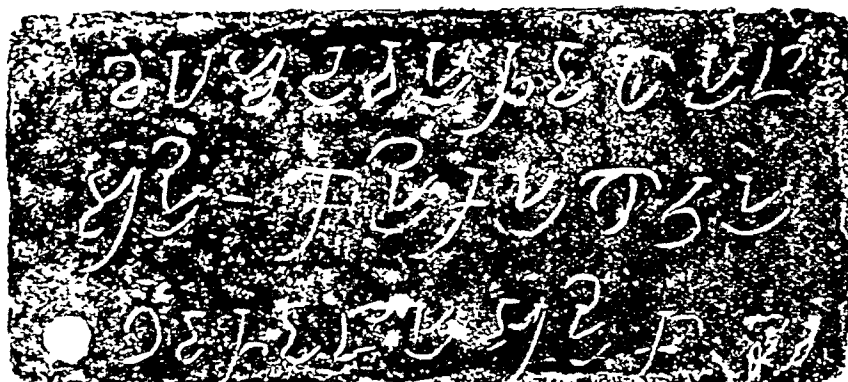
III a



16

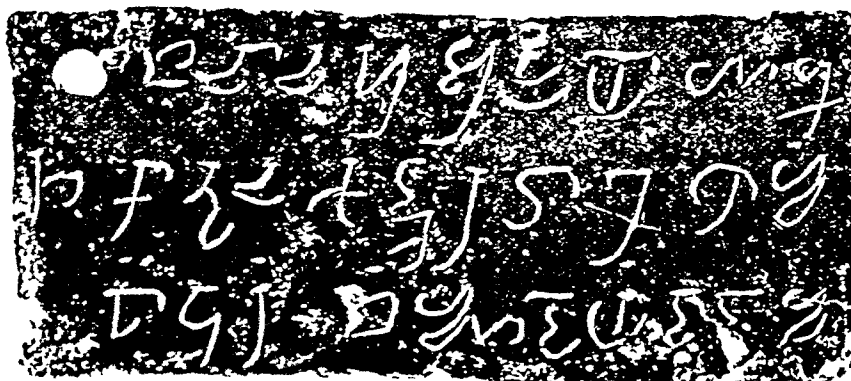
18

III b



20

III a



22

24

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 7 vīpatam [i\*] ammbhe dāni  
 8 ammbha-vejayike —  
 9 āyu-vadhamike cha —

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 10 bammhanānam Gotama-sagota-  
 11 jāyaparaṇa Savagutajasa  
 12 8 Tānavasa Savigijasa —

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 13 asiyo 3 Goginajasa  
 14 asiyo 3 Kodina-sagotasa  
 15 Bhavammajasa asiyo be 2

*Fourth Plate; First Side*

- 16 Bhāradāyasa Rudavemnhujasa —  
 17 amsi divadhā — Kamnhāyanasa  
 18 Īsaradatajasa asi diva[dā] —

*Fourth Plate, Second Side.*

- 19 Opamamnavasa Rudaghosajasa  
 20 amsi 1 Kosika-sagotasa  
 21 Khamdarudajasa amsika[ddhā] cham<sup>2</sup>

*Fifth Plate, First Side*

- 22 janānam 8 amsiyo 20 4  
 23 kātuna<sup>3</sup> Kūdūrahāre gāmam  
 24 Pāmtūram — bammhadeyam da[d]āma [i\*]

*Fifth Plate, Second Side.*

- 25 etamsi tam gāma —  
 26 Pātūra — bammhadeyam  
 27 kātūna oyapāpehi [i\*]

*Sixth Plate, First Side.*

- 28 etasa chasa gāmasa  
 29 Pāmtūrasa bammhadeyam  
 30 kātuna<sup>3</sup> parhāre vitarāma [i\*]

*Sixth Plate, Second Side.*

- 31 apāpesam anomasaṁ  
 32 alonakhādakam —  
 33 arathasamvinayikam —

<sup>1</sup> Read °dhā<sup>2</sup> Read cha.<sup>3</sup> Read kātuna



*Seventh Plate, First Side.*

- 34 savajâtapârihârikam cha [!\*]  
 35 etehi nam parihârehi  
 36 pariharâhi [!\*] etam chasim gâma[m]

*Seventh Plate, Second Side*

- 37 Pâtûra[m] ba[m]mhadeya[m kâ]tuna<sup>1</sup> etha  
 38 nibamdâpehi [!\*] aviyena ânatam [!\*]  
 39 sayam chhato [!\*] sur-atha-satâ-

*Eighth Plate, First Side*

- 40 vijayo dato [!\*] patikâ —  
 41 samva 10 he pa 1 diva 1  
 42 Mahâtagi-varena —

*Eighth Plate, Second Side*

- 43 mahâdamdanâyakena  
 44 Bhâpahanavammena —  
 45 katati —

*First Plate, First Side<sup>2</sup>*

- 1 Bamhanânam Savagutaja-mahâ-  
 2 janânam janânam 8 Kûdûrahâre  
 3 Pântûrasa bamhadeyasa [!]\*]

*Seal*

Bṛihatphalâyana-sagôtrasya mahârâja-śrî-Jayavarmanah [!]\*]

## TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) From the camp of victory, the town Kûdûra,— the fortunate<sup>3</sup> king, the glor. Jayavarman, who is favoured by the feet of Mahêśvara (and) who belongs to the gôtra of Bṛihatphalâyanas, orders (his) official (*vyôprîta*) at Kûdûra (as follows) —

(L 7) "For conferring on ourselves victory (*in war*) and for increasing (*our*) length of we have now given the village Pântûra in the district of Kûdûra (*Kûdûrahâra*) (as *brahmadêya*, assigning 24 shares<sup>4</sup> to 8 people, (*viz*) to (*the following*) Brâhmanas — Savagutaja (*Śarvaguptârya*), a householder<sup>5</sup> of the Gautama gôtra, 8 (*shares*), to Savigija of Tânavya (*gôtra*) 3 shares, to Goginaja 3 shares, to Bhavannaja of the Kaupînya gôtra two — shares, to Rudavennhuja (*Rudravishnavârya*) of the Bhâradvâja (*gôtra*) one and a half share Isaradataja (*Īśvaradattârya*) of the Kârshnâyana (*gôtra*) one and a half share, to Rudagho (*Rudraghoshârya*) of the Aupamanyava (*gôtra*) 1 share, and to Khandarudaja (*Skandarudrâ*) of the Kausika gôtra half a share

<sup>1</sup> Read *kâtûna*

<sup>2</sup> This side of the plate is much corroded, and most of the letters are indistinct

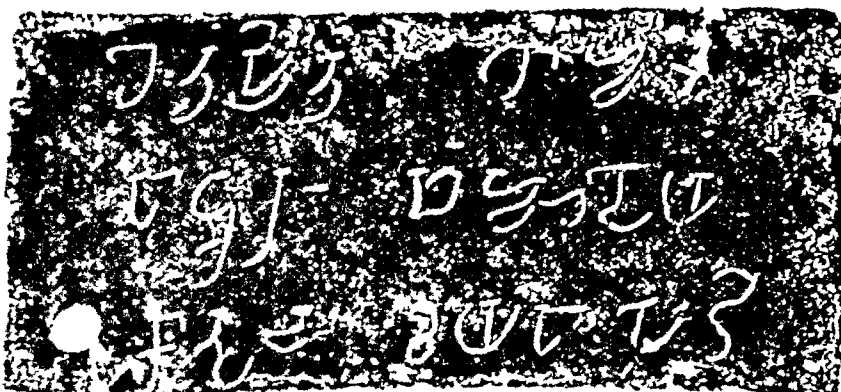
<sup>3</sup> With *srapato* compare *su-happatto*, 'happy,' which Childers (s v *patto*) quotes from the *Dhammapad*

<sup>4</sup> If the shares assigned to each donee are added up, the result is only 20½. Perhaps the remaining 8½ shares were set as de for communal purposes or for the village temple

<sup>5</sup> *Jdyâpara* is perhaps synonymous with *grîhastha*

10

26



11 a

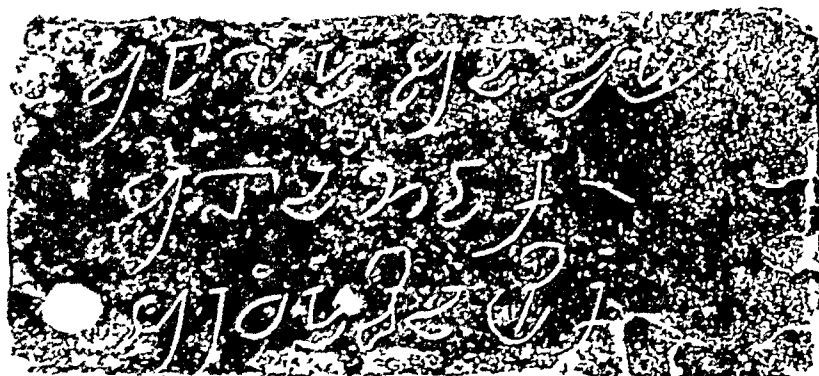
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30



16

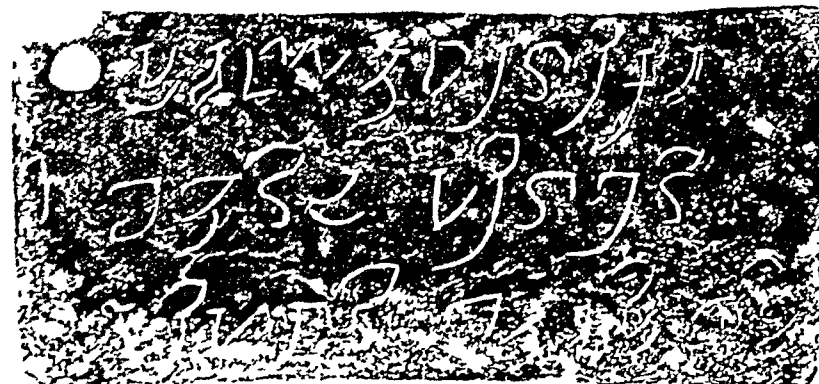
32

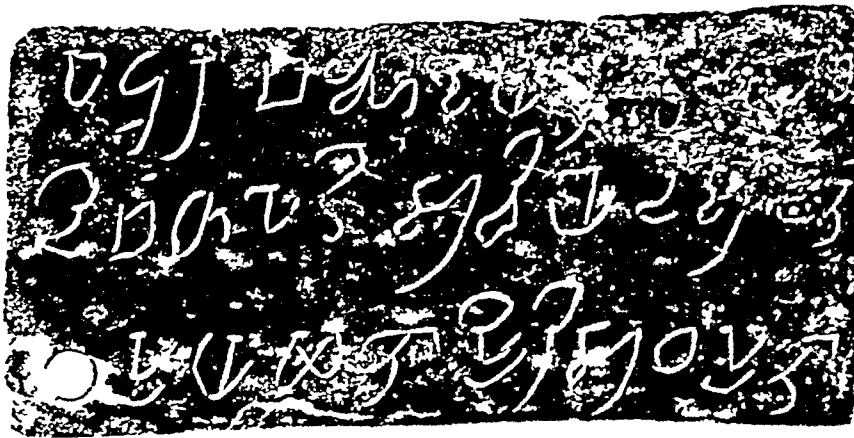


112 a

34

36





33

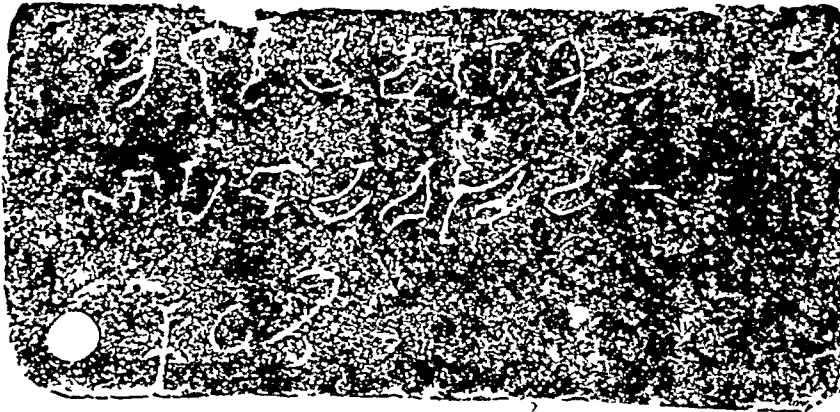
viii a



40

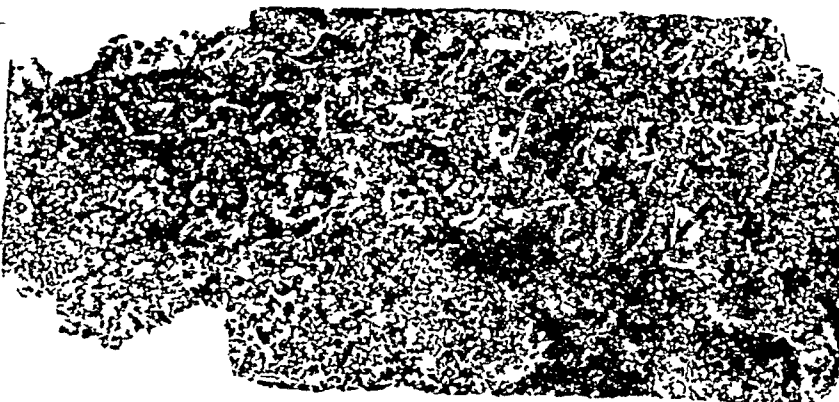
42

viii b



44

i a



2

(L 25.) "Parcel off<sup>1</sup> that village Pā[n]tūra from this (*district*), having made (*it*) a *brahmadēya*

(L 28.) "And to this village Pāntūra we grant (*all*) immunities, having made (*it*) a *brahmadēya*

(L 31) "(*Let it be*) free from being entered, free from being meddled with, free from diggings for salt, *arañhusamīnayika*, and endowed with immunities of all kinds

(L 35) "Exempt<sup>2</sup> (*it*) with (*all*) these immunities

(L 36) "And having made this village Pā[n]tūra a *brahmadēya*, cause a charter to be drawn up<sup>3</sup> to this effect "

(L 38) The order was issued by word of mouth<sup>4</sup>

(L 39) (*The charter*) was signed<sup>5</sup> by (*the king*) himself Fortune, wealth, power<sup>6</sup> and victory<sup>7</sup> were given (*by the donees to the king as a reward for the grant*)

(L 40) (*This*) set of plates was prepared on the 1st day of the 1st fortnight of winter of the 10th year by the *Mahādandanāyaka* Bhāpahānavarman, the best of the *Mahātāga* (*family* ?)

(First plate, first side) (*Order referring*) to the *brahmadēya* Pāntūra in Kūdūrahāra, (*granted*) to 8 people, to Brāhmanas, to the *Mahājanas* (headed by) *Savagutaja*<sup>8</sup>

(On the seal.) (*The seal*) of the *Mahārāja*, the glorious Jayavarman, who belongs to the *gōtra* of the *Bṛihatphalāyanas*.

## NO 32 — TWO CAVE INSCRIPTIONS AT SIYAMANGALAM

By E HULTZSCH, PH D

The village of Siyamangalam near Dīśūr in the Wandiwash (Vandavāśi) tāluka of the North Arcot district contains a Śiva temple named Stambhēśvara or (in Tamil) Tūn-Āndār,<sup>9</sup> which consists of a rock-cut shrine, two *manḍapas* in front of it, and a stone enclosure<sup>10</sup> The two rock-cut pillars of the gate by which the shrine is entered bear the two subjoined inscriptions Besides, there are several Chōla inscriptions on the walls of the enclosure and on the rock in the

<sup>1</sup> The second singular imperative is addressed to the official at Kūdūra The verb *oyapāpeti* is probably derived from *acayata*, the *c* having been hardened into *p* as in *apāpesa* (l 31) In the Kārlē inscription No 19 read also *oyapāpeti* instead of *deya papahi* (*A S W I* Vol IV p 112, text line 3)

<sup>2</sup> See note 1 above I believe that the second singular imperative is also intended in *A S W I* Vol IV p 112, text line 4 (*pariharika*), p 104, text line 4, and p 111, text line 14 (*parihariki*), and the second plural imperative *ibid* p 106, text line 11 (*parihareika*)

<sup>3</sup> The second singular imperative *ṇibamdhāpeti*, which is quite clear on the copper plate, has been misread in various ways in *A S W I* Vol IV p 105, text line 5, p 111, text line 14, and p 112, text line 5 The second plural imperative (*ṇibamdhāpeti*) is meant *ibid* p 106, text line 11

<sup>4</sup> On *avayena* see *A S W I* Vol IV p 105, note 2

<sup>5</sup> In his valuable paper on the Kārlē inscriptions, which will appear in Vol VII of this journal, Dr Senart derives *chhata* from *kshan*, 'to hurt' and hence 'to write' The king cannot have written the order himself, because the inscription expressly states that he issued it by word of mouth Hence I propose to translate *chhata* by 'signed' The king's signature may have been affixed to the original document, which was deposited in the royal secretariat, and from which the copper plates were copied In the latter the royal signature is represented by the seal on which they are strung

<sup>6</sup> On *saṭṭa* see *Ind Ant* Vol XIV p 382

<sup>7</sup> Compare the Kārlē inscription No 19, where Dr Senart (see note 5 above) reads *riyayathasatṭre* or *\*satṭkhe* If the second alternative is accepted, the compound would mean "victory, wealth, power and fame"

<sup>8</sup> This passage is a kind of docket, stating the contents of the whole document

<sup>9</sup> *I e*, 'the lord of pillars' This name seems to refer to the two pillars in front of the cave

<sup>10</sup> Compare Mr. Sewell's *Lists*, Vol I p 170, and the *Manual of the North Arcot District*, new edition, Vol II p 445

north-east corner of the temple, from which we learn that Śīyamangalam belonged to Tennārrūr-nādu,<sup>1</sup> a subdivision of Palagunra-kōttam,<sup>2</sup> a district of Jayangonda-Chōla-mandalam. The temple itself was then called Tirukkarrah, i.e. 'the sacred stone temple' (Nos 60 and 69 of 1900), and Tūn-Āudār (Nos 61, 62, 63 and 65 of 1900).

#### A —Inscription of Lalitānkura.

This inscription (No 67 of 1900) is engraved on the right pillar of the gate. It consists of a single Sanskrit verse in the Āryā metre and is written in the same archaic alphabet as the cave inscriptions at Trichinopoly<sup>3</sup> and Mahēndravādī.<sup>4</sup> It records that "this (temple) named Avambhājana-Pallavēśvara" was caused to be made by king Lalitānkura. From the cave inscription at Vallam<sup>5</sup> we know that Lalitānkura was a surname of Mahendrapōtarāja, who, according to Mr Venkayya's researches,<sup>6</sup> is probably identical with the Pallava king Mahēndravarman I. Two other surnames of the same king were Śatrumalla and Gunabhara, of which the first occurs at Trichinopoly and Vallam, and the second at Trichinopoly, Vallam and Mahēndravādī. Thus the Pallava king Mahēndravarman I., who reigned about the beginning of the seventh century of the Christian era, is now known to have excavated four rock-cut shrines, of which that at Mahēndravādī was dedicated to Viṣṇu, and the three others to Śiva. The name of the Śīyamangalam cave, Avambhājana-Pallavēśvara, means 'the Īśvara (i.e. Śiva temple) of the Pallava (king) Avambhājana'. Hence Avambhājana,<sup>7</sup> i.e. 'the possessor of the earth,' must have been another surname of Mahēndravarman I.

#### TEXT<sup>8</sup>

- 1 Lalitā[m]kurēna rājñ=Āva-
- 2 nibhāja[na]-Pallavēśvaran-nāma [I\*]
- 3 kām̐tam=ētat=svē[dh]ā(chchhā)-karanda-
- 4 m-iva punya-ratnānām [II\*]

#### TRANSLATION.

By king Lalitānkura was caused to be made this (temple) named Avambhājana-Pallavēśvara—a casket, as it were, (worked at) his will (and enclosing) jewels, (viz.) good deeds.<sup>9</sup>

#### B —Inscription of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman.

This inscription (No 68 of 1900) is engraved on the left pillar of the gate. Its alphabet is Tamil, with the exception of the Grantha words *svasti śrī* at the beginning and *śrī* in line 10, and resembles that of the Tiruvallam rock inscription of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman, but the letter *ṇ* has throughout its archaic form, while in the Tiruvallam inscription the modern form with fully developed central loop occurs twice.<sup>10</sup> The language is Tamil. As in the Madras Museum plates of Jatilavarman,<sup>11</sup> the rules of *saṁdhi* are not observed in Perumbūlavūr (l. 7 f.)

<sup>1</sup> This subdivision was named after Tennāttūr, No 127 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Wandiwash taluka.

<sup>2</sup> The same district is mentioned in two inscriptions at Tirumalai near Pōlūr (*South-Ind Inscr* Vol I Nos 72 and 74), in a Tiruvallam inscription (*ibid* Vol III No 58), and in the Ālampūdi plate (above, Vol III p 226).

<sup>3</sup> *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I Nos 33 and 34, and Vol II Plate x.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol IV No 19.

<sup>5</sup> *South-Ind Inscr* Vol II No 72.

<sup>6</sup> *Madras Christian College Magazine* of November 1893, and above, Vol III p 278.

<sup>7</sup> The synonymous *virūḍa* Bhuvanabhājana occurs in the inscriptions of the Pallava kings Narasimha and Rajasimha at Mamallapuram and Kañchi, *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I Nos 3, 7, and 25, 23rd niche.

<sup>8</sup> From inked estampages prepared by Mr G Venkoba Rao in 1900 and 1901.

<sup>9</sup> By this simile the king suggests that he built the temple in order to obtain merit in the future life.

<sup>10</sup> *South-Ind Inscr* Vol III p 90 and note 6.

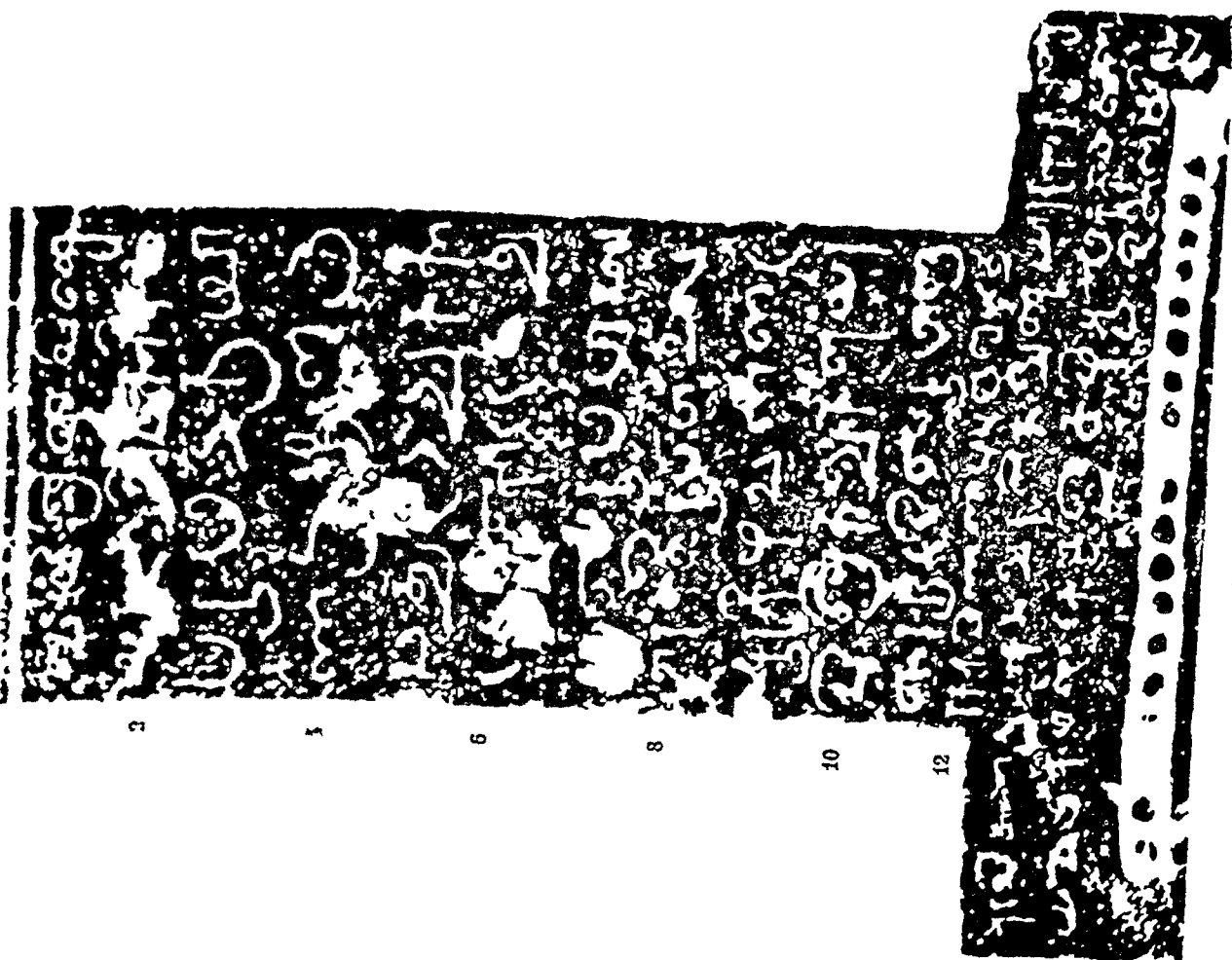
<sup>11</sup> See Mr Venkayya's remarks in *Ind Ant* Vol. XXII p 68 f.

# *Siyamangalam Cave Inscriptions*



SCALE ONE-THIRD

E HULTZSCH



SCALE ONE-FIFTH

WIELE & KLEIN, PHOTO-ZINCO



for *Perumbālayūr* and in *alāṁmai* (l 14) for *alāyāmai*, which is an archaic form of the negative gerund *alāyāmal*. The final *n* of *kaṭavan* (l 9) is doubled before the following vowel. The Tamil form *mugamandugam* (l 14) instead of the Sanskrit *mukhamandapa* has been already noticed in the Ukkal inscription of Krishna III.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription is dated in the third year of the reign of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman, whom I have identified with the father of the Ganga-Pallava king Vijaya-Nripatungavikramavarman and placed in the ninth century of the Christian era.<sup>2</sup> This is the earliest known inscription of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman. Five other records of his at Śaduppēn, Vinūchipuram and Tiruvallam are dated between his 9th and 62nd years.<sup>3</sup> Since the publication of the two Āmbūr inscriptions of Vijaya-Nripatungavikramavarman,<sup>4</sup> two inscriptions of his grandfather Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman<sup>5</sup> and four inscriptions of his own reign<sup>6</sup> were copied at Uttaramallūr in the Chingleput district. The Śadaiyar temple at Tiruchchennambūndi near Kōviladi (between Tanjore and Trichinopoly) contains three inscriptions of the same king.<sup>7</sup> Two of these mention Mārambāvai, "who was the great queen of Nandippōttaraiyar of the Pallavati[ka?] family."<sup>8</sup> The same queen is referred to in an inscription at Niyamam in the Tanjore taluka (No 16 of 1899), which is unfortunately mutilated, but seems to belong to the reign of the early Chōla king Rājakesarivarman. One feels tempted to conclude from this that Rājakesarivarman put an end to the rule of the Ganga-Pallavas, and that certain chiefs who claimed connection with the Pallava dynasty were first subordinate to Vijaya-Nripatungavikramavarman and afterwards to his conqueror, the Chōla king.

The inscript on records that the mandapa in front of the cave temple was built by a certain Adavi with the permission of a Ganga chief named Nērgutti, who must have been subordinate to Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman. Adavi was the headman of a village near Perumbālayūr in Ūṟṟukkātu-kōttam. This district owes its name to Ūṟṟukkātu, a village in the Conjeeveram taluka, and Perumbālayūr is perhaps the same as Pālayūr which is mentioned in the Kaśākūdi plates.<sup>9</sup>

## TEXT 10

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kō Viśai-
- 2 [ya-Na]n[d]i[vi]kk[rama]-
- 3 paramarṅku yā-
- 4 ndu m[ū]nra-
- 5 vadu [Ū]ṟṟukkā-
- 6 t[ṭu-k]kōtta[t]tu-
- 7 [Pp]orumbālai-
- 8 ūr-<sup>11</sup>Ttiruppālai-
- 9 yūr kaṭavan=Ada-
- 10 vi śrī-Gangaraiyar
- 11 Nērgutti Perumānā-
- 12 rkku vinnappañ=jeydu

<sup>1</sup> *South-Ind Inscr* Vol III p 12, note 15, *mandagam* occurs twice in the Kūram plates, *ibid* Vol I, No 151, text lines 61 and 74.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol IV, p 181 f

<sup>3</sup> *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I Nos 108, 124 and 125, and Vol III Nos 42 and 43

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol IV No 23

<sup>5</sup> No. 51 of 1898 10th year, and No 61 [2]1st year. An inscription at Kūram (No 35 of 1900) is dated in the 12th year.

<sup>6</sup> No 63 of 1898 16th year, No 81 25th year, No 83 26th year, and No 82 date lost. Two inscriptions at Kūram (Nos 33 and 37 of 1900) are dated in the 17th and [21]st years.

<sup>7</sup> No 303 of 1901 18th year, and Nos 300 and 301 22nd year.

<sup>8</sup> *Pallaratiṭa kulattu Nandippōttaraiyar mahādēviyār=āna adigaḷ Kandan Mārambāvaiyār*

See *South-Ind Inscr* Vol II p 345

<sup>10</sup> From two inked stampages

<sup>11</sup> Read *ōdālayūr=*



- 13 Adavi tan=râyâr Nanga[n]i Nangayârkk=âga=chche-  
 14 yda mugamandagam [I\*] id=a]âmai=kkâtân=a-  
 15 di en mudî mê-  
 16 la [II\*]

## TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Hail! Prosperity! In the third year (of the reign) of king Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman,—Adavi, the headman of Tiruppâlayûr (near) Perumbâlayûr in Ūṟukkâttu-kôttam, having made a request to (i.e. having obtained the sanction of) the glorious Ganga king Nêrgutti Perumân,—(this) Adavi made the mandapa in front (of the shrine) for (the merit of) his mother Nanga[n]i Nangai

(L 14) The feet of him who protects this (gift) without destroying (it), (shall be) on my head<sup>2</sup>

No 33 — RANGANATHA INSCRIPTION OF GOPPANA,  
 SAKA-SAMVAT 1293

By E HULTZSCH, PH D.

In the *Guruparamparâprabhâva*, a modern Tamil work which professes to be based on a Sanskrit poem in 3,000 verses by Tritiya-Brahmatantrasvatantrasvâmin, we are told that, when the Musalmâns<sup>3</sup> had captured Tiruchchirâppalli (Trichinopoly), the authorities of the Ranganâtha temple on the island of Śrīrangam near Trichinopoly secretly removed the image of Alagiyamanavâlan (Viṣṇu) to Tirumalai (Tirupati)<sup>4</sup> Subsequently a certain Gôpanarâyar is stated to have brought the image from Tirumalai to Śingapuram near Śeñji, and thence back to Śrīrangam, where he reconsecrated the god and his two wives (Lakshmi and the Earth)<sup>5</sup> On this occasion he was praised by the Vaiṣṇava preceptor Vêdântadêśika in the following verse<sup>6</sup>—

आनीयानीलशृङ्गद्युतिरचितजगद्रञ्जनादञ्जनादे-  
 श्चञ्जामाराध्य कचित्समयमथ निहत्योद्धनुष्कान्<sup>7</sup> तुरुष्कान् ।  
 लक्ष्मीक्ष्माभ्यामुभाभ्यां सह निजनिलये स्थापयन्नङ्गनाथ<sup>8</sup>  
 सम्यक्कुर्यां सपर्यामकृत भुवि यशःप्रापणो गोपणार्थः ॥

Mr Venkayya has drawn my attention to another Tamil work, entitled *Kôyilolugun*, i.e. "Benefactions to the Temple," which registers the donations made to the Ranganâtha temple at Śrīrangam from the earliest times. The authorities on which the statements of this book are based are not mentioned by the author. Among other facts it chronicles the same events which have been quoted from the *Guruparamparâ*, with fuller details. It states that in Śaka-Samvat 1149 expired,<sup>9</sup> the Akshaya-samvatsara, the Muhammadans (*Tuluḥkar*) occupied the Tondai-mandalam. When news reached the temple authorities at Śrīrangam that the enemies had passed Samayapuram (9 miles north-north-east of Trichinopoly), they removed the image of Alagiyamanavâla-Perumâl to Tirunârâyanapuram (Mêlukôte in the Mysore State)

<sup>1</sup> Read =a]iyâmai=

<sup>2</sup> *Turushka-Yavan âdiga*

<sup>3</sup> Madras edition of Kaliyuga 4990, the Virôdhi-samvatsara, p 124 f

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid* p 127 f

<sup>5</sup> Read °नाथ,

<sup>6</sup> See *South-Ind Inscr* Vol III p 92 and note 1,

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid* p 129

<sup>8</sup> Read °तुष्कांसु<sup>०</sup>,

<sup>9</sup> This must be an error for 1249,

by way of Jōtishkūḍi, Tirumālirūṇjōlai, Kōlīkkūḍu (Calicut) and Punganūr (in the North Arcot district) The image was kept for "many days" at Mēlūkōte and then removed to Tirumalai (Tirupati in the North Arcot district), where it was worshipped for "a long time." In the meanwhile the Muhammadans had conquered the Pāndya country and, through the influence of Vidyāranya, the kingdom of Āṇaikkondī (Vijayanagara) had been established Its king, Harihararāyar (II), reconquered the Tondai-mandalam One of his officers, Gōpana-Udayār, who resided at Śēṇi, took the above mentioned image from Tirumalai to Śingapuram (near Śēṇi),<sup>1</sup> where it was duly worshipped He advanced with a strong force and defeated the Muhammadans completely In Śaka-Samvat 1293, the Paridhāvi-samvatsara, on the 17th solar day of the month Vāgāśi, he brought back the image of Perumāl to Śrīrangam and reconsecrated the god and his two consorts He engraved on the outer portion of the east side of the temple wall (built by) Dharmavarman<sup>2</sup> the same verse which has been quoted from the *Guruparamparā*, and which reads here as follows —

आनीयानीलशृङ्गद्युतिरचितजगद्रक्षणादक्षनाद्रे-

ञ्चैत्रामाराध्य कचित्समयमथ निहत्योदनुष्कांस्तुलुष्कान् ।

लक्ष्मीक्षाम्यामुभाभ्यां सह निजनिलये स्थापयब्रह्मनाथ

सम्यग्वर्या सपर्या<sup>3</sup> कुरुत निजयशोदर्पणो गोपणार्यः ॥

The *Kōyiloḷugu* further states that Gōpana-Udayār granted fifty-two villages to the Ranganātha temple, and that both his sovereign, Harihararāyar (II), and Viruppana-Udayār, the son of the latter, performed the *tulāpurusha* ceremony at the same temple<sup>4</sup>

The verse quoted above and another, similar verse make up the subjoined Grantha inscription (No 55 of 1892), which is engraved on the east wall of the second *prākāra* of the Ranganātha temple at Śrīrangam The two verses are preceded by a chronogram representing Śaka-Samvat 1293<sup>5</sup> (=A D 1371-72) This date implies that the *Guruparamparāprabhāva* either must be wrong in making Gōpanarāyar a contemporary of Vēdāntadēśika, or— what is more probable— that the alleged birthday of Vēdāntadēśika in Kalyuga 4370, the Śukla-samvatsara<sup>6</sup> (=A D 1269 70), is a pure invention Gōpanarāyar is referred to in the inscription as Goppa-nārya (verse 1) and Gōpana (v 2) His residence (*rājadhānī*, v 2) was Cheñchi (v 1), which is the Sanskrit form of the Tamil Śēṇi, *vulgo* Gingee, in the South Arcot district<sup>7</sup> Añjanādri<sup>8</sup> (v 1) and Vṛishabhagiri (v 2) are two names of Tirumalai, the hill of Tirupati in the North Arcot district

Goppana or Goppanna is known as an officer of Kampana-Udayar or Kampanna-Udayar, the son of Vīra-Bokkana-Udayar, from an inscription at Achcharapākkam (No 250 of 1901)

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol III p 226

<sup>2</sup> This mythical king is reported to have built large portions of the Ranganātha temple round the central shrine, which existed from times immemorial

<sup>3</sup> Read चर्यामङ्गत

<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to note that this Tamil work refers to the donations of Sundara-Pāndya, which are described in one of the Ranganātha inscriptions (above, Vol III p 7 ff) The king is said to have defeated the Chēra, the Chōla and Vallā[la]deva (i.e. the Hoysala king) and to have assumed the title *Emmandalan gonda Perumāl*, i.e. "the king who conquered every country" Having covered a large portion of the temple with gold, he assumed the further title *Pon mēynda Perumāl*, i.e. "the king who covered (the temple) with gold," and set up an image of Vishnu called after this surname His gifts of gold and jewels are also enumerated He is said to have spent altogether 18 *lakṣas* of gold coins (*pon*) in covering the temple with gold, and the same amount in gifts

<sup>5</sup> The same year is quoted in the *Kōyiloḷugu*, see above

<sup>6</sup> *Op cit* p 94

<sup>7</sup> Dr Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, s v

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol III p 226

and from three inscriptions at Kāñchī<sup>1</sup> Aiyanna, the son of Anna Goppanna, is mentioned in another Kāñchī inscription of Vira-Kampana-Udayar, the son of Bukkana-Udayar (No. 33 of 1890) The same inscription shows that Goppanna was a Brāhmana, as it states that he belonged to the *Āpastamba-sūtra* and *Bhāradvāja-gōtra*

It appears from the last paragraph that Goppanna's sovereign, Kampana-Udayar, was the son of Bukkana-Udayar or Vira-Bokkana-Udayar I feel no hesitation in identifying this Bukkana-Udayar with king Bukka I of Vijayanagara, whose name appears as 'Vira-Bukkanna-Odeyar' of Vijayanagara' in a Kanarese inscription of Śaka-Samvat 1293, the Virōdhikrit year, at Bhatkal,<sup>2</sup> and in identifying Kampana Udayar with Chikka-Kampanna-Odeyar, the son of Bukka I<sup>3</sup> The word *Chikka* or *Kumāra*, which is prefixed to the name of Kampana-Udayar in some of his inscriptions, is evidently employed to distinguish him from his uncle Kampana<sup>4</sup> In the pedigree of the first Vijayanagara dynasty Kampana-Udayar will henceforth appear as Kampana II, and his uncle as Kampana I Mr Taylor<sup>5</sup> calls Kampana-Udayar the "general or agent" of Bukkarāya of Vijayanagara and states that he repaired the temple at Śrīrangam in Śaka-Samvat 1293—the date of the subjoined inscription—and that he expelled the Muhammadan invaders from the Pāndya country Here we have a grain of truth among heaps of chaff The existence, in the fourteenth century, of a dynasty of Musalmān chiefs of Madhurā is testified to by chronicles and coins,<sup>6</sup> and Kampana-Udayar's conquest of the Pāndya country is corroborated by an inscription of Śaka-Samvat 1287, the Viśvāvasu year, at Tiruppuṅṅū (No 18 of 1899), which states that, "having taken possession of the kingdom of Rājagambhīra, he was pleased to conduct the rule of the earth on a permanent throne"<sup>7</sup> Rājagambhīra is known to have been a surname of the Pāndya king Jatāvarman *alias* Kulaśēkhara,<sup>8</sup> whose Tiruppūvanam plates are dated, according to Professor Kielhorn, in A.D. 1214<sup>9</sup> Hence 'the kingdom of Rājagambhīra' seems to denote the Pāndya kingdom, and it may be accepted as a historical fact that Kampana II, the son of Bukka I. of Vijayanagara, expelled the Muhammadans from Madhurā Two inscriptions at Tiruppullāni<sup>10</sup> show him in possession of a portion of the Rāmnād Zamindārī in Śaka-Samvat 1293 and 1296. The fact that he claimed to be 'conducting the rule of the earth' proves that he did not remain a subordinate of his father, but considered himself an independent ruler His prime-minister (*mahāpradhānu*) Sōmappa is mentioned in two of his inscriptions at Mēlpādi (No 89 of 1889) and Achcharapākkam (No 250 of 1901) To return to Goppanna, he seems to have taken part

<sup>1</sup> *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I Nos 86-88 When publishing these three inscriptions (*op cit* p 117 f), I represented Kampana-Udayar as the son of Vira Kampana Udayar on the strength of a Trumala inscription (*ibid* No 72) But, in the light of other records, I believe now that, in l 2 f of this record, *śrī-Vira-Kampana Udayar Kumāra-śrī-Kampana-Udayar kumdrar śrī Ommana-Udayar* has to be translated by "Ommana-Udayar, the son of Vira-Kampana-Udayar (*alias*) Kumāra-Kampana Udayar"

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol III p 36, note 1 An inscription of Vira Bokkana-Udayar at Veppūr (No 20 of 1890) is dated in the Rākshasa year (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1297), another at Tirukkalukkuṅṅam (*Vadras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892) in the Nala year (i.e. Śaka Samvat 1298), and one at Achcharapākkam (No 255 of 1901) in Śaka-Samvat 1298, the Nala year. See also Mr. Rice's *Ep, Carn* Vol III, Md 90, Ml, 23 and 76, Vol IV, Ch 113 and 117

<sup>3</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol III, Nj 117, Vol IV, Yl 64 and Gu 32

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol III p 36

<sup>5</sup> *Catalogue*, Vol. III p 438 f

<sup>6</sup> See e.g. Dr Caldwell's *History of Tinnevely*, p 42, Mr Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol II p 222 f, Captain Tufnell's *Hints to Coin-collectors in Southern India*, p 32 f and p 66 ff, and the late Mr Rodgers' valuable paper in *Jour, As Soc, Bengal*, Vol LXIV, Part I p 49 ff No complete reading has yet been published of a silver coin which was figured on Tufnell's Plate vi No 2, and of which I possess a specimen; the obverse reads *Ahsan Shāh* 738 (of the Hijra, i.e. A.D. 1337-38), and the reverse *Al-Husainiyyu*

<sup>7</sup> *Irāyagambhīra irāygam kai-kkondu śi(ethi)ra sūmāsanaṭṭil pr[ī](pr[ī])thiṇi-irāygam panna arulā-p[ī]ṇra* This passage and its bearing were first pointed out by Mr Venkayya in one of the two *Annual Reports* which he drew up during my absence on furlough

<sup>8</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XX p 289

<sup>9</sup> See page 301 above

<sup>10</sup> Mr Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol I p 301 f

in his master's wars against the Musalmán chiefs of Madhurá, as the Ranganátha inscription alludes to his conquest of the Tulushkas

The subjoined list of inscriptions of **Kampana II** shows that his influence extended from Mysore in the north to Rámnad in the south, and that he was in power between A D 1361-62 and A D 1374. The Tirumalai inscription of his son **Ommāna-Udayar**<sup>1</sup> is dated on the 11th December A D 1374<sup>2</sup>. Of his father **Bukka I** we have inscriptions of still later date, viz A D 1375-76 and 1376-77<sup>3</sup>. To Professor Kielhorn my best thanks are due for the calculation of those among the following dates which contain astronomical details

1—No 250 of 1901, at Achcharapákkam Kampanna-Udayar, the son of Vira-Bokkana-Udayar Śaka-Samvat 12[83], Plava

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4—*South-Ind Inscr* Vol I No 87, at Kāñchī Vira-Kumāra-Kampana-Udayar Śaka-Samvat 1286 (for 1287), Visvādi (i.e. Visvāvasu)

5—No 18 of 1899, at Tiruppuḷkūḷi Kampana-Udayar, the son of Vira-Bukkana-Udayar. Śaka-Samvat 1287, Visvāvasu *Śakābdam āyirattu-irunārru-enbattu-ēḷin mēl sellānina varttamā[na]-Visvāvasu-samvatsarattu Vriśchika-nā[ya]ru pūrvva-pakshattu shaṣṭi(shiḷ)yum Ariṭtamum perṛa Budan-kīlaman-nāl.*

"For Śaka-Samvat 1287 expired = Visvāvasu the date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 19th November A D 1365, when the 6th *tithi* of the bright half ended 13 h 38 m, and the *nakshatra* was Dhanishthā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 18 h 24 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 19 h 3 m, after mean sunrise"—F K

6.—No 163 of 1892, at Bhussanahalli Vira-Kumāra-Kampanna-Odeyaru, the son of Vira-Buk[k]ann-Odeyaru Śaka-Samvat 12[8]8, Parābhava

7—No 21 of 1890, at Vīppūr Vira-Kampana-Udayar *Parāba[va] varusham Aśvika-nāyarru pūrvva pakshshattu pañchamiyum Nā[ya]rru-kkīlamaiyum perṛa Pūśattu nāl*

"For Śaka Samvat 1288 expired = Parābhava the date, as recorded above, is quite irregular. All that I can suggest regarding it is, that the [in Tamil] strange word for the solar month, *Aśvika*, may be intended for *Āni*, and that *Pūśattu* may be a mistake for *Pūratu* (*Pūrva-Phalgunī*). If these two alterations were adopted, the date would regularly correspond to Sunday, the 14th June A D 1366, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h 19 m, and the *nakshatra* was *Pūrva-Phalgunī*, by the equal space system for 22 h 20 m, according to Garga for 10 h 30 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h 55 m, after mean sunrise"—F K

8—No 33 of 1890, at Kāñchī Vi[ra]-Kampana-Udayar, the son of Bukkana-Udaya[r] *Śakābdam 12[8]8 l mēl Parābha[va]-samvatsarattu Kumbha-nā[ya]rru pūrvva-pakshattu ēkādaśiyum Vi[ra]yāla-kk[ī]lamaiyum perṛa Pu[na]rpūśattu [nā]l*

"For Śaka-Samvat 1288 expired = Parābhava the date regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 11th February A D. 1367, when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 6 h 44 m, and the *nakshatra* was *Punarvasu*, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 14 h 27 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 13 h 47 m, after mean sunrise"—F K

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<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XLIV, p 3, No 135.

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<sup>1</sup> See above, p 324, note 1. In a local chronicle this name has been misspelt or misread 'Embana Udayar', see Mr Nelson's *Madura Country*, Part III p 82. Another son of Vira Kampanna-Odeyaru, named Nāñjanpa-Odeyaru, is mentioned in an inscription at Dodda Kaulande (Mr Rice's *Ep Carn* Vol III, p 108), which is dated *Saka-varusha samda 1296 neya Ananda samvatsarada Vaisāka su 15 Gu[ruvāra\*] sōmagrahanadall*. Professor Kielhorn considers this date worthless, because "in Saka Samvat 1296 expired = Ananda the full moon *tithi* of Vaisāka ended 23 h 17 m after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 26th April A D 1374, and there was no lunar eclipse on that day"

<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XXIV p 3, No 135

<sup>3</sup> See above, p 324, note 2

9 —Mr Venkayya in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892, at Tiruvannâmalai. Kampana-Udayar, the son of Vira-Bokkanna-Udayar. Plavanga.

10 —*Ep Carn* Vol III, Nj 117, at Tagadûru Chikka-Kampann-Odeyaru, the son of Vira-Bukkann-Odeyaru Śaka-Samvat 1290, Kilaka

11 —*South-Ind Inscr.* Vol I No 88, at Kāñchi Vira-Kampanna-Udayar *Kilaka-varushattu Mahara-nāyaru apara-pashakshattu<sup>1</sup> saptamiyu[m\*] Śevvāy-kkilālamayum<sup>2</sup> perra [T]ér-nāl<sup>3</sup>*

"This date is in every respect irregular, and intrinsically wrong, because the moon cannot be in the *nakshatra* Rôhinī on a 7th *tithi* of the dark half in the month of Makara"—F K

12 —*Ep Carn* Vol IV, Yl 64, at Māmballī Kampanna-Odeyaru, the son of Vira-Bukkanna-Odeyaru Kalyuga-Samvat 4470, Saumya

13 —No 293 of 1895, from Kāranai near Kadambattûr, now in the Madras Museum Vira-Kampana-[U][dayar\*], the son of Vī Udayar Kalyuga-Samvat 447[2\*], Śaka-Samvat 1293, Virôdhakrit [Kali\*]yuga-varusham nālāyirattu-n[ā]nūrru-[e]lu[ba]ttu ngya Śakābdam āyirattu-irunūrru-t[on]nūrr[u]-mūn . . . sellām[n\*]ra Virôdhakrit varshattu [M]ithuna . . . apara-pakshattu [pañcha]miyum Budan-hilamai . . . ra Avittattu nāl

"For Kalyuga-Samvat 4472 expired = Śaka-Samvat 1293 expired = Virôdhakrit the date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 4th June A D 1371, when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h 13 m, and the *nakshatra* was Dhanishthā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h 13 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h 53 m, after mean sunrise"—F K

14 —Mr Sewell's *Lists*, Vol. I. p 301, at Tiruppullāni Kampana-Udayar Śaka-Samvat 1293

15 —*Ep Carn.* Vol IV, Gu 32, at Gundlupête Chikka-Kampanna-Odeyaru, the son of Vira-Bukkanna Odeyaru Śaka-varusha 1294 saṁda varttamāna-Paridhāvi-samvatsarada Chaitra-śu 2 Ā<sup>4</sup>

"In Śaka-Samvat 1294 expired = Paridhāvin the second *tithi* of the bright half of the month Chaitra commenced 2 h 29 m after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 7th March A D 1372"—F K

16 —Mr Sewell's *Lists*, Vol I p 302, at Tiruppullāni Kampana-Udayar. Śaka-Samvat 1296

17 —No 28 of 1890, at Kāñchi Kampana-Udayar, the son of Vira Bokkanna-Udayar. Ānanda-va[r\*]sham Ādi-māda[m] 10 [tēdi] Āshāda-bagula-chatu[r\*]ddāsi Śukravāramum perra n[āl]

"In Śaka-Samvat 1296 expired = Ānanda the Karkata-samkrānti took place 9 h 9 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 28th June A D 1374, which was the first day of the month of Karkata or Ādi. The 10th day of the month of Ādi therefore was Friday, the 7th July A D 1374; but the *tithi* which ended on this day, 6 h 23 m after mean sunrise, was the 12th (not the 14th) *tithi* of the dark half of the month of Āshādha. In my opinion, there can be no doubt that the number of the *tithi* has been wrongly quoted in the original date"—F K

18 —No 185 of 1894, at Tirukkalukkuṇṇam Vira-Kumāra-Kampana-Udayar Ānanda-[va]rushattu Kan[n]i-nāyarru a[pa]ra-[pa]kshattu [da]sa[m]iyu[m] [V]el[il]-kkilālamayum perra [Punar]pū[sa]ttu n[āl]

"In Śaka-Samvat 1296 expired = Ānanda the 10th *tithi* of the dark half in the month of Kanya commenced 7 h 5 m after mean sunrise of Friday, the 1st September A D 1374, when

<sup>1</sup> Read -pakshattu

<sup>2</sup> See *Ind Ant* Vol XLII p 138, No 9

<sup>3</sup> Read *kkilālamayum*

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.* Ādiyavāradalu.

the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system from 6 h 34 m after mean sunrise, and by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga during the whole day — Since on Saturday, the 2nd September A D 1374, the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h 1 m, and the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu for 7 h 13 m or 6 h 34 m, after mean sunrise, I have some doubts whether that day is not really the intended day, and whether therefore Friday has not been wrongly quoted in the original date instead of Saturday. Supposing the weekday to have been given correctly, I should have expected the writer to quote the 9th *tithi* — F K

From a Kanarese inscription at Penakonda (No 339 of 1901), which was first noticed by Mr Sewell,<sup>1</sup> we learn that Vira-Bukkanna-Odeyaru (i.e. Bukka I) had another son, named Vira-Virupanna-Odeyaru (I), by his queen Jommādēvi. While Bukka I was ruling the territory of the Hoysala kings at Hosapattana, and while his son Virupanna I was governing the province (*rājya*) of Penugonde, which had been entrusted to him by his father,<sup>2</sup> — the minister (*mahāpradhāna*) Ananta[ra]sa-Odeyaru built the fort of Penugonde in Śaka Samvat 1276, the Jaya-samvatsara, on Tuesday, the 1st (*tithi*) of the bright (fortnight) of Chaitra,<sup>3</sup> i.e. on the 25th March A D 1354.

A copper-plate grant at Narasīpura mentions a third son of Bukka I, named Mallinātha or Mallapp-Odeyaru, whose son was Nārāyanadēv-Odeyaru.<sup>4</sup> It is dated on Sunday, the 29th July A D 1397.<sup>5</sup>

The successor of Bukka I on the throne of Vijayanagara was his son by Gauri,<sup>6</sup> Harihara II, whose name is given as Vira-Hariyappa-Odeyaru in Kanarese inscriptions (Nos 3, 4, 6-8 of the following list). As will appear from Nos 2, 5 and 9 of the same list, the Tamil form of his name was Hariyana- or Ariyanna-Udayar.

1 — No 57 of 1900, at Pattūr near Āraṇi. Harihara-Udaya[1\*] Śakābdam 1299 n mēl sellānina Pingala-varusham Ādi-mādam [30] tēdi Tīngal-kīlamai.

"In Śaka-Samvat 1299 expired = Pingala the Karkata samkrānti took place 3 h 46 m after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 28th June A D 1377, which was the first day of the month of Karkata or Ādi. The 30th day of the month of Ādi therefore was Monday, the 27th July A D 1377" — F K

2 — Mr Venkayya in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892, at Tiruvannāmalai. Ariyanna-Udayar. Śaka 1299, Pingala.

3 — No 126 of 1901, at Bārūkū. Vira Hariyappa-Odeyaru. Samvaru<sup>7</sup> 1301 nye(ne)ya K[ā\*]layukta-samvatsarada [d]vitiya-Jy[ā\*]shṭa-su 15 Śukravāradalu. sōmōparāga-pumn[y]alālādulu.

"Śaka-Samvat 1301 current = Kālayukta. Friday, the 11th June A D 1378 (the full-moon day of the second Jyāishṭha), a total eclipse of the moon from 12 h 1 m to 15 h 41 m after mean sunrise, and therefore visible in India" — F. K.

4 — No 155 of 1901, at Bārūkū. Vira-Hariyappa Odeyaru, the son of Vira Bukkanna-Odeyaru. Śaka-varusha 130[1] neya ma(va)rttamāna-Kālayuktākṣi-samvachhisa(ṭsa)rada Mārggasira-su 1 Sōmavārad=amdu.

<sup>1</sup> *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol I p 119.

<sup>2</sup> Śrīman mahāmāndallēvara ari-rāya-vibhāda bhāṣhege-tappina-rāyara gamda Hīmdurāga suratrāna pūrva pācchima-samudrādhipati śrī Vira Bukkamanna Vodeyaru Hoisāṇavaya mahāpālara mēdānt mamdalavanu nija bhūja mamānavāgi pālisu[ta] Hosapattānadali sukha samkathā vinōdādīm rajyam geyyutta tanpa paṭṭad-arasi Jomm[ā]dēviyara kumāra śrī-Vira Virupamma Vodeyari[ē] Penugōm[deya] rojyavanu kottu ā paṭṭanadali sukhādīm rājyava pālisutta.

<sup>3</sup> Śaka varsha 1276 neya Jaya samvachhisa(ṭsa)rada Chaitra su [1] Mām[galavāradalu\*]. Professor Kielhorn kindly informs me that "in Śaka Samvat 1276 expired = Jaya the first *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra commenced 7 h 35 m after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 25th March A D, 1354."

<sup>4</sup> Mr Rice's *Ep Carn* Vol III, TN 64.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XXVI p 331, No 10.

<sup>6</sup> See above, Vol III p 115 and note 12.

<sup>7</sup> Read Śaka-varsha.



9 —Mr Venkayya in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892, at Tiruvannāmalai. Kampana-Udayar, the son of Vira-Bokkanna-Udayar. Plavanga

10 —*Ep Carn.* Vol III, Nj 117, at Tagadūru Chikka-Kampann-Odeyaru, the son of Vira-Bukkanna-Odeyaru Śaka-Samvat 1290, Kīlaka

11 —*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol I. No 88, at Kāñchi Vira-Kampanna-Udayar Kīlaka-varushattu Makara-nāyaru apara-pashakshattu<sup>1</sup> saptamiyu[m\*] Śevāy-kkīlālamayum<sup>2</sup> perra [T]ēr-nāl<sup>3</sup>

"This date is in every respect irregular, and intrinsically wrong, because the moon cannot be in the nakshatra Rôhinī on a 7th tithi of the dark half in the month of Makara"—F K

12 —*Ep Carn.* Vol IV, Yl 64, at Māmballī Kampanna-Odeyaru, the son of Vira-Bukkanna-Odeyaru Kalyuga-Samvat 4470, Saumya

13 —No 293 of 1895, from Kāranai near Kadambattūr, now in the Madras Museum Vira-Kampana-[U][dayar\*], the son of Vī Udayar Kalyuga-Samvat 447[2\*], Śaka-Samvat 1293, Virôdhakrit [Kalī\*]yuga-varusham nālāyirattu-n[ā]nūrru-[e]lu[ba]ttu . . . . . nguya Śakābdam āyirattu-irunūrru-t[on]nūrr[u]-mūn . . . . . sellāni[n\*]ra Virôdhakrit varshattu [M]ithuna . . . . . apara-pakshattu [pañcha]miyum Budan-hīlamai . . . . . ra Avittattu nāl

"For Kalyuga-Samvat 4472 expired = Śaka-Samvat 1293 expired = Virôdhakrit the date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 4th June A D 1371, when the 5th tithi of the dark half ended 8 h 13 m, and the nakshatra was Dhanishthā, by the equal space system and according to Gaiga for 7 h 13 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h 53 m, after mean sunrise"—F. K

14 —Mr Sewell's *Lists*, Vol. I. p 301, at Tiruppullāni Kampana-Udayar Śaka-Samvat 1293

15 —*Ep Carn.* Vol IV, Gu 32, at Gundlupēte Chikka-Kampanna-Odeyaru, the son of Vira-Bukkanna Odeyaru Śaka-varusha 1294 samda varittamāna-Paridhāvi-samvatsarada Chaitra-śu 2 Ā<sup>4</sup>

"In Śaka-Samvat 1294 expired = Paridhāvin the second tithi of the bright half of the month Chaitra commenced 2 h 29 m after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 7th March A D 1372."—F K

16 —Mr Sewell's *Lists*, Vol I. p 302, at Tiruppullāni Kampana-Udayar. Śaka-Samvat 1296

17 —No 28 of 1890, at Kāñchi Kampana-Udayar, the son of Vira Bokkanna-Udayar Ānanda-va[r\*]sham Ādi-māda[m] 10 [tēdi] Āshāda-bagula-chatu[r\*]ddasi Śukravāramum perra n[āl]

"In Śaka-Samvat 1296 expired = Ānanda the Karkata-samkrānti took place 9 h 9 m. after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 28th June A D 1374, which was the first day of the month of Karkata or Ādi The 10th day of the month of Ādi therefore was Friday, the 7th July A D 1374, but the tithi which ended on this day, 6 h 23 m after mean sunrise, was the 12th (not the 14th) tithi of the dark half of the month of Āshādha In my opinion, there can be no doubt that the number of the tithi has been wrongly quoted in the original date"—F K

18 —No 185 of 1894, at Tirukkalukkuṇṇam Vira-Kumāra-Kampana-Udayar Ānanda-[va]rushattu Kan[n]i-nāyarru a[pa]ra-[pa]kshattu [da]śa[mīyu]m [V]el[il]-kkīlamayum perra [Punar]pū[śa]ttu n[āl]

"In Śaka-Samvat 1296 expired = Ānanda the 10th tithi of the dark half in the month of Kanyā commenced 7 h 5 m after mean sunrise of Friday, the 1st September A D 1374, when

<sup>1</sup> Read pakshattu

<sup>2</sup> See *Ind Ant* Vol XXII p 138, No 9

<sup>3</sup> Read -kkīlamayum

<sup>4</sup> I.e. Ādiyarādālu

the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system from 6 h 34 m after mean sunrise, and by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga during the whole day — Since on Saturday, the 2nd September A D 1374, the 10th *tithi* of the dark half ended 7 h 1 m, and the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu for 7 h 13 m or 6 h 34 m, after mean sunrise, I have some doubts whether that day is not really the intended day, and whether therefore Friday has not been wrongly quoted in the original date instead of Saturday. Supposing the weekday to have been given correctly, I should have expected the writer to quote the 9th *tithi* — F K

From a Kanarese inscription at Penakonda (No 339 of 1901), which was first noticed by Mr Sewell,<sup>1</sup> we learn that Vira-Bukkanna-Odeyaru (i.e. Bukka I) had another son, named Vira-Virupanna-Odeyaru (I), by his queen Jommādēvi. While Bukka I was ruling the territory of the Hoysala kings at Hosapattana, and while his son Virupanna I was governing the province (*rājya*) of Penugonde, which had been entrusted to him by his father,<sup>2</sup> — the minister (*mahāpradhāna*) Ananta[ra]sa-Odeyaru built the fort of Penugonde in Śaka-Samvat 1276, the Jaya-samvatsara, on Tuesday, the 1st (*tithi*) of the bright (fortnight) of Chaitra,<sup>3</sup> i.e. on the 25th March A D 1354

A copper plate grant at Narasīpura mentions a third son of Bukka I, named Mallinātha or Mallapp-Odeyaru, whose son was Nārāyanadēv-Odeyaru.<sup>4</sup> It is dated on Sunday, the 29th July A D 1397<sup>5</sup>

The successor of Bukka I on the throne of Vijayanagara was his son by Gauri,<sup>6</sup> Harihara II, whose name is given as Vira-Hariyappa-Odeyaru in Kanarese inscriptions (Nos 3, 4, 6-8 of the following list). As will appear from Nos 2, 5 and 9 of the same list, the Tamil form of his name was Hariyana- or Ariyanna-Udayar

1 — No 57 of 1900, at Pattūr near Āram. Harihara-Udaya[ī\*] Śakābdam 1299 n mel sellānna Pingala-varusham Ādi-mādam [30] tēdi Tīngal-kīlām.

"In Śaka-Samvat 1299 expired = Pingala the Karkata samkrānti took place 3 h 46 m after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 28th June A.D. 1377, which was the first day of the month of Karkata or Ādi. The 30th day of the month of Ādi therefore was Monday, the 27th July A D 1377" — F K

2 — Mr Venkayya in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892, at Tiruvannāmalai Ariyanna-Udayar Śaka 1299, Pingala

3 — No 126 of 1901, at Bārūkūr Vira-Hariyappa-Odeyaru. Samvaru<sup>7</sup> 1301 nye(ne)ya K[ā\*]layukta-samvatsarada [ā]vitiya-Jy[ē\*]shṭha-su 15 Śukravāradalu sōmōparāga-purn[ā]hālādalu

"Śaka-Samvat 1301 current = Kālayukta. Friday, the 11th June A D 1378 (the full-moon day of the second Jyāishṭha), a total eclipse of the moon from 12 h 1 m to 15 h 41 m after mean sunrise, and therefore visible in India" — F K

4 — No 155 of 1901; at Bārūkūr Vira-Hariyappa Odeyaru, the son of Vira-Bukkanna-Odeyaru Śaka-varusha 130[1] neya ma(va)rttamāna-Kālayuktāshī-samvachha(ṭsa)rada Mārggasira-su 1 Sōmavārad=amdu

<sup>1</sup> *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol I p 119

<sup>2</sup> *Sriṣaṇ mahāmādalēvara ari-rāya vibhāda bhāshage-tappuvarāyara gamda Hīmadāgh suratrāna pūrva-pāschima-samudr ādhīpati sri-Vira Bukkamna Vodeyaru Hoisal-anvaya mahāpālāra mēdini māmdalavanu ni[ya] bhūja māmdanav āgi pālisu[ta] Hosapatṭanadali sukha samkathā vinōdādīm rajyam geyyutta tanṇa paṭṭad arasi Jomm[ā]dēviyara kumāra sri Vira Virupanna Vodeyari[ge] Penugōm[deya] rajyatanu kotṭu ā paṭṭanadali sukhadīm rajyava pālissutta*

<sup>3</sup> *Saka varsha 1276 neya Jaya samvachha(ṭsa)rada Chaitra su [1] Mam[galavarādalu\*]* Professor Kielhorn kindly informs me that "in Śaka Samvat 1276 expired = Jaya the first *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra commenced 7 h 35 m after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 25th March A D, 1354"

<sup>4</sup> Mr Rice's *Ep Carn* Vol III, TN 64

<sup>5</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XXVI p 331, No 10

<sup>6</sup> See above, Vol III p 115 and note 12

<sup>7</sup> Read *Śaka-varsha*

"Śaka-Samvat 1301 *current* = Kālayukta The date is incorrect, it would correspond to Sunday, the 21st November A.D. 1378, when the first *tithi* of the bright half of Mārgaśīra ended 21 h 10 m. after mean sunrise. If the figure for the *tithi* were 2, the date would regularly correspond to Monday, the 22nd November A.D. 1378."—F. K.

5—No 32 of 1890, at Kāñchī Vira-Hariyappa-Udayar *Śakābdam 1300 n m/l sellānira K[ā]layukta-varshattu Mārga[ḥ] mā[sa]m 2 tēdi pūrva(rta)-palshattu sapta[mīyu]=Nāyarru kḷāmayum perṛa Śadayattu nāl*

"This date is irregular. In Śaka-Samvat 1300 expired = Kālayukta the Dhanuhsamkrānti took place 18 h 53 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 27th November A.D. 1378. The second day of the month of Dhanu or Mārgaḥ therefore was Monday, the 29th November A.D. 1378, and on this day the 9th *tithi* of the bright half ended 11 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakṣatras* were Uttara-Bhadrpadā and Rōvati. The 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h 5 m, and the *nakṣatra* was Śatabhishaj, by the equal space system for 9 h. 12 m, and according to Garga for 0 h 39 m, after mean sunrise of the 27th November A.D. 1378, but that day, as stated already, was a Saturday, and was the last day of the month of Vṛiścika (Kārttigai)."—F. K.

6—No 59 of 1901, at Kāntāvara Vira-Hariyappa-O[de]yaru *Sa[sa]la-varuśa(sha) 1301 nevi(ya) Siddhā(ḍḍā)rtthi-sameatsarada Vayisā[ḥ]a-su 1 Sōmava[ra\*]da[lu]*.

"Śaka-Samvat 1301 expired = Siddhārthi Monday, the 18th April A.D. 1378; the first *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśākha ended 6 h 1 m. after mean sunrise"—F. K.

7—*Ep Carn* Vol IV, Ch 64, at Homma Harihara II or Vira-Hariyappa-Odeyaru of Vijayanagara *Śaka-varuśa 1302 neya Raudra-sameatsarada Śrāvana-su 5 Ādivāradalu*

"The date is irregular. In Śaka-Samvat 1302 expired = Raudra the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Śrāvana ended 14 h 56 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 7th July A.D. 1380"—F. K.

8—No 174 of 1901; at Bārūkūr Vira-Hariyappa Odeyaru *Śaka-varuśa(sha) 1304 Dundubhi-sam[va]tsarada Vayisā[ḥ]a-su 15 Sō\**

"Śaka-Samvat 1304 expired = Dundubhi Monday, the 28th April A.D. 1382; the full-moon *tithi* of Vaiśākha ended 9 h. after mean sunrise"—F. K.

9—No 31 of 1890, at Kāñchī Hariyappa-Udayar *Śakābdam 1307 m/l se[l\*]lān[ḥ]ira Krōdhana-varsham Āni-mādam [12 tēdi] amāvāsayum Guru[v]āram Mrigaśīrshattu<sup>3</sup> nāl.*

"In Śaka-Samvat 1307 expired = Krōdhana the Mithuna-samkrānti took place 14 h 51 m. after mean sunrise of Saturday, the 27th May A.D. 1385. The 12th day of the month of Mithuna or Āni therefore was Thursday, the 8th June A.D. 1385, and on this day the new-moon *tithi* (of the month Jyāishtha) ended 9 h 55 m, and the *nakṣatra* was Mrigaśīrsha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 1 h. 19 m, after mean sunrise"—F. K.

Harihara II had three sons: Virūpāksha I, Bukka II. and Dēvarāya I. The first of them is known from the Ālampūdi plate (No 2 below) and from the *Nārāyaṇavilāsa*<sup>4</sup> and has to be identified with Viruppanna-Udayar (II), the son of Hariyappa- or Hariyanna-Udayar (Nos 1 and 3-5 below).<sup>5</sup>

1—Mr Venkayya in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892, at Tiruvannāmalai Vira-Viruppanna-Udayar, the son of Hariyappa-Udayar Śaka-Samvat 1301.

2—*Ep Ind.* Vol III p 225, Ālampūdi plate. Virūpāksha, the son of Harihara II. Śaka-Samvat 1305, Raktākṣi

<sup>1</sup> Read *Vayisā[ḥ]a*.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. *Sōmavāradalu*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *śīrshattu*.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol V Add and Corr p v.

<sup>5</sup> The *Kōyiloḷugu* also mentions "Viruppanna-Udayar, the son of Harihara II," see page 323 above.

3—Mr Venkayya in *Madras Christian College Magazine* of March 1892, at Tiruvannāmalai Vīra-Viruppanna-Udayar, the son of Hariyappa-Udayar Śāka-Samvat 1310, Vibhava

4—No 114 of 1897, at Kōhyanūr Vī[rū]ppana-Udayar, the son of Hariyana-Udayar. Śāka-Samvat 1 . . , Vī[bha]va.

5—No 112 of 1900, at Śengama Viruppanna-Udayar, the son of Hariyana-Udayar *Śakābdam 131[8] n mēṛ=che[llā\*]nīṇṛa [Dh]ātu-samvatsarattu Mēsha-nāyarṛu pūruva-pakshattu pañchamīyūm Tiruvādiraiyūm perṛa Guruvāra-nāl*

“For Śāka-Samvat 1318 expired = Dhātu (Dhātri) the date regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 13th April A.D 1896, which was the 19th day of the month of Mēsha and when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half ended 7 h 35 m, and the *nakshatra* was Ādrā, by the equal space system for 11 h 50 m, after mean sunrise”—F. K

To the time of Bukka II, the second son of Harihara II, belong the following six inscriptions

1—No 41 of 1890, at Tirupparattikkunṛu Bukkarāja, the son of Arihararāja *Dundubhi-varsham Kāt[tiḡ]ai-[m]āḍatt[ī]l pūruva-pakshattu=Ti[ī]ngat-kīlamaiyūm paurṇaiyūm perṛa Tā(hā)tt[ī]gai-nāl*

“This date is irregular For Śāka-Samvat 1304 expired = Dundubhi it would correspond to Friday, the 21st November A D 1382, with the *nakshatra* Rōhinī It would be incorrect also for the lunar month Kārttika of the same year, and for the Śāka years 1303 and 1305 expired”—F K

2—No 11 of 1900, at Kambayanallūr Immadi-Bukkarāja (i.e. ‘Bukka the second’), the son of Hararāja (i.e. Harihara II) and grandson of Bukkanna-Udayar (i.e. Bukka I) *Kshaya-varushattu Pangun[ī]-mādam mudal t[ī]yadī pūruva pakshattu Uttirattād[ī]yūm perṛa nāl*

“This date also is irregular. For Śāka-Samvat 1308 expired = Kshaya the first day of the month of Panguni (or Mīna) would correspond to either the 24th or the 25th February A D 1387, but on the former of these two days (which both fell in the bright half) the *nakshatras* were Krittikā and Rōhinī (Nos 3 and 4) and on the latter Rōhinī and Mṛgaśīrsha (Nos 4 and 5), not Uttara-Bhadrapadā (No 26).”—F K

3—No 12 of 1893, at Kāñchi Vīra-Pratāpa-Bukkarāja-mah[ā]rājya *Śakābdam 1328 n mēl sellā[n]īṇṛa Vēya-samvatsarattu Mēsha-nāyarṛu pūruva-pakshattu satta[m]īyūm Sukkīravāramum perṛa Tiruvādirai-nāl*

“This date for Śāka-Samvat 1328 expired = Vyaya clearly corresponds to Friday, the 26th March A D 1406, which was the day of the Mēsha-samkrānti (that took place 17 h 25 m after mean sunrise<sup>1</sup>), and on which the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h 30 m, and the *nakshatra* was Ādrā, by the equal space system for 8 h 32 m, after mean sunrise”—F K

4—*Ep Carn* Vol III, Md 28, at Vaidyanāthapura Bukkarāja, the son of Harihara-mahārāja *Śaka-varusha 132[8] neya Bya(vya)ya-samvatsarada Jēshtha-ku 5 Gu.*<sup>2</sup>

“This date is irregular For Śāka-Samvat 1328 expired = Vyaya it would correspond to Saturday, the 22nd May A.D 1406, when the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Jyāishtha ended 13 h 53 m after mean sunrise”—F. K.

5—*South-Ind Inscr* Vol. I. No 55, at Vēppambattu Vīra-Pratāpa-Bukkamahārāja *Śakābdam 132[8] n mēl sellānīṇṛa Pārttīva-samvatsarattukku=chchellum Vyaya-samvatsarat, Jēshtha-bahula amāvāsyaiyūm Vyāla-kkīlamaiyūm perṛa nāl*<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, the date was the last day of the month of Mīna of the solar Śāka year 1327 expired

<sup>2</sup> I.e. *Guruvāradalū*

<sup>3</sup> See *Ind Ant* Vol. XXIV p 203, note 50

"This date also is irregular. For Śaka-Samvat 1328 expired = Vyaya it would correspond to Wednesday, the 16th June A.D. 1406, when the new-moon *tithi* of Jyāshthā ended 6 h 18 m after mean sunrise" —F. K.

6.—No 41 of 1901, at Mūdabidure Vīra-Bukkarāja, the son of Harihararāja Śaṭa-varsha 13[2]9 *neya Vyaya-samvat-arada Bhādrapada tūdhā(ddha) 10 Budhavīradolu*

"This date also is irregular. For Śaka-Samvat 1329 *current* = Vyaya it would correspond to Tuesday, the 24th August A.D. 1406, when the 10th *tithi* of the bright half of Bhādrapada ended 13 h 1 m after mean sunrise. If the figure of the *tithi* were 11, the date would regularly correspond to Wednesday, the 25th August A.D. 1406." —F. K.

From manuscripts and coins<sup>1</sup> we know a son of Bukka II by Tipp[ā]mbā, named Vira-Bhūpati, to whom we have to assign two inscriptions of Vira-Bhūpati-Udayar, which are noticed by Mr Venkayya, viz one of Śaka-Samvat 1331 at Śrīrangam,<sup>2</sup> and one of Śaka-Samvat 1336, the Manmatha year, at Tirupanduruttī<sup>3</sup>

#### TEXT.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 स्वस्ति श्रीः । बन्धुप्रिये शकाब्दे । आनीयानीलशृंगद्युतिरचितजगद्र[ञ्ज]ना-  
दञ्जनादेष्टे[क्ष्मा]माराज्य कञ्चित् समयमथ निहत्वीदनुष्कांस्तुलुष्कान् [1]  
लक्ष्मीक्ष्माभ्यामुभयां सह निजनगरे स्था[प]यन्
- 2 रगनाथं सम्यग्व्या<sup>5</sup> स[प]र्याम् पुनरुक्त [य]शोदर्पणो गोप्यगार्थः ॥ [१\*]  
विश्वेश रगराज वृषभगिरितटात्<sup>6</sup> गो[प]णः (1) क्षी[णि]देवो नीत्वा स्वां  
राजधानीन्निजवलनिहतोत्सिक्ततौलुष्कसैन्यः [1] हत्वा
- 3 [श्री]रग[भू]मिम् [कृत]युग[सहितान्त]न्तु ल[क्ष्मी]महीभ्यां सखाप्यास्यां सरो-  
जोत्भव<sup>7</sup> इव कुरुते साधु चर्य्य[ा] सपर्याम् ॥ [२\*]

#### TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity! In the Śaka year (expressed by the chronogram) bandhupriya (i.e. Śaka-Samvat 1293)

(Verse 1) Having brought (the god) from the Añjanādra (mountain), the splendour of whose darkish peaks gives delight to the world, having worshipped (him) at Cheñchi for some time, then having slain the Tulushkas whose bows were raised,—Goppanārya, the mirror of fame, placing Ranganātha together with both Lakshmi and the Earth in his own town,<sup>8</sup> again duly performed excellent worship

(V 2) Having carried Rangarāja, the lord of the world, from the slope of the Vrīshabhagiri (mountain) to his capital,<sup>10</sup> having slain by his army the proud Taulushka soldiers, having made the site of Śrīraṅga united with the golden age (Kṛitayuga), and having placed there this (god) together with Lakshmi and the Earth,—the Brāhmaṇa<sup>11</sup> Gōpana duly performs, like the lotus-born (Brahmā), the worship which has to be practised

<sup>1</sup> Ind Ant Vol. XXV p 318, No 6

<sup>2</sup> The same of August 1890

<sup>3</sup> Read °वर्ध्या

<sup>4</sup> Read °जीहव

<sup>5</sup> Kṣionsdēra Compare p 324 above

<sup>6</sup> Read °तटाहो°

<sup>7</sup> I.e. in Śrīrangam.

<sup>8</sup> Madras Christian College Magazine of March 1892

<sup>9</sup> From an inked estampage prepared in 1892

<sup>10</sup> Read °भूमि

<sup>11</sup> I.e. to Cheñchi, see verse 1.

## No. 34—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF VIDUGADALAGIYA-PERUMAL

By E HULTZSCH, PH D

## A—INSCRIPTION AT TIRUMALAI NEAR POLUR

The first volume of my *South-Indian Inscriptions* contains some records, the full bearing of which could not be made out at the time of their publication through want of experience and in the absence of copies of cognate inscriptions. Several of them have been already republished in this journal<sup>1</sup>. I now re-edit another, which was imperfectly read and rendered before,<sup>2</sup> from a fresh inked estampage.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the outer wall of the doorway which leads to the painted cave at Tirumalai near Pôlûr in the North Arcot district. It is somewhat worn and not very easy to read. The alphabet is Tamil and Grantha. The inscription consists of three portions—a sentence in Tamil prose, a Sanskrit verse in the Śārdûla metre, and a Tamil verse. Each of these three passages records in different words the same fact, viz the restoration of the images of a Yaksha and a Yakshî, which were set up on the Tirumalai hill. In this connection the names of three kings are mentioned—(1) Eḷimi (ll 1 and 7) or Yavanikâ<sup>3</sup> (l 4), (2) Râjarâja (l 6) or Vagan<sup>4</sup> (l 9), and (3) Vidugâdalagiya-Perumâl (l 10) or Vyâmuktaśravanôjġvala<sup>5</sup> (l 6). Eḷimi is stated to have belonged to the family of the kings of Chêra (l 1) or Kêrala (l 3), i.e. Malabar, or of Vañġi (l 7), the traditional capital of the Chêra kingdom, which is perhaps identical with the modern village of Chêramân-Perumâl-Kôylûr near Tiruvañġikulam in the Cochin State<sup>6</sup>. Both Eḷimi and Râjarâja receive the title Adigaimân (l 1), Adhikanripa (l 5 f) or Adigaṇ<sup>7</sup> (l 9), i.e. 'the lord of Adigai,' the modern Tiruvadi near Cuddalore<sup>8</sup>. The third king is called the lord of Takatâ (l 6) or Tagadai (l 10). As noted by Mr Venkayya, this place is mentioned in the Tamil poem *Purânânûru* as Tagadûr, and Mr V Kanakasabhai Pillai has identified it with Dharmapuri, the head-quarters of a taluka in the Salem district<sup>9</sup>. This statement is corroborated by two Chôla inscriptions (Nos 307 and 308 of 1901) in the Mallikârkjuna temple at Dharmapuri, according to which Tagadûr, the modern Dharmapuri, was the chief town of Tagadûr-nâdu, a subdivision of the Ganga country (*Ganga-nâdu*), a district of Nîgarli-Śôla-mandalam<sup>10</sup>. Vidugâdalagiya-Perumâl was the son of Vagan (l 9) or Râjarâja (l 6), who seems to have been a remote descendant (ll 5 and 9) of Eḷimi. Both he and his ancestor Eḷimi must have been adherents of the Jaina religion, because

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV Nos 9, 22 and 52, and Vol V No 13, A

<sup>2</sup> *South Ind Inscr* Vol I No 75

<sup>3</sup> *Yavanikâ* is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamil *elini*, 'a curtain'

<sup>4</sup> According to the dictionaries, the Tamil Vagan and the Sanskrit Baka are names of Kubêra, who is also called Râjarâja

<sup>5</sup> The Tamil words *vidu*, *kâdu* and *alagiya* correspond to the Sanskrit *mûkha*, *śravana* and *ujġvala*. The word looks like a nickname. Perhaps the king had protruding ears.

<sup>6</sup> See *South Ind Inscr* Vol III p 31, and my *Annual Report* for 1900-01, paragraph 4

<sup>7</sup> For references to Adigaṇ, Adigaiman and Eḷimi in Tamil literature see *Ind Ant* Vol XXII pp 66 and 143. Adiyama, who was a feudatory of the Chôla king and was defeated by Gangaraja, a general of the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I Part II Index), may have been one of the chiefs of Adigaṇ.

<sup>8</sup> The *Kalingattu Parani* (x verse 68 f) mentions 'the great city of Adigai,' which Mr V Kanakasabhai Pillai has identified with Tiruvadi in the Cuddalore taluka of the South Arcot district, *Ind Ant* Vol XIX p 339 f. In the time of the Vijayanagara kingdom this town was the head-quarters of the province (*râjya*) of Tiruvadi, *ibid* Vol XIII p 153. This province is distinct from Tiruvadi râjya (with the lingual *d*), which was situated in the Tinnevely district, above, Vol III p 240, and Mr Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1899-1900, p 28.

<sup>9</sup> See the two pages of the *Ind Ant* quoted in note 7 above.

<sup>10</sup> There is another village named Tagadûru in the Nâŷjanagûdu taluka of the Mysore district, which was included in Hirija nâdu, Mr Rice's *Ep Carn* Vol III, Nj 117 and 118.

they made grants at Tirumalai, which is referred to in the subjoined inscription as 'the holy mountain of Engunavirai' (l 8) and 'the holy mountain of the Arhat in the Tundira-mandala'<sup>1</sup> (l 4 f)

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Śēra-vanśattu<sup>3</sup> Adigaimā[n] Elini śeyda dha[r]mma-
- 2 Yaksha[r]aiyum Yakshiyārayum elund-a[ru\*]lūvittu cṛmaniyum i-
- 3 ttu=Kkadappēri-kkā[lu]n=gandu kudutt[ā]n || <sup>4</sup>Śrīmat-Kērala-bhūbhri-
- 4 tā Yavanikā-nāmnā su-dha[r]mm-ātmanā Tundir-āhvaya-mandal-Ā[r]ha-su-<sup>5</sup>
- 5 girau Yakshēśvarau kalpitau [||\*] paśchāt-tat-kula-bhūshan-Ādhika-
- 6 nrīpa-śrī-Rājarāj-ātmaja-Vyāmuktaśravanō[||\*]jvalē[na Takatā-nā]thēna jīrṇ-ō-
- 7 [d]dhritau || Vañj[i]yar<sup>6</sup> kula-pa[t]i-y=[E]lin[i] vaguttav=Iyakkar=Iyakk[i]yarō-
- 8 d-e[ñ]juyav-aḷivu <sup>7</sup>taruttay=av-Engunavirai-tiru-malai vant[t]ān=ru-
- 9 ṇi tan [va]ḷi [va]rumavan vaḷi-mudali kalu Adigan Vagan nūl v[i]ṇjaiyar
- 10 [ta]lai puṇai Tagadaiyar lāvalaṇ Vidugādalagiya-[P]erumālēy [||\*]

## TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Hail! Prosperity! He<sup>8</sup> set up (*again*) (*the images of*) a Yaksha and a Yakshī,—meritorious gifts (*formerly*) made by Elini, an Adigaimān of the Chēra family,—presented a gong, and granted a channel (*which he* had constructed to (*or from* ?) the Kadappēri (*tank*)<sup>9</sup>

(L 3) (*The images of*) two lords of the Yakshas, which had been set up by the glorious (*and*) very pious-minded Kērala king named Yavanikā on the holy mountain of the Arhat in the province (*mandala*) called Tundira, were later on saved from ruin by Vyāmuktaśravanōjjvala, the lord of Takatā (*and*) the son of the glorious Rājarāja—an Adhika prince (*who was*) the ornament of his (Yavanikā's) race

(L 7) The ruins which remained (*of the images*) of a Yaksha together with a Yakshī, that had been set up by Elini, the chief of the family (*ruling over*) the Vañjīyar,<sup>10</sup> were repaired and placed (*on*) this holy mountain of the god who possesses the eight qualities<sup>11</sup> by Vidugādalagiya-Perumāl, the protector of the Tagadaiyar,<sup>12</sup> the ornament of the heads of those learned in the sciences, (*and the son of*)<sup>13</sup> the brave Adigan Vagan—the foremost on the (*right*) path, who came from his (Elini's) family after (*the latter*) had died

## B—INSCRIPTION AT KAMBAYANALLUR

This inscription (No 8 of 1900) is engraved on the south wall of the central shrine in the Dēśināthēśvara temple at Kambayanallūr in the Ūttangarai tāluka of the Salem district The alphabet and language are Tamil

The inscription consists of a Tamil verse, which opens with the date—the 22nd year (in words) of the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōladēva A short prose passage which is prefixed to the verse gives the same date in figures This is another record of Vidugādalagiya-Perumāl, the

<sup>1</sup> This is a Sanskritised form of Tondai mandalam

<sup>2</sup> From an inked estampage

<sup>3</sup> Read -vamsattu

<sup>4</sup> South-Ind Inscr Vol I No 76 contains another copy of the same verse

<sup>5</sup> For the sake of the metre Arha is used instead of Arhat

<sup>6</sup> In this verse Vañjīyar rhymes with d-eñjīya, =ruñjī, and viñjīyar

<sup>7</sup> Read taruttay=100

<sup>8</sup> The subject is Vidugādalagiya-Perumāl (l 10)

<sup>9</sup> The same tank is mentioned in another Tirumalai inscription, South-Ind Inscr Vol I No 77

<sup>10</sup> I e 'the citizens of Vañjī'

<sup>11</sup> See South Ind Inscr Vol I p 107, note 1

<sup>12</sup> I e 'the citizens of Tagadai'

<sup>13</sup> The words in brackets can be supplied with certainty on the strength of the Sanskrit portion (l 6) and in accordance with the Tamil habit of omitting the word 'son' between the names of the father and the son

king of Tagadai and (son of) Rājarāja-Adigan. He is said to have ruled over the three rivers Pālī, Pennai and Ponni. The inscription records that he granted a place named Śīruk-kōttai on the bank of the Pennai river to Nāgai-Nāyaka of Kulān, and that he built a temple.

The Pālī must be identical with the Pālāru river, the Pennai is the Southern Pennāru; and the Ponni is the Kāvērī. It may be assumed that the Pālāru formed the northern boundary of the king's territories and the Kāvērī the western one, while the Southern Pennāru passes not far north-east from his capital Tagadūr, the modern Dharmapurī.<sup>1</sup> Kulān, where the donee came from, is another form of Kulam or Kulānūr, the modern Ellore.<sup>2</sup> He may have been related to the Nāyakas of Ellore, who are mentioned in inscriptions of the Telugu country.<sup>3</sup> His name, Nāgai-Nāyaka, is perhaps connected with Nāgaiyanpālī, an ancient name of Kambayanallūr, which occurs in two inscriptions of the Hoysala king Vira-Viśvanāthadēva (Nos 9 and 10 of 1900).

The donor is mentioned in two inscriptions at Śengama in the Tiruvannāmalai tāluka of the South Arcot district,—in the first of them (No 115 of 1900), which is dated in the 20th year of Tribhuvanachakravartin śrī-Kulōttunga-Chōladēva, as “the born Perumāl, *alias* the son of Rājarāja-Adigan,”<sup>4</sup> and in the second (No 107 of 1900), the beginning of which is lost, but which quotes the twenty-first (year of Kulōttunga-Chōladēva?), as “Rājarājadēvan<sup>5</sup> Vidugādalagiya-Perumāl, *alias* the son of Rājarāja-Adigan.”<sup>6</sup> In both inscriptions he is stated to have been a contemporary of Śengamī Ammayappan Attimallan,<sup>7</sup> *alias* Vikrama-Chōla-Śambavarāyan, a chief who seems to have been a subordinate of Kulōttunga-Chōla III.<sup>8</sup> Besides, No 107 of 1900 mentions as his contemporary a certain Śeyyagangar, who is probably identical with Śiyagangan, a subordinate of Kulōttunga-Chōla III.<sup>9</sup> Consequently, the king during whose reign the subjoined inscription of Vidugādalagiya-Perumāl is dated must be Kulōttunga-Chōla III, who ascended the throne in A D 1178,<sup>10</sup> and the date of the inscription, the 22nd year, corresponds to A D 1199-1200.

#### TEXT 11

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] T[.]nruva[na]chchakkaraṭattiga[l] śrī-Kulōttunga-Śōladēvarku yāndu 22 āvadu 6. Urai<sup>12</sup> maru[vu]n=Kulōttunga-Śōladēvark=uraitta yānd=urubadin mēl=irandiṭ=Pennai=kkarai maruvu[ñ]=Jīrukkōttai Ku[la]n Nā[gai]-Nāyagar̥k=aḷittu=kkar̥-yali tan pēr=.
- 2 tta kār-anaiya-kaiyā[n] tirai-maruvun dadan-gamala-Ttagadai mannan ēḷum Pālī [P]ennai Ponni=ttira-nadī mūnṛ=udaiya virai-maruvun-dār-mārvaṇ Rāja-r[ā]j[a]v-A]digan vilangā-moḷi Vidugādalagiya-Perumālēy ||<sup>13</sup> 6.

#### TRANSLATION

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the 22nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Śōladēva.

<sup>1</sup> See page 331 above

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* Vol II p 308

<sup>3</sup> This portion of the title has to be taken as the name of a Chōla king to whom Vidugādalagiya-Perumal or his ancestors had been tributary. Compare the similar name “Kulōttunga Chōla Takatadhīrāja, *alias* Maraśmadēva,” in an inscription at Rāyakōta in the Krishnagiri tāluka of the Salem district (No 3 of 1900).

<sup>4</sup> The original reads *Irājya[r]āja A[d]iga:mān*, which I correct to *Irājārāja Adiga-magan* in accordance with No 115 of 1900, see note 4 above.

<sup>5</sup> Instead of *Attimallan* (i.e. Hastimalla) two other inscriptions (*South Ind Inscr* Vol I No 132, and Vol III No 61) have the title *Kannudaiṣperumān*.

<sup>6</sup> *South Ind Inscr* Vol III p 121

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid* page 122

<sup>8</sup> See Professor Kielhorn's Table on p 24 above

<sup>9</sup> From an inked estampage

<sup>10</sup> In this Tamil verse *urai maruvu* rhymes with *karai maruvu*, *tirai maruvu* and *virai maruvu*.

<sup>11</sup> In the original this sign of punctuation is represented by a *visarga*.



In the year called two after twenty of the eminent Kulôttunga-Śôladêva,—Viḍugâdalagiya-Perumâl, who never breaks his word, (*who is the son of*)<sup>1</sup> Râjarâja-Adigan, whose chest wears a fragrant garland, the lord of three sacred rivers, (*viz*) the Pâli (*whose banks are*) fertile, the Pennai (*and*) the Ponni, the king of Tagadaî where large lotus-flowers are surrounded by the ripples (*of tanks*), he whose hand resembles a cloud (*in showering gifts*), granted (*the village of*) Śirukkôttai on the bank of the Pennai (*river*) to Nâ[ga]-Nâyaka of Ku[la]n and gave his own name (*to*) a stone temple

No 35 —TEKI PLATES OF RAJARAJA-CHODAGANGA,

DATED IN THE SEVENTEENTH YEAP (OF KULOTTUNGA I)

By E HULTZSCH, PH D.

These copper plates were sent to me through the Government of Madras by the Collector of Gôdâvarî, who in his letter of 30th April 1901 states that they were "found about two months ago by one Kodî Dosigadu of Têki<sup>2</sup> in the Râmachandrapuram taluka, while working in his field "

The plates are five in number and measure about 11½" in breadth and about 6' in height. The first and last plates bear writing only on the inner side and the three middle ones on both sides. The edges of the inscribed sides are raised into rims for the protection of the writing, which is in a state of very good preservation. On the left of each inscribed side is bored a circular hole, through which passes a copper ring measuring about 6" in diameter and about ⅝" in thickness. The ring had not yet been cut when I received the plates. Its ends are secured in the base of a four-petalled flower, which is surmounted by a circular seal measuring 4" in diameter. This seal bears the following emblems in high relief on a countersunk surface — across the centre the legend *sri-Tribhuvanâmkusa*, at the top a boar, standing, facing the proper left, flanked by two *chauris*, and surmounted by a crescent, an elephant-goad and the sun, and at the bottom a conch, a drum, a four-petalled flower, a flower-bud and a throne.

The alphabet is Telugu and the language S. askrit verse and prose. The Telugu letters *r* and *l* occur in a number of Telugu names which are quoted in l 90 f. Of graphical peculiarities I would note that in *yû* (ll 54 and 90) and *mû* (l 95) the vowel *û* is represented by the marks for *u* and *â*.

The inscription opens with the same genealogical account of the Eastern Châlukya family as the Chellûr and Pithâpuram plates of Vîra-Chôda,<sup>3</sup> but begins to differ in the description of the reign of Kulôttunga I. It does not mention his queen Madhurântakî, but states that he had several queens (v 11), who bore him several sons<sup>4</sup> (v 12). On one of these, Mummadi-Chôda,— whose name is given as Râjarâja in the Chellûr and Pithâpuram plates,— he conferred the governorship of Vêngî after the death of his own paternal uncle Vijayâditya (VII) (vv 13-16). One year later (v 17) he bestowed the same appointment on Mummadi-Chôda's younger brother Vîra-Chôda (v 18), who held it for six years (v 19), when he was recalled (v. 20). Then the eldest son, Chôdaganga, surnamed Râjarâja (vv 21-26), ascended the throne of Vêngî (v 33) in Śaka-Samvat 1008 (in numerical words), on Thursday, the full-moon *tithi* of Jyaishta, in the *nakshatra* Jyêsthâ and in the *lagna* Simha (v 34). This date

<sup>1</sup> The words in brackets are supplied on the strength of the Sanskrit portion of the Tirumalai inscription (A above).

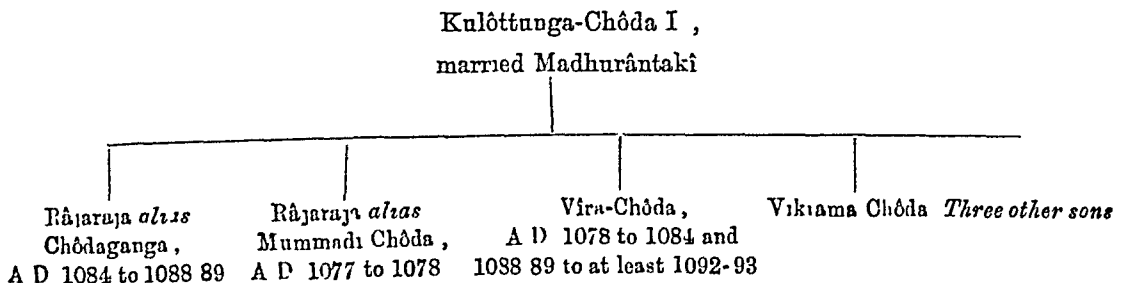
<sup>2</sup> No 122 on the *Madras Survey Map* of the Râmachandrapuram taluka of the Gôdâvarî district.

<sup>3</sup> *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I No. 39, and above, Vol V No 10, respectively.

<sup>4</sup> According to v 13 of the Chellûr plates and v 12 of the Pithapuram plates Kulôttunga I had seven sons by Madhurântakî.

probably corresponds to the 22nd May A D. 1084 At the end of the inscription (l 108) another date is given, *viz* the seventeenth year of the reign.

The above statements involve a few important changes in the pedigree and the chronology of the Eastern Chalukyas As regards the former, the order of the sons of Kulōttunga I in my Table of this dynasty<sup>1</sup> has to be altered, for the Têki plates inform us that the eldest son was not, as I thought, Vikrama-Chôda, Kulōttunga's successor on the Chôla throne, but Chôdaganga As the Chellûr and Pithâpuram plates (v 19) state that Vîra-Chôda had only two elder brothers, it is now clear that these were Chôdaganga and Mummadi-Chôda, and that Vikrama-Chôda was a younger brother of Vîra-Chôda Secondly, the dates at the end of the Chellûr and Pithâpuram plates, *viz* the twenty-first and twenty-third years of the reign, respectively, cannot be referred, as was done hitherto, to the reign of Vîra-Chôda For, taking the date at the end of the Têki plates in the same manner as the seventeenth year of Chôdaganga, it would correspond to A D 1084 + 16-17 = 1100-01, while the Chellûr plates would fall in A D 1078 + 20-21 = 1098-99, and Vîra-Chôda would thus have issued an edict during the governorship of his brother Chôdaganga The only way in which the dates of the three inscriptions can be reconciled is to refer them to the accession of Kulōttunga I. in A D 1070 They would then fall in A D 1088-87, 1090-91 and 1092-93. The two last dates would imply that Vîra-Chôda administrated the Vêngi province a second time in succession of Chôdaganga That this was actually the case is explicitly stated in his Pithâpuram plates We are there told that Vîra-Chôda was recalled by Kulōttunga I (v 25), but sent to Vêngi again in the fifth year (v. 26) The occasion when he was recalled was evidently the appointment of Chôdaganga in A D 1084, and "the fifth year" must mean the fifth year after Vîra-Chôda's recall, *v e* A D 1088-89 This explanation is in perfect accordance with the fact that the Têki plates are dated two years earlier, *viz* in the seventeenth year of Kulōttunga I = A D 1086-87 The fact that the Chellûr plates are silent regarding the intervening governorship of Chôdaganga, and that the Pithâpuram plates allude to it without mentioning his name, suggests that he had discredited himself with his father and had been on bad terms with his brother Vîra-Chôda The subjoined Table shows the relationship and the dates of the three successive governors of Vêngi



Chôdagangadêva (l 80), surnamed Râjarâja (l 78), bore the traditional titles Sarvalô-kâsraya, Vishnuvardhana, *etc* (ll 76-78), and (like his younger brother Vîra-Chôda) resided at Jananâthanagarî (l 81), which Mr Krishna Sastri proposes to identify with the modern Râjamahendri<sup>2</sup> He addresses the edict contained in this inscription to the inhabitants of the country between the Mannêru (river) and the Mahêndra (mountain) (l 83). These must have been the northern and southern boundaries of the Vêngi province The Mahêndra mountain is in the Gañjam district near the Mandasa Railway Station, and the Mannêru river passes Singarâyakonda, now a Railway Station in the Kandukûr taluka of the Nellore district The king's edict does not, as usual, refer to a grant of land, it confers certain honorary privileges on the

descendants of the Teliki family (l 92). These were subdivided into a thousand families, ten of which are mentioned by name (l 90 f), and were hereditary servants of the Eastern Chālukya family (v 38 f). They were believed to have immigrated with the mythical king Vijayāditya of Ayōdhyā<sup>1</sup> (v 40) and to have settled at Vijayavāṭā<sup>2</sup> (the modern Bezavāda), which seems to have been the former capital of the Eastern Chālukyas (v 41)

The Bhāvanāyana temple at Bapatla bears two inscriptions (Nos 189 and 192 of 1897), dated in Śaka-Samvat 1076 and recording gifts by two merchants who were members of the Teliki thousand (*Teliki-uvuru*). The first of these merchants belonged to the subdivision (*gōtra*) of the Musunūllu, and the second to that of the Volandunūllu, who are perhaps identical with the Velumanūllu of the Tēki plates (l 90). I subjoin the beginning of the second inscription, that of the first is identical with it. It will be seen from the following transcript that this caste claims to have ruled over the towns of Ayōdhyā and Bezavāda, with both of which it is associated also in the Tēki plates (v 40 f.)

Sv. + [॥\*] Y[a]ma-mayama-[dharmima]-pā(pā)rā[ya\*]na-[B]rahma-sambhba(bha)ra-Manu-  
vams-[ā]di-sa(sa)kala-[śāstra] viśhradulum Ganakāpuray-Ayōdhyāpura-Ga[ja]pur-ādhi-  
nāy ikulu[m] satya śauch-ābhimānulu [g]uru-dēva-pād śrādhakulu Paṇḍita-bhagavati-śhāna-  
pra[t]ishṭi(śhṭi)tulu si(sa)hasra-śikh-ānvaya-gōtral=aina śrīma[d\*]-Bojavāṭa-śā(śa)kanul=  
anna Teliki-vevurayamdu Volandunūlla gōtramde=aina Sūri[se]tti, etc

The composer and the writer of the Tēki plates (l 108 f) were the same persons as in the case of the Chellū plates (l. 114) and the Pithāpuram plates (l 280) of Vira-Choda

### TEXT 3

#### First Plate

- 1 श्रीमा[न्]<sup>4</sup> जगन्नयमिदं हरिरादिदेव[ः\*] सष्टु<sup>5</sup> विरिचिमसृजन्निजनाभि-  
पद्मात् [॥\*] तस्मादभूत् किल महामुनिरचिरस्मा-
- 2 चूडामणिः पुररिपोरुदितसुधांशुः<sup>6</sup> [॥ १\*] तस्माद्वुधः<sup>7</sup> ततश्चक्रवर्ती  
पूरुरवाः(ः)स्तस्मादायुस्ततो नहु[ष]ः ततो ययातिः त-
- 3 [त]ः पूरुः ततो जनमेजयः ततः प्राचीशः ततस्मैन्ययातिः ततो हय-  
पतिः ततस्मार्वाभौमः ततो जयसेन[स्ततो] महामौ-
- 4 मः तस्मादैशानकः ततः क्रीधाननः ततो देवकिः तस्मादृभुकः तस्माद्-  
क्षकः ततो मतिवरः तत कात्यायनः ततो नीलः [त]तो
- 5 दुष्यतः ततो भरतस्ततो भूमन्युस्ततो हस्ती ततो विरोचनः तस्मादज-  
मीलस्तत(त)स्त्वंवरणस्ततस्सुधन्वा ततः परिचित् ततो
- 6 भीमसेनः ततः प्रदीपनः ततश्चतनुः ततो विचित्रवीर्यः ततः<sup>8</sup> पाण्डुराजः  
ततः पाण्डवाः तेषु वंशकरादर्जुनादभिमन्युः<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare l 8 of this inscription, and the translation in *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I p 58

<sup>2</sup> In l 93 the same town is mentioned as Vijayavata

<sup>3</sup> From the original copper plates.

<sup>4</sup> This word is preceded by a symbol, for which see the accompanying Plate, read श्रीमाज्ञगचय<sup>0</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Read सष्टु विरिचि<sup>0</sup>

<sup>6</sup> In the letter सु the vowel sign u is attached to either s

<sup>7</sup> The rules of *samdh* are not always observed in the following prose passage up to तस्मादुदयन (l 7)

<sup>8</sup> The two *visargas* before पाण्डुराजः and पाण्डवा, have been entered subsequently

<sup>9</sup> Read °दर्जुना<sup>0</sup>.

- 7 ततः परिचित् ततो जनमेजयः ततः क्षेमकः ततो नरवाहनस्ततश्च-  
तानीकः तस्मादुदयनः [1\*] ततः प्रभृत्यविच्छिन्न[सं]ता[ने]-
- 8 प्वयोध्यासिंहास[न]ासी[ने]ष्वेकान्नष्टिचक्रवर्त्तिषु गतेषु तदंश्यो विजयादित्यो  
नाम राजा विजिगीषया दक्षिणापथं गत्वा
- 9 त्रिलोचनपल्लवमधिलिप्य दैवदुरीहया लोकांतरमगमत् [1\*] तस्मिन्  
सकुले पुरीहितेन वृद्धामाल्यैश्च
- 10 सार्द्धमतर्व्वन्तो तस्य महादेवी <sup>1</sup>मुडिवेम[न]ामाग्रहारमुपगम्य तद्व[र]स्तव्येन  
विष्णुभट्टसोमयाजिना दुहि-
- 11 तुनिर्व्विशेषमभिरचिता <sup>2</sup>विष्णुवर्द्धनं नदनमसूत [1\*] सा च तस्य  
कुमारकस्य कुलक्रमोचितानि कर्म्म[र]णि कारयित्वा
- 12 तमवर्द्धयस[त्]<sup>3</sup> च मात्रा विदितवृत्तातो निर्गत्य चलुक्यगिरौ नंदाभगवती  
गौरीमाराद्ध्य कुमारनारायणमावृण[त्] स-
- 13 तर्प्यं श्वेतातपत्रैकशंखपचमहाशब्दादीनि कु[ल]क्रमागतानि निक्षिप्तानीव  
साम्राज्यचिह्नानि समादाय कडवगगादिभूमि-
- 14 पार्त्तिजित्य <sup>4</sup>[से]तुनर्मदामध्य दक्षिणा[प]थ पालयामास [॥<sup>5</sup>] तस्यासी-  
द्विजयादित्यो विष्णुवर्द्धनचूपते <sup>6</sup>[1\*] पल्लवान्वयज[र]ताया
- 15 म[ह]ादेव्याश्च नंदन <sup>6</sup>[॥ २\*] तत्सुतः पुलकेशिवल्लभः [1\*] तत्पुत्र-  
कीर्त्तिवम्मा <sup>7</sup>[1\*] [त]स्य तनयः श्रीमता सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्य-
- 16 सगोत्रीणां <sup>8</sup>हारीतिपुत्रीणां <sup>9</sup>कौशिकीवरप्रसादलब्धराज्यानामश्वमेधाव[र]त्-  
थ[स्त्र]ानपवित्रीकृतवपुषा चालुक्यानां <sup>10</sup>कुलम-
- 17 (लम)लकरिणोस्त्वत्याश्रयवल्लभेद्रस्य <sup>11</sup>भ्राता कुलविष्णुवर्द्धनोष्टादश वर्षाणि  
वेंगीदेशमपालयत् [1\*] तत्सुतो जयसिंहव[र]- <sup>12</sup>
- 18 ल[भ\*]स्त्वयस्त्रिंशत्तम् [1\*] [त]दनुज इद्रभट्टारकस्त्रिंशत् दिनानि [1\*] तत्सुतो  
वि[ष्णु]वर्द्धनो नव वर्षाणि [1\*] तत्सुनुर्मगियुवराज. पचविंशति <sup>13</sup>[1\*]

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 19 तत्पुत्रो जयसिंहस्त्रयोदश [1\*] तदवरजः कीकिलिप्पण्मासान् [1\*]  
तस्य भ्राता विष्णुवर्द्धनस्तमुच्च[र]ित्य सप्तत्रिंशत् [1\*] तत्पुत्रो

<sup>1</sup> The four other published inscriptions which contain this passage read मुडिवेमु<sup>0</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Read विष्णु<sup>0</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Read °यत् । स च

<sup>4</sup> Read °पार्त्तिजित्य

<sup>5</sup> Read °भूपते.

<sup>6</sup> Read नदन

<sup>7</sup> Read °वम्मा

<sup>8</sup> Read °सगोत्रीणां

<sup>9</sup> Read °पुत्रीणां

<sup>10</sup> Read °ना

<sup>11</sup> Cancel the *anusvāra* after णी

<sup>12</sup> The व at the end of this line and the ल at the beginning of the next were added subsequently

<sup>13</sup> The *anusvāra* of ति is repeated at the beginning of the next plate

- 20 विजयादित्योष्टादश [1<sup>\*</sup>] तत्तनयो <sup>1</sup>विष्णु[व]र्द्धन[प्प]ट्त्रिंशत्तम् [1<sup>\*</sup>]  
तत्सुतो नरेन्द्रमृगराजोष्टाचत्वारिंशत् <sup>2</sup>[1<sup>\*</sup>] तत्सुतः कलिविष्णुवर्द्धनो-
- 21 ध्यर्द्धवर्ष [1<sup>-</sup>] तत्सुतो गुणगविजयादित्यश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशत् <sup>3</sup>[1<sup>\*</sup>] तद्भ्रा-  
तुर्विक्रमादित्यस्य तनयश्चालुक्थभीमस्त्रिंशत् [1<sup>\*</sup>] तत्सुतः को-
- 22 ल्ल[वि]गण्डविजयादित्यप्पण्मासान् [1<sup>\*</sup>] तत्सुतोम्मराजस्त्रिंशत् [1<sup>\*</sup>] तत्तनय  
वालमुच्चाय्य ताडपो मासमेकं [1<sup>+</sup>] त जित्वा विक्रमादित्य [ए]कादश
- 23 मासान् [1<sup>+</sup>] ततस्ताडपराजसुतो युद्धमल्लस्त्रिंशत् [1<sup>+</sup>] तमु[च]ाय्य देशादम्भ-  
राजानुजो राजभीमो [द्व]ादश [1<sup>\*</sup>] तत्सूनुरम्भराजः पचविंशति [1<sup>\*</sup>]  
तस्य
- 24 हैमातुरो दाननृपस्त्रीणि [1<sup>+</sup>] ततस्त्रिंशत्त्रिंशत्त्रिंशत्त्रिंशत् दैवदुरीहया  
वेगोमहिरनायिका[भू]त् [1<sup>-</sup>] ततो <sup>4</sup>दानार्णवसुतश्शक्ति-
- 25 वर्मनृपो द्वादश ॥ ततस्तदनुजस्त्रिंशत् वत्सरान् भूतवत्सल [1<sup>\*</sup>] विमला-  
दित्यभूपालः पालयामास मेदि[नी] । [३<sup>\*</sup>] तत्तनयो न-
- 26 यशाली जयलक्ष्मीधाम <sup>5</sup>राजराजनरेन्द्रश्चत्वारिंशत्तमब्दा(न्)नेक च पुनर्महो-  
मपालयदखिला । [४<sup>+</sup>] यो रूपेण म[नोभ]-
- 27 व विशदया कात्य[1]<sup>6</sup> कलाना[न्निधि] भोगेनापि पुरद्वर विपुलया  
लक्ष्म्या च लक्ष्मीधरं [1<sup>+</sup>] भीम भीमपराक्रमेण विहसन्
- 28 भाति स्म भास्वद्यश[ः]<sup>\*</sup> श्रीमत्सीमकुलैकभूषणम[णि]र्द्दीनैकचिन्तामणिः ।  
[५<sup>\*</sup>] राजासावनुरूपरूपविभवामन्मगना-
- 29 स्ना भुवि प्रस्थातामुपयच्छति स्म विधिवद्देवीं जगत्पावनीं [1<sup>\*</sup>] या  
जङ्गोरिव ज[1]ङ्गवी हिमवतो गौरीव लक्ष्मीरिव क्षी-
- 30 रीदाद्विवसेशवशतिलकाद्राजेन्द्रचोडादभूत् । [६<sup>\*</sup>] पुत्रस्तयोरभवदप्रति[घा]क-  
शक्ति<sup>8</sup> निश्शेषितारिनिवहो महनीयकीर्तिः [1<sup>\*</sup>]
- 31 गगाधराद्रिसुतयोरिव कार्तिकेयो राजेंद्र[चो]ड इति राजकुलप्रदीप ।  
[७<sup>\*</sup>] भासामुन्नतिहेतु प्रथम<sup>9</sup> वेगोश्चरत्वम-
- 32 ध्यास्य [1<sup>\*</sup>] यस्तेजसा दिगंतानाक्रमत सहस्रभानुरुदयमिव । [८<sup>\*</sup>]  
उद्यच्चण्डतरप्रतापदहनप्लुष्टाखिलवेषिणा सर्वान् के-
- 33 रत्नपा[ण्ड्य]कुंतलमुखान्निर्जित्य देशान् बलादाज्ञ[1]<sup>10</sup> मौलिषु भूभृता  
भयरजा चित्तेषु दुर्मे[ध]सा प्रीतिस्सत्सु [दि]शा[सु]

<sup>1</sup> The " of णु is expressed twice

<sup>2</sup> The द्वा is entered below the line

<sup>3</sup> Read °नरेन्द्र । चत्वा°

<sup>4</sup> The syllables पु and या are written on erasures

<sup>5</sup> Read प्रथम

<sup>6</sup> The त of °शत is entered below the line

<sup>7</sup> Read दानार्णव°

<sup>8</sup> Read कात्या

<sup>9</sup> Read °शक्ति°

<sup>10</sup> Read बलात् । आज्ञा

11a.

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[illegible]

- 34 की[र्त्ति]रतुला येनार्पितोज्जृम्भते । [६\*] भोगीशाभीलभोगप्रतिमनिजभुज[र्]-  
भर्त्सितात्यत[वि]भ्यन्नानाभूपाललो-  
35 कप्रहितवहुविधा[न]र्घरत्नाभिराम [१\*] धत्ते मौलि पराङ्घ्र्यौ [म]-  
इति नृप[कु]ले यः कुलोत्तुंगदेवो<sup>1</sup> देवेन्द्रत्वाद-  
36 नूने सुरपतिमहिमा चोडराज्येभिषिक्तः । [१०\*] प्र[स्थ]ातभूभृत्कुल-  
जन्मभाजस्त्वदाभिसुख्यस्तरसाः प्र[स]न्ना [१\*] त-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 37 स्याभवन् <sup>2</sup>पालिवपुगवस्य देव्यशुभा नद्य इवांवुराशे । [११\*]  
आत्मातुरुपैर[ध] त[र्]सु लब्धेदेवीषु<sup>3</sup> देवप्रति[म]-  
38 कुमारैस्स<sup>4</sup> नन्दमानो नरदेववद्यैर्नूनं <sup>5</sup>हसत्येककुमारमीश । [१२\*]  
आत्मेवेन्द्रियवर्ग<sup>6</sup> सुतवर्गं तेषु  
39 तेषु वि[प्र]येषु [१\*] क्रमशस्त्र नियुजानो मुम्माडिचोड कुमारमित्यवदत्  
[॥ १३\*] वत्स वेगीमहीराज्यन्मया [दि]-  
40 विजयैषिणा [१\*] मत्पितृव्ये पुरा न्यस्त विजयाद्रित्यभूभुजि [॥ १४\*]  
स च<sup>7</sup> पचदशैवाव्[१\*]न् पचाननपराक्रमः [१\*] महीं रक्षन् म-  
41 हीनाथो दिवं देवोपमो गत<sup>8</sup> [॥ १५\*] इत्युक्त्वा ता धुर दत्ता  
गुरुणा चक्रवर्त्तिना [१\*] असह्यतद्वियोगोपि विनयाद्वहति [स्म]  
42 सः । [१६\*] श्रीपादसेवासुखतो गुरुणान्न<sup>9</sup> जातु राज्य सुखमित्यवेक्ष्य  
[१\*] संरक्ष्य वेगीभुवमेकमव्द भूयस्त्र पित्रोरग-  
43 मत्समीप । [१७\*] ततस्त्वदनुजो धीरो वीरचोडकुमारक. [१\*] आदिष्टो  
गुरुणा त्रातुं वेगीभुवमुपागमत् । [१८\*] तेन भ्रातृषु पू-  
44 र्वजस्य चरणाभोज[प्र]णामार्थिना भक्त्यानस्रनिजोत्तमागमनुज तृष्णाव  
तालिंगितुं [१\*] शुश्रूषाविधिलपटेन च गुरो-  
45 पादाबुजध्यायिना नीतास्तातनियोगलघनभिया वत्सेन<sup>10</sup> षड्वत्सरा । [१९\*]  
इत्य गुरुभ्रातृसमाणमैकमनोरथ त<sup>11</sup> तनय-  
46 त्रयज्ञः [१\*] निजांतिकं निर्जितभूमिपालस्समानयन्मानवदेवदेवः ॥ [२०\*]  
<sup>12</sup>अध्याशज गु[णी]दग्र शास्त्रज्ञ शस्त्रकोविद्<sup>13</sup> [१\*] नयज्ञ<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The word देवी is entered below the line

<sup>2</sup> Read पालिव<sup>०</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Read लब्धेदेवीषु

<sup>4</sup> Read कुमारै । स

<sup>5</sup> Read हसत्येक<sup>०</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Read वेन्द्रिय<sup>०</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Read स च, the च of पच is entered below the line

<sup>8</sup> Read गत

<sup>9</sup> Read गुरुणा न

<sup>10</sup> The न is entered below the line.

<sup>11</sup> तं is entered below the line

<sup>12</sup> Read अया<sup>०</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Read कोविद्

<sup>14</sup> The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line



- 47 विनयाधारमुदारमुदितोदितं<sup>1</sup> । [२१\*] <sup>2</sup>शंभोश्शुंचत्यदांभोजभ्रमरीभूतचेतसं  
[1\*] धार्मिकन्निर्मलाचारं<sup>3</sup> चालुक्यकुलभूष[णं] [॥ २२\*]  
48 वाचां वाचस्यति <sup>4</sup>लक्ष्या विक्रमेण त्रिविक्रमं [1\*] प्रज्ञातृतीयनेत्रेण  
निर्मलेन त्रिलोचनं । [२३\*] गाम्भीर्येण<sup>5</sup> महाम्भीधिं <sup>6</sup>महोन्नत्य[1]  
49 महीधर [1\*] लोकानदितया <sup>7</sup>चंद्रं तेजसा <sup>8</sup>तिग्मतेजसं [॥ २४\*]  
भूभारभरणक्षांत्या भुजगानामधीश्वरं [1\*] तुल्यत कल[1]-  
50 भिन्न चीडगंग प्रियात्मज [॥ २५\*] राजीवलोचनो राज्ञामयं रा[जा]  
भवेदिति [1\*] राजराज[1]भिधानेन सार्थनाह्वय सादरं<sup>9</sup> [॥ २६\*]  
क-  
51 तप्रणाममा[स्त्रि]य कृत्यवेदी कृतांजलि [1\*] विक्रमाक्रांतभूचक्रश्चक्रवर्त्तीदम-  
ब्रवीत् । [२७\*] अस्ति प्रशस्तज[1]तीना रत्नानामिव  
52 वारिधिः [1\*] जन्मभूमिश्चलुक्यानां देशो वेंगीति वि[श्रु]तः [॥ २८\*]  
तत्रोदय इवासाय ग्र[हा] इव महोन्नति [1\*] अधःकुर्वति<sup>10</sup> म-  
53 [हं]स्थास्तुंगानपि महीचृतः<sup>11</sup> । [२९\*] सर्व्वामुर्व्वीमच्छंतं<sup>12</sup> रक्षितु ते वेंगी-  
देशे सिंहपो[ठ]ासनस्य [1\*] नानाभूभृन्मौलिरत्नालि-<sup>13</sup>

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 54 चक्रैः पादावशीर्भाजितां राजराज । [३०\*] पातालं पाति यावत्त्वमिव<sup>14</sup>  
पणिपतिर्नागयूथै-  
55 कनाधी<sup>15</sup> यावत्सःसेव्यमानो विबुधगणशतैर्वाकनाधोपि<sup>16</sup> नाक [1\*] तावलः<sup>17</sup>  
रत्न धात्रीं निशि-  
56 <sup>18</sup>तनिजभूजस्फारकौचेयधारावारिप्रक्षालितारिच्छलमलविमलीभूतदिकचक्रवा-<sup>19</sup>  
57 लः [॥ ३१\*] इत्याशिषं नृपसुतस्य नृपादवाय्य सत्याशिषस्तदनु<sup>20</sup>  
मातुरुभौ प्रणम्य [1\*] देशत्रिजं जिग-  
58 मिधोरगमद्दिगंतान् प्रस्थानशखपटुमगलतूर्य्यघोषः ॥ [३२\*] ध्वस्ता वैरि-  
दशानिशा प्र-

<sup>1</sup> The *anusvāra* is expressed twice

<sup>2</sup> Read °कन्नि°

<sup>3</sup> Read मही°

<sup>4</sup> Read तिग्म°

<sup>5</sup> Read °कुर्वति

<sup>6</sup> Read °भृन्मौलि°

<sup>7</sup> Read °नाधोपि

<sup>8</sup> Read °दिकचक्र°

<sup>9</sup> The ल is entered below the line

<sup>10</sup> The *anusvāra* of च is expressed twice

<sup>11</sup> The *anusvāra* is corrected from a *visarga*

<sup>12</sup> Read °भूत

<sup>13</sup> Read यावत्त्वमिव फणि°.

<sup>14</sup> Read तावत्.

<sup>15</sup> The *aksharas* सदनु are entered below the line

<sup>16</sup> Read °शुभ°

<sup>17</sup> Read गाम्भीर्येण.

<sup>18</sup> Read °मच्छत

<sup>19</sup> Read °नाधी यावत्सः°

<sup>20</sup> Read °भुज°

- 59 तिहृत ध्वांत द्विषच्छङ्गकं<sup>1</sup> वैरिस्त्रोककुभांगणादपगता हारच्छलास्तारकाः  
[1\*] ताप-
- 60 व्याजहुताशनी रिपुवधूहृत्सूर्यकांतिष्वभूद्देगीदेशमहोदयोन्न-
- 61 तिमति श्रीराजराजे रवौ । [३३\*] शाकान्दे रसखांबरेदुगणिते ज्येष्ठेध  
मासे सिते पक्षे पूर्वतिथौ<sup>3</sup>
- 62 दिने सुरगुरोर्ज्येष्ठां शशांके गते [1\*] मिह<sup>4</sup> लग्नवरे समस्तजगतीराज्या-  
भिपिक्तो सुदे लोक-
- 63 स्योद्धति स्म पट्टमनघः[1\*] श्रीराजराजो विभुः । [३४\*] भूलोकादुदिता  
महोन्नतिमती दिङ्मण्ड-
- 64 लव्यापिनी सक्राताखिलसत्पधा<sup>5</sup> परिगता लोकानधोर्द्धानपि<sup>6</sup> [1\*] सन्मार्गा-  
च्चलितां भुवीह पतितां<sup>7</sup>
- 65 पश्चादधीगामिनीं गगां कीर्त्तिरमगलप्रमधनी<sup>8</sup> यस्यातिशितेतरां [॥ ३५\*]  
कोदण्डे रामभद्राद्रिपुकुलद-
- 66 लने भार्गवान्मदराद्रेस्तारे शास्त्रावुराशौ कलशभवसुनेर्विक्रमे वायुसूनोः  
[1\*] यस्माद्वन्धा-

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 67 पसर्प्यप्रमथनगिलनोत्तं[ध]नावृत्तिशंकी नूनं रत्नाकरोय<sup>9</sup> प्रदिशति बहुशो  
रत्नराशीन् विचित्रान् [॥ ३६\*] यः पुन-
- 68 रिद्धतेजोधिकतया मध्यमलोकपालोयमिति <sup>10</sup>लोकेन लोकपालैस्सह बहुमतोपि  
गोत्रवर्द्ध-
- 69 <sup>11</sup>नतया वर्द्धितविशाल[की]र्त्तिर्गोत्रभेदनप्रवादिनो वृत्रशत्रोस्समस्तभुवनाश्रय[1\*]  
स्त्राश्रयप्रदा-
- 70 हिनी दहनात् [1\*] वदान्यकुलमान्यपुण्यचरितो दक्षिणाशावलंबनशीलपरि-  
पालिनः कालात् । सकलविवुधसम[र]ज-
- 71 <sup>12</sup>[सं]सेव्यमानो विवुधविपक्षतो राक्ष[सा]धी[श्व]रात् । विक्रमाक्रांत-  
निखिलभूभुवनो लुब्धकादिव वन[मात्र]गोच-
- 72 रा[ह]रुणात् [1\*] <sup>13</sup>भुवनभवरक्षणा[स्थि]त[स्थै]र्य्यकोटिस्तंतचपलस्वभावात्  
प्रभजनात् [1\*] सकललोकीपभोगसपलीकृतध-<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read °च्छङ्गक.

<sup>4</sup> Read सिद्धे

<sup>7</sup> The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line

<sup>9</sup> Read रोय

<sup>11</sup> A second न is written above the न at the beginning of the line

<sup>12</sup> The स of स is corrected from ज

<sup>13</sup> The upper stroke of the अ of स्थैर्य्य is missing

<sup>2</sup> Read ज्येष्ठेय

<sup>5</sup> Read °सत्पथा

<sup>10</sup> The *aksharas* लोके are written on an ensure

<sup>8</sup> Read पूर्णतिथौ

<sup>6</sup> Read °नधीध्वौ

<sup>8</sup> Read °प्रमथनी

<sup>14</sup> Read °सफली°

- 73 नसचयो निष्कल(ल)धनसग्रहादनेश्वरात्<sup>1</sup> [i\*] निखिललोकनिर्व्याजवान्धवी  
<sup>2</sup>दनदैकमित्राहिरिधन्व-
- 74 न. [i\*] यश्च बहु(अ)श्रुतिरखिलभूभुवनभारभरणलीलातुलितादपि श्रुतिविही-  
 नाच्चक्षु[:\*]-
- 75 अवसामधीश्वरात्<sup>3</sup> [i\*] अ[ख\*]खण्डितमदृत्तम[खड]लो जगदाह्लादनवि[धि]स-  
 धर्मणोपि खण्डितसदृत्ताच्च<sup>4</sup> शशलक्ष-
- 76 णो गुणविशेषाभिज्ञ[r]नमहनीयमतिमहिम्ना महाजनेन नून बहुमन्यते ।  
 स सर्वलोकाय-
- 77 यश्चैविष्णुवर्द्धनमहाराज[r]धिराजो राजपरमेश्वरः परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टा-  
 रकः परमन्न-
- 78 ह्यणो राजराज इत्यन्वितापरनामधेयानदितसकलदिङ्मण्डलो मंडलेश्वर-  
 मौलिविलसितचरणा-
- 79 रविदरेणुसकलभुवनसस्तूयमानविशदविशालयशोराशिविशदीकृताशेषदिक्चक्रवा-  
 लश्चक्रव-
- 80 तिलक्षणाभिराम[:\*]<sup>5</sup> श्रीचोडगंगदेव सकलधरातलसाम्राज्यलीलासुखमनुभवन्  
 कदाचित् कुलराज-

*Fourth Plate, First Side*

- 81 धान्या<sup>6</sup> जननाधनामनगर्यामशेषभुवनाभ्यन्तरापूरणातिरिक्तनिजयशोराशिशंका  
 जनय-
- 82 त. कैलासशैलविलासिनस्समुत्तुंग[शि]खरस्य<sup>7</sup> सौधस्यास्थानभूसौ सकलसामत-  
 चक्रप्रमुखे-
- 83 न<sup>8</sup> परिवारेण परितस्सेव्यमानः म[न्त्रे]टिमहेंद्रमध्यवर्त्तिनो राष्ट्रकूटप्रमुखान्  
<sup>9</sup>कुटिंविनस्स-
- 84 वान् समाह्वय मन्त्रिपुरोहितसेनापतियुवराजदीवारिकप्रधानसमक्षमित्यमात्र[r]-  
 पय-
- 85 ति । यथा [i\*] सन्ति मद्भूपापदपद्मोपजीविनः [i\*] भृत्याः  
 कृत्यविधौ दत्ता<sup>10</sup> शौर्यादिगुणशालिनः । [३७\*] तन्मध्ये
- 86 परया भक्त्या शक्त्या च प्रज्ञया सदा [i\*] मदीयान्वयभूपालचित्तारा-  
 धनतत्परा. [॥ ३८\*] निजैरत्यैर्निर्जैः<sup>11</sup> प्राणै-

<sup>1</sup> Read °वरात्

<sup>2</sup> Read शश°

<sup>3</sup> Read °धान्या जननाध°

<sup>4</sup> Read °ष

<sup>5</sup> The श्री is entered below the line

<sup>6</sup> Read धन°

<sup>7</sup> The aksharas मिरा are entered below the line

<sup>8</sup> The aksharas शिखर are written on an erasure

<sup>9</sup> Read कुटुम्भि°

<sup>10</sup> Read °वरात्

<sup>11</sup> Read °रब्धैः°

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- 87 विष्णुमाद्यैर्गुणैर्निजै<sup>1</sup> [i\*] ये चालुक्यक्षितिशानां प्रस्तावप्रतिपालिनः  
 [॥ ३८\*] अयो[ध्य]ाधीश्वरेणा-  
 88 दौ दक्षिणाशाजयैषिणा [i\*] ये सहैव समायाता(ः) विजयादित्यभू-  
 89 भुज[र] [॥ ४०\*] रा[ज]वशावतसाना<sup>2</sup> राजधान्या महीभुज[र] [i\*]  
 पुरो विजयवाटेया<sup>3</sup>  
 90 ये वास्तव्यकुटुबिन. । [४१\*] ये च वेलुमनूळु पत्तिपालु नरियू-  
 ९०<sup>4</sup> कुमुडाळु म-  
 91 ९०९०९०<sup>5</sup> पोवण्डु सावकुलु उण्डरुळु अनुमगीण्डु अड्डनूळु  
 इत्यादि[कु]-  
 92 [ल]सहस्रभेदप्रसिद्धाः तेलि[कि]कुललव्यजन्मा[नः\*]<sup>6</sup> स्वधर्मकर्मनिष्ठितमनस-  
 [स्ते]पाम-  
 93 मीषा विजयवाटप्रमुखनिखिलपुरनगरग्रामपट्टनप्रभ-

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

- 94 तिषु स्थानेषु सर्वेषु विवाहोत्सवेषु प्रवर्त्तमानेषु मिथुनस्य<sup>7</sup> वी[थी]षु  
 तुरगा-  
 95 रोहणेन पर्यटनमध<sup>8</sup> विवाहोत्सवावसाने राजश्रीपादमूले महार्घ-  
 96 वासीयुगलु<sup>9</sup> नियाय प्रणतानामेषां कनकपात्रेण तांबूलप्रदानं च पू-  
 97 र्वाभिर्यादा[स]मागतमधुना<sup>10</sup> परमभक्तिपरितोषितैरस्र[र]भिराक्षद्राक्ष<sup>10</sup>  
 98 शासनीकृत्य दत्तमिति विदितमस्तु वः [i\*] धर्मायमस्मदशजैः पा-  
 99 र्थिवै प्रयत्नेन पालनीयं<sup>11</sup> [i\*] शत्रुणापि कृतो धर्मः पालनीयो  
 100 मनीषिणा [i\*] शत्रुरेव हि शत्रु[.i\*]<sup>12</sup> स्याद्वर्माशत्रुर्न कस्यचित्  
 [॥ ४२\*] धर्मात् पैज-  
 101 वनो राज[र] चिराय वुभुजे भुव<sup>13</sup> [i\*]<sup>14</sup> अधम्माच्चैव नहुषः प्रतिपेदे  
 रसातल<sup>15</sup> [॥ ४३\*]  
 102 य[.i\*] स्वयं कुरु[ते] धर्मा यद्य पाति कृत [प]रैः [i\*] तया<sup>16</sup>  
 पालयिता श्रेष्ठ इति

<sup>1</sup> Read °द्यैर्गुणैर्निजै

<sup>4</sup> The रि is entered below the line

<sup>6</sup> Read मिथुनस्य

<sup>9</sup> Read °भक्ति°

<sup>11</sup> Read °नीय

<sup>13</sup> The anusvāra is corrected from a visarga,

<sup>15</sup> Read °तल

<sup>2</sup> Read °साना

<sup>5</sup> The कु of कुल is entered below the line

<sup>7</sup> Read °मय

<sup>10</sup> The anusvāra stands at the beginning of the next line

<sup>12</sup> Read स्याद्

<sup>3</sup> Read °वाटया,

<sup>8</sup> Read °युगल निधाय.

<sup>14</sup> Read अधर्मा°

<sup>16</sup> Read तयो

- 103 प्राहुर्मनीषिणः [॥ ४४\*] [ध]र्माद्विवर्द्धते राज्य<sup>1</sup> धर्मात् कीर्तिश्च  
शाश्वती । धर्मा[त्\*] तु-

*Fifth Plate*

- 104 प्यंति [पित]रो धर्मात्तुष्यंति देवता[:] । [४५\*] तस्माधर्माः<sup>2</sup> प्रयत्नेन  
रक्षणीयो म[ही]-  
105 क्षितो<sup>3</sup> [\*] स्वकृतोन्यक्ततो वापि लोकद्वयद्वितैपिणा ॥ [४६\*] स्वदत्ता  
परदत्तां वा यो  
106 हरेत वसुधरां [\*] षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्षमि  
[॥ ४७\*] बहुभिर्व्व-  
107 सु[ध]ा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता [\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य  
तदा फ-  
108 लं ॥ [४८\*] श्रीविजयराज्य[स]वत्सर<sup>4</sup> सप्तदशे दत्तस्यास्य शासन[स्य][\*]-  
क्षमिः कटकाधिपः कर्ता  
109 विद्वय(भ)भट्टः लेखक[\*] पेन्नाचार्यः ॥<sup>5</sup>

TRANSLATION

[As far as line 36 the text is identical with that of the Pithâpuram plates of Vira-Chôda  
ll 1-43, above, Vol V pp 74-77 ]

(Verse 11 ) There were to this chief of kings (*viz* Kulôttunga I.) (*many*) virtuous queens  
born in the families of renowned princes, always devoted to (*him*), full of love, (*and*) gracious,—  
as to the ocean (*many*) holy rivers, sprung from the ranges of lofty mountains, always running  
towards (*it*), full of water, (*and*) limpid

(V 12 ) Rejoicing in the sons (*kumâra*) who were born (*to him*) in due course by these  
queens, who resembled him, (*and*) who were worthy to be worshipped by princes, this godlike  
(*king*) surely laughs at Îśa (Śiva) who has (*only*) a single Kumâra (Skanda)

(V 13 ) Appointing (*his*) sons in due order to different districts (*vishaya*), as the soul  
(*directs*) the senses to different objects (*vishaya*), he spake as follows to prince Mummadi-  
Chôda —

(V 14 ) “Dear child ! Being desirous of conquering the world, I formerly conferred the  
kingdom of the country of Vēngi on my paternal uncle, prince Vijayāditya <sup>6</sup>

(V. 15 ) “And, ruling the earth for only fifteen years, this godlike prince, who resembled  
the five-faced (Śiva) in power, has (*now*) gone to heaven ”<sup>7</sup>

(V 16 ) Out of obedience he (Mummadi-Chôda) took up that burden (*viz* the kingdom of  
Vēngi) which (*his*) father, the emperor, had given him with these words, though he could not  
bear the separation from him <sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read राज्य

<sup>2</sup> Read तस्माद्धर्म

<sup>3</sup> Read क्षितो

<sup>4</sup> Read वत्सरे

<sup>5</sup> Here follow three symbols, for which see the accompanying Plate

<sup>6</sup> This verse is identical with v 13 of the Pithâpuram plates, and nearly identical with v 14 of the Chellur plates  
of Vira Chôda

<sup>7</sup> This verse is nearly the same as v 14 of the Pithâpuram plates and v 15 of the Chellur plates. After v  
15 of the Pithâpuram plates is omitted, though required by the context, see above Vol V p 95, note 1

<sup>8</sup> Verses 16 and 17 bear the same numbers in the Pithâpuram and Chellur plates

(V 17) "The kingdom (*is*) no pleasure at all (*compared*) with the pleasure of worshipping the holy feet of the elders," having considered thus, he returned to (*his*) parents after having ruled the country of Vēngi for one year.

(V 18) Then his younger brother, the brave prince Vira-Chôda, was ordered by (*his*) father to protect the country of Vēngi (*and*) proceeded (*there*)

(V 19) Desirous of prostrating himself at the lotus-feet of the elder one among (*his*) brothers, thirsting to embrace the younger one whose head was bent in devotion (*to him*), longing to do obeisance to (*his*) father and meditating on (*his*) lotus-feet, this poor boy spent six years in fear of transgressing the command of (*his*) father

(V 20) The politic king of kings, who had subdued (*all*) rulers of the earth, recalled to himself that son whose only wish was thus to be united with (*his*) father and brothers

(Vv. 21-27) Then the emperor, who knew (*his*) duty (*and*) who had conquered the circle of the earth by valour, spake as follows to (*his*) first-born dear son<sup>1</sup> Chôdaganga, having affectionately addressed (*him*) by the name Râjarâja (*i.e.* 'king of kings'), which was full of meaning because (*he thought that*) this lotus-eyed one would become a king of kings, (*and*) having embraced (*him*) who had prostrated himself (*and*) had folded his hands —

(V 28) "There is a country famed by the name of Vēngi, (*which is*) the birth-place of the noble Chalukyas, as the ocean (*is*) of precious pearls

(V 29) "Having reached high eminence there, the members of my family overcome even mighty kings,<sup>2</sup> as the planets, having risen in the east, surmount even lofty mountains

(V 30) "While thou, Râjarâja, art seated on the lion-throne in the Vēngi country in order to protect the whole earth unopposed, may the lustre of (*thy*) feet be enhanced by clusters of gems in the diadems of many kings, as the beauty of the lotus by swarms of bees'

(V 31) "As long as the king of serpents (Śēsha), (*who is*) the only lord of the snake-tribe, as thou (*art*) the only lord of a troop of elephants, is ruling the lower world, and as long as the lord of heaven (Indra), being worshipped by hundreds of gods and demi-gods, (*is ruling*) heaven, so long protect thou the earth, purifying the horizon as the impurity in the shape of enemies is washed away by the water of the edge<sup>3</sup> of the sharp, large sword in thy hand'"

(V 32) When the prince, having thus obtained the blessing of the king (*and*) afterwards the true blessings of (*his*) mother, (*and*) having bowed to both, was about to start for his country, the sound of the conches (*announcing his*) departure and of shrill auspicious bugles reached the ends of the quarters

(V 33) When the glorious Râjarâja had ascended (*the throne of*) the Vēngi country, (*as*) the sun the eastern mountain, the night of enmity was dispelled, darkness in the disguise of foes was driven away, the stars in the semblance of necklaces disappeared from the firmament—the wives of the enemies, (*and*) fire in the shape of sorrow sprang up in the sun-crystals—the hearts of the wives of foes

(V 34) In the Śâka year reckoned by the tastes (6), the sky (0), the atmosphere (0), and the moon (1),— (*i.e.* 1006)— in the month Jyāishtha, in the bright fortnight, on the full-moon *tithi*, on a Thursday, when the moon had joined Jyēshtâ, in the excellent *lagna* Simha,— the sunless lord, the glorious Râjarâja, having been anointed to the kingdom of the whole earth, put on the tiara to the joy of the world

<sup>1</sup> The word *agrajam* occurs in l 46 and *pryātmajam* in l 50. I omit the intervening epithets of Chôdaganga, from which we learn little more than that he was a worshipper of Śiva and "an ornament of the Chalukya family" (v 22)

<sup>2</sup> The words *tungān=api mahābhṛtāh* may also contain an allusion to the Râshtrakûtas, who had the surname Tunga, see above, Vol IV No 40, verse 6, and Vol V No 20, verse 6

<sup>3</sup> The word *dhārā* has to be taken also in the sense of 'a stream'



[V 35 is identical with v. 23 of the Pithāpuram plates]

(V 36) This ocean plentifully supplies heaps of wonderful gems,—surely<sup>1</sup> (*because it*) fears a repetition of (*its*) bridging, retreating, stirring, swallowing and overlapping<sup>2</sup> from him (*who is*) a Rāmabhadra in archery, a Bhārgava in splitting hosts of enemies, a Mandara mountain in firmness, a pitcher-born sage in (*absorbing*) the ocean of sciences, (*and*) a son of the wind in prowess

[Ll. 67-76 illustrate by a series of *vyatirēkulamkāras* that the king as regent of the middle sphere was superior to the regents of the ten directions. The pun (*slēsha*) in the word *dakṣiṇāśā* (l. 70) is particularly amusing]

(L 76) While this asylum of the whole world (*Sarvalōkāśraya*), the glorious Viṣṇu-vardhana-Mahārājādhirāja, the Rājaparamēśvara, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, the very pious one, who delights all regions of the world by (*his*) second name Rājārāja, the dust of whose lotus-feet adorns the diadems of lords of provinces (*mandalēśvara*), who purifies the whole horizon by the great mass of (*his*) pure fame that is being praised by the whole world, who is distinguished by the marks of an emperor, the glorious Chōdagangadēva, was enjoying the pleasure of the sport of ruling the whole earth,—once, being attended on all sides by the retinue consisting of the troop of all vassals, *etc*, in the *darbār* hall of the palace, which had very lofty pinnacles, which possessed the splendour of the Kailāsa mountain, (*and*) which produced the impression of a lump of his fame that remained after the interior of the whole world had been filled (*with it*), at the capital of (*his*) family, the city (*nagari*) named (*after*) Jananātha,—called together all the *Rāshtrakūtas* and other ryots living between the Mannēru<sup>3</sup> (*river*) and the Mahēndra (*mountain*) and ordered as follows in the presence of the councillors, the family priest, the commander of the army, the heir-apparent, the door-keepers and the ministers —

(V 37) “There are (*many*) servants, dependent on the lotus-feet of the kings of my family, clever in service, (*and*) possessing courage and other virtues

(Vv 38-41) “Among them (*are those who have been*) always intent on pleasing the minds of the kings of my family by great devotion, strength and intelligence, who have protected the Chālukya kings at the beginning with their riches, with their lives, (*and*) with their courage and other virtues, who have come already at the beginning with king Vijayāditya, the lord of Ayōdhyā, who was desirous of conquering the southern region, the ryots dwelling in the town Vijayavātā, the capital of the kings (*who were*) ornaments of the race of the Moon (*Rājaramśa*),<sup>4</sup>

(L 90) “And who are born in the Telika family, whose minds are intent on the performance of their duties, (*and*) who are known to be divided into a thousand families such as Velumanūllu, Pattipālu, Nariyūllu, Kumudāllu, Marrūllu, Povandlu, Srāvakulu, Undrūllu, Anumagondalu and Addanūllu

(L 92) “Be it known to you that, being pleased by (*their*) great devotion, we have now granted to these people by an edict (*śāsana*), as long as the moon and the sun shall last, that when marriage festivals are celebrated at all places such as Vijayavātā and all other towns, cities,

<sup>1</sup> The particle *nānam*, ‘surely,’ introduces the figure (*alankāra*) of ‘poetical fancy’ (*utpreksha*), which in the present case pertains to a cause (*kētuḡā*), viz the fear felt by the ocean, and is founded on a series of metaphors (*rūpaka*), viz the identity of the king with Rama, *etc*

<sup>2</sup> These humiliating experiences the ocean had undergone successively at the hands of Rāma, Parasurama, the Mandara, Agastya and Hanumat

<sup>3</sup> Mannēri is the Telugu genitive of Mannēru

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Rāja kula-pradīpa* in verse 7 of this inscription, which seems to mean ‘the light of the race of the Moon,’ rather than ‘the light of the warrior caste,’ as I had translated it in *South Ind Inscr* Vol I p 59, verse 8

villages and hamlets (?), the married couple may proceed on the roads on horse-back, and that afterwards when, at the end of the marriage festival, they place a pair of valuable cloths at the feet of the king and prostrate themselves, betel will be given (*to them*) in a golden vessel, (*as*) handed down by old custom

(L 98.) "This gift must be assiduously protected by the kings descended from our family"

[Vy. 42-48 contain the usual admonitions to future rulers]

(L 108) The *āṇapti* of this edict, which was given in the seventeenth year of the prosperous and victorious reign, (*was*) the commander of the camp,<sup>1</sup> the composer Viddayabhata, (*and*) the writer Pennāchārya

#### POSTSCRIPT

Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks on the date of the accession of Rājārāja-Chōdagaṅga (above, p 345, verse 34)

"The date is irregular for Śaka-Samvat 1006, both expired and current In Śaka-Samvat 1006 expired the full-moon *tithi* of Jyāishtha ended 15 h. 27 m after mean sunrise of Wednesday, the 22nd May A D 1084, when the *nakshatra* was Jyēshthā, by the equal space system for 19 h. 3 m, by the Brahma-Siddhanta for 1 h 58 m., and according to Garga for 6 h. 34 m, after mean sunrise Simha was *lagna* from 4 h 32 m. to 6 h 41 m after true sunrise

"In Śaka-Samvat 1006 current the same *tithi* ended 20 h. 36 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 2nd June A D 1083, when the *nakshatra* by the equal space system only was Jyēshthā, for 8 h 32 m after mean sunrise (while it was Mūla by the Brahma-Siddhanta and according to Garga). Simha was *lagna* from 3 h 51 m to 6 h 0 m after true sunrise

"The date would be irregular also for Śaka-Samvat 1005 current and 1007 expired"

#### No 36 — RANASTIPUNDI GRANT OF VIMALADITYA, DATED IN THE EIGHTH YEAR

By V VENKAYYA, M.A.

The copper-plates on which the subjoined inscription is engraved were discovered about 70 years ago while quarrying earth for bricks in the fields of the ancestors of a ryot in the Amalāpuram tāluka of the Gōdāvari district, and are now in the possession of Valavala Jagganna who lives at Amalāpuram They were received from the Collector of Gōdāvari through the Government of Madras in 1899 and will have to be returned to the owner Dr Hultzsch has kindly permitted me to publish them

The plates are five in number and were strung on a ring, which had not yet been cut when they were received The ring measures about  $6\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and about  $\frac{5}{8}$ " in thickness Its ends are secured in a four-petalled flower, which forms the base of a circular seal of about  $3\frac{1}{4}$ " diameter The seal bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrī-Trībhuvanāṁkūṣa* Below the legend is an eight-petalled flower, and above it a running boar facing the proper left In front of the boar is an elephant-goad, behind it the crescent of the moon, and above it the sun flanked by two *chauris* The breadth of the plates is  $10\frac{1}{2}$ ", and their height  $5\frac{1}{4}$ " Their edges are raised into rims for protecting the writing, with the exception of the first side of the first plate, which is blank, and of the second side of the fifth plate, which bears only two lines of writing The writing is on the whole in a state of good preservation, but a number of places are damaged by verdigris

<sup>1</sup> With *katāddhīpo* compare *kaṭakadhīrāja*, etc, above, Vol IV p 309, note 1, and Vol V p 181, last line

The alphabet is ancient Telugu, while the language is mostly Sanskrit verse and prose. The description of the boundaries of the village granted (ll. 87-94) is in a mixture of Sanskrit and Telugu prose. I would draw attention to the following points in the alphabet of the inscription. The long *ā* after consonants is marked in different ways, compare *dhā*, *nā*, *rā* and *hā* in line 1 with the *smā* of the first *tasmād*= in line 3, and with the *smā* of the second *tasmād*= in the same line. The long *ā* added to conjunct consonants of which the *rēpha* is a member is generally omitted, except in *ritā* of *vamsa-karttā* (l. 4) and *rshū* of *varshāni* (l. 29). The syllable *jā* occurs eight times in the inscription, but it is written correctly only once (in *mahārājādhirāja*, l. 61), while in the remaining seven cases the long *ā* is not marked at all. Initial *i* occurs in ll. 55, 66 (twice), 70, 85, 87 and 97. In a large number of cases the *rēpha* is added to the *i*-symbol above consonants, the addition being denoted by a slight indenture at the base of the latter, e.g. in *riti* (ll. 4, 16, 60) and *rii* (ll. 19, 33, 34, 41). Initial *ī* occurs in l. 91. The secondary form of the long *ī* is rarely distinguished from that of the short *i*, but in *sri* (ll. 1, 2), *sī* (l. 3) and *chī* (l. 5) an attempt is made to mark the length. Initial *u* occurs in l. 94. In combination with consonants this vowel is denoted in three different ways, compare *ru* (ll. 1, 2, 3, 4), *ēu* (l. 2) and *pu* (l. 3) with *nmū* (l. 2) and *tsu* (l. 3), and with *yu* (ll. 3, 4, 8). The secondary form of the long *ū* is also denoted in three different ways, compare *bhū* (l. 1) with *ēū* (ll. 2, 3) and *chū* (l. 2), and with *tsū* (ll. 8, 30, 33), *trū* (l. 41) and *ssū* (l. 70). Initial *ē* occurs in ll. 36, 75, 91. Combined with consonants, this vowel is denoted in two ways, compare *tē* (l. 3), *mē* (l. 4) and *kē* (l. 7) with *jñē* and *nē* (l. 2). Initial *ai* is found in l. 6, and initial *ri* in l. 7. Final *l* occurs in l. 68, final *m* in ll. 3, 37, 41, 46, final *n* in ll. 31, 35, 36, 41 (twice), 53, 62, and final *t* in ll. 17, 20, 29, 38, 52, 64, 67. In the majority of cases no distinction is made between the dental *d* and the lingual *ḍ*, compare *chūdōmani* (l. 81) with *°vāran-ādīs*= (l. 83) and *mad=alābhi* (l. 84), but in *pratidālā* (l. 22), *Kadamba* (l. 23), *Kāramuchēdu* (l. 84) and *Peggada* (l. 85) the loop of the *d* is quite distinct. The aspirate *chha* occurs twice in the inscription (ll. 14, 59), and in both cases in conjunction with *cha*. In all other cases its place is taken by the unaspirated *cha*. Double *shsha* is written as if it consisted of *sha* and *va*, see ll. 32, 35 and 43. The *upadhmanīya* occurs in ll. 1, 4, 5 (twice), 11 (twice), 14, 15, 38, 46, 70, 73.

Of orthographical peculiarities the following deserve to be noted — The syllable *ri* is used for the vowel *ri* in *Richuka* for *Ribhuka* (twice in l. 7), *kritiā* for *kritvā* (l. 9), *°vritāmtas*= for *°vritāmtas*= (l. 21) and *°kritya* for *°kritya* (l. 86). The syllable *yi* is used for initial *i* in *yiti* (l. 9) and *yīa* (ll. 45, 47, 55, 56 (twice), 57, 63). *G* is doubled after an *anusāra* in *Gamgg-ādi* (l. 23) and *°samggatir*= (l. 81) and before *r* in *°ggrāhinas*= (l. 12), and *t* before *r* in *Ttrilōchana* (l. 17). After *r* consonants are generally doubled, except in *-Bhīm-Ārjuna-* (l. 12) and *nirjitya* (l. 23). *Sāmbrājya* occurs for *sāmrajya* in l. 23.

The inscription opens with the Paurāṇik genealogy of the Eastern Chālukya kings (ll. 1-15) and with a legendary account of their ancestors (ll. 15-25). Ll. 25-42 furnish the historical genealogy of the donor Vimalāditya. The date of his coronation is given in verse 13. He is praised in general terms in vv. 14-20 and in the subsequent prose passage (ll. 54-61). Ll. 61 f. contains the king's titles *Sarvalōkāśraya*, *Vishnuvardhana*, etc. Vv. 21-34 describe the donee and his ancestors. Then follows the grant itself, the description of the boundaries of the village granted, and of a field which belonged to it. The inscription closes with the date of the grant, and the names of the executor, the composer and the writer.

The Paurāṇik, legendary and historical portion of the genealogy agree almost literally with the corresponding passage of the Nandamapūṇḍi grant of Rājārāja I<sup>1</sup> as far as the description of the reign of Vimalāditya's predecessor Śaktivarman (v. 11). The Korumelli plates of Rājārāja I,<sup>2</sup> the Tēki plates of Chodaganga,<sup>3</sup> the Chellūr plates of Vīra-Chōḍa,<sup>4</sup> and the Pithāpuram plates

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV No. 43

<sup>2</sup> No. 35 above

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV p. 48 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I No. 39

of the same king<sup>1</sup> also agree with the Ranastapūṇḍi grant to a great extent, while the Pithāpuram pillar inscription of Mallapadeva<sup>2</sup> furnishes substantially the same facts regarding the early Eastern Chālukyas and their ancestors. The historical portion commencing with the reign of Kubja-Vishnuvardhana is known from grants earlier than the time of Vimalāditya. But the Ranastapūṇḍi grant is the earliest inscription hitherto discovered, which contains the Paurāṇik and legendary portions (ll 1-25)

This is the first inscription which has been found of king Vimalāditya, the son of Dāna or Dānārṇava by his wife Āryāmahadēvi<sup>3</sup> (v 12) and younger brother of that king Śaktivarman who ruled immediately after the interregnum in the Vēṅgi country. An important item of information furnished by our grant is the date of Vimalāditya's accession, which until now had to be obtained by deducting the duration of his reign as given in the copper-plate grants from the date of the recession of his son and successor Rājārāja I as found in the Korumelli plates<sup>4</sup> and in the Nandamapūṇḍi grant<sup>5</sup>. According to verse 13 of the subjoined inscription, Vimalāditya's coronation took place in the Simha lagna and the Pushya nakṣatra, on Thursday, the sixth tithi of the bright fortnight of the month Vriṣabha in Śaka-Samvat 933. Professor Kjelhorn kindly contributes the following remarks on this date — "In line 43 read *pañchamyām*, 'on the fifth tithi,' instead of *yash-śashṭhyām*. With this alteration the date corresponds, for Śaka-Samvat 933 expired, to Thursday, the 10th May A D 1011. The fifth tithi of the bright half (of the lunar month Jyāishtha) in the solar month Vriṣabha ended at 20 h 44 m after mean sunrise, and the nakṣatra was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga, for 21 h 40 m. after mean sunrise. For a place situated at 16° Northern Latitude, the Simha lagna on that day lasted from 5 h 14 m to 7 h 24 m. after true sunrise."

The above date removes a discrepancy in the duration of the interregnum between Dānārṇava and Śaktivarman. All the grants assign 27 years to this interregnum. The interval between the accession of Amma II (Śaka-Samvat 867) and that of Rājārāja I (Śaka-Samvat 944) is 77 years, while the total duration of the intervening reigns is only  $25 + 3 + 12 + 7 = 47$  years. It had therefore to be inferred that the interregnum lasted  $77 - 47 = 30$  years. This discrepancy has already been pointed out by Dr Hultzsch<sup>6</sup>. As we know now that Vimalāditya's reign commenced in Śaka-Samvat 933, the interregnum is reduced to roughly 27 years, the period actually mentioned in the copper-plate inscriptions.

If we subtract from A D 1011 the period of the reign of Vimalāditya's predecessor Śaktivarman (12 years), we get the approximate date of the accession of Śaktivarman himself, viz A D 999. The interregnum which preceded Śaktivarman's reign and which lasted 27 years has thus to be placed roughly between A D 972 and 999. Hitherto it has been supposed that the interregnum in the Vēṅgi country was caused by a Chōla invasion<sup>7</sup>. The earliest Chōla king who claims to have conquered Vēṅgi is Rājārāja I, who ascended the throne in A D 985. The conquest of Vēṅgi is first mentioned in inscriptions dated in the 14th year of his reign = A D. 998-99<sup>8</sup>. Consequently, the interregnum could not have been caused by the invasion of the Chōlas, but was probably put an end to by that event. If this conclusion is correct, the Chōla king Rājārāja I must have restored order in Vēṅgi by placing Śaktivarman on the throne, and the interregnum must have been due to causes other than the Chōla invasion during the time of Rājārāja I. There is also reason to believe that no Chola invasion could have taken place before the time of Rājārāja I.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol V No 10

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol IV No 33

<sup>3</sup> This queen is mentioned as Ā[r]yadevi in the Pithāpuram inscription of Mallapadeva, above, Vol IV. No 33, verse 19

<sup>4</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XIV p 50 and p 53, text lines 65-67

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol IV p 302

<sup>6</sup> See *Ind Ant* Vol XX p 272

<sup>7</sup> *South Ind Inscr* Vol I p 32, note 13.

<sup>8</sup> *South Ind Inscr* Vol III p 5

The later Eastern Chalukya inscriptions, beginning with the Nandamapūṇḍi grant, report that Vimalāditya reigned 7 years, while the subjoined inscription is dated in his 8th year (l 97). His accession took place in A D 1011, and that of his successor Rājārāja I in A D 1022. Thus the duration of Vimalāditya's reign was 11 years, i.e. 4 years in excess of the period assigned to him. The explanation of this difference has perhaps to be sought for in the following facts. Two inscriptions on the Mahēndragiri hill in the Gāñjam district (Nos 396 and 397 of 1896) record that (the Chola king) Rājendra-Chōla defeated Vimalāditya and set up a pillar of victory on the hill. The date when this event took place is not known. But as this fact is not recorded in the usual historical introduction of Rājendra-Chōla's Tamil inscriptions, it may be presumed that it happened during the early part of his military career, when his father Rājārāja I was still living. Again, there is an inscription in the Pāñchanadīśvara temple at Tiruvaiyāru near Tanjore (No 215 of 1894), dated in the 20th year of the reign of the Chōla king Rājārāja I, which records certain gifts to the temple by Viṣṇuvardhana-Vimalāditya, who is no doubt identical with the Eastern Chalukya king of the same name. There is thus reason to believe that Vimalāditya was at or near Tanjore in A.D. 1013-14. This fact, coupled with the defeat recorded in the Mahēndragiri inscriptions, appears to show that Vimalāditya was taken prisoner to Tanjore by Rajendra-Chōla. While in the Chōla country, he must have married Kundavā, the daughter of the Chōla king Rājārāja I and younger sister of Rājendra-Chōla I<sup>1</sup>. After this marriage Vimalāditya may have been sent back to his dominions about A D 1015. Taking these inferences for granted, it may be assumed that, though the period counting from his accession in A D 1011 to the date of his death in A D 1022 is 11 years, the later Eastern Chalukya records recognise neither his original accession in A D 1011 nor the period of his stay in the Chōla country, but reckon his reign from the time when he began to rule after his return from the Chōla country, and thus give only 7 years as the duration of his reign.

The inscription attributes several surnames to Vimalāditya, viz. Brudanka-Bhīma (ll 44 and 73 f), Tribhuvanāṅkuṣa (l 47), Mummadi-Bhīma (l 51) and Bhūpa-Mahēndra (l 74). Brudanka-Bhīma occurs also in the Nandamapūṇḍi grant (l 52). The surname Mummadi-Bhīma means 'the third Bhīma' and is appropriate for Vimalāditya, as there were only two among his ancestors who bore the name Bhīma. Before introducing the surname Mummadi-Bhīma (v 19), the composer of the subjoined inscription refers to certain predecessors of the king who were looked upon as founders of the family, and states that Mummadi-Bhīma was also one of those founders. Again, in two different places the king is spoken of as 'the rescuer of (his) family' (l 57 f) and as 'the only rescuer of (his) family' (l 75). If any significance is to be attached to these statements, they must imply that Vimalāditya took proper care to ensure the succession in his family and to strengthen its position. It is not impossible that there is a remote reference in these passages to Vimalāditya's alliance with the powerful Chōlas by his marriage with the Chōla princess Kundavā, and perhaps also to the actual birth of an heir to the throne, viz. Rājārāja I. The disastrous effects of the anarchy which prevailed in Vēṅgi immediately before the accession of Vimalāditya's predecessor could not have been altogether forgotten at the time when the subjoined grant was issued, and the king's attempts to render the position of his family firm and stable were apparently appreciated by the composer, if not by all the people in Vēṅgi.

The donee was a minister of the king, called Vajra (vv 24, 26, 28, 30) or, in Telugu, Vajriya-Peggada (l 85). He belonged to the Kaundinya gōtra (v 22), was a resident of the village of Kāramachēdu (l 84), and bore the surnames Budhavajraprākāra (v 31 and l 85), Amātyasikhāmani and Saujanyaṛatnākara (v 33 and l 85). The composer was Bhīmanabhatta, son of Rāchiya-Peddēri. This person must have been the father of the composer of

the Korumelli plates, Chêtanabhatta, who calls himself the son of Râchya-Peddâri-Bhîma. The writer of the subjoined grant was Jontâchârya, who may have belonged to the same family as his namesake, the writer of a grant of Amma II.<sup>1</sup>

Ranastipûndi, the village granted, belonged to the Guddavâdi-vishaya<sup>2</sup> (I 62). I am unable to identify either Ranastipûndi or the other villages which are mentioned in the description of its boundaries. As regards Kâramachêdu, where the donee is stated to have come from, it may be mentioned that there is a village named Kârimchêdu, 9 miles west of Bâpatla in the Kistna district.<sup>3</sup>

TEXT<sup>4</sup>

## First Plate

- 1 \* श्रीधाम्नः पुरुषोत्तमस्य महती नारायणस्य प्रभोर्नाभीपकरहाडभूव  
जगतस्त्वष्टा स्वयम्भूस्त-
- 2 त. [१\*] जज्ञे मानससुनुरत्रिरिति यस्तस्मान्मुनेरत्रितस्मीमी वश[क]रसुधाशु-  
रुदित[१\*] श्रीकण्ठचूडामणिः । [१\*]
- 3 तस्मादामीत्यु[धा\*]स्तेर्बुधो बु[ध]नुतस्ततः [१\*] ज[१\*]तः पुरुरवा<sup>5</sup>  
नाम चक्रवर्त्ती म[म]विक्रमः । [२\*] गद्यम् । तस्मादायुरा-
- 4 युषो नहुष. नहुषाद्ययातिचक्रवर्त्ती वशकर्त्ता ततः पुरुरि[ति] चक्रवर्त्ती  
ततो जनमेजयाश्चमेधत्रितय-<sup>6</sup>
- 5 स्य कर्त्त[१\*]<sup>7</sup> । ततः प्राचीशः प्राचीशाब्दैन्य<sup>8</sup>यातिस्तेन्ययातेर्हयपतिर्हयपते-  
स्सार्वभौमस्सार्वभौ-
- 6 माज्यसेनः जयसेनान्महाभौमः महाभौमादेशानकः ऐशानकात्क्रोधाननः  
क्रोधाननाद्देवकिः
- 7 देवकेरिचुक<sup>9</sup> रिचुकादृचकः ऋच[कान्म]तिनरस्रचयागयाजी<sup>10</sup> सरस्तीनदीनाथः  
ततः कात्या-
- 8 यनः कात्यायनान्नीलः नीलाद्युष्यन्त[स्त्व]तः<sup>11</sup> । आर्य्य[१\*] । गंगा-  
यमुनातीरे यद्विचित्रनिखाय<sup>12</sup> यु-
- 9 प[१\*]न्तमश. [१\*] क्रित्वा<sup>13</sup> तथाश्चमेधानाम महाकर्मभरत यिति<sup>14</sup>  
यौलमत(.) । [३\*] ततो भरताङ्गमन्युर्भूमन्योस्तुहोत्रस्तुहोत्रा-
- 10 हस्ती हस्ति[नी विरोच\*]नः विरोचनादजमीलः अजमीलात्सवरणः सवर-  
णस्य तपनस्तुतायास्तपत्याश्च सुधन्वा सुधन्व-

<sup>1</sup> Ind Ant Vol. V p 17<sup>2</sup> On Guddavadi see above, Vol V p 123 and note 2<sup>3</sup> Mr Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol I p 83<sup>4</sup> From the original copper plates<sup>5</sup> Read पुरुरवा<sup>7</sup> See above, Vol IV p 304, note 3<sup>8</sup> Read °शारसैन्य°<sup>10</sup> Read °नतिवरस्रच°<sup>11</sup> Read नीलाद्युष्यन्तस्तुत<sup>12</sup> Read केल्या.<sup>14</sup> Read इति<sup>6</sup> Read °जयोयमेध°<sup>9</sup> Read °केशभुक ऋभुका°.<sup>12</sup> Read °विचित्र निखाय यु°.

- 11 नपरिचित्परिचितो भीमसेनः भीमसेनाग्रदीपनप्रदीपनाञ्चन्त[नुश]-<sup>1</sup>  
 न्तनोर्विचित्रवीर्यः विचित्रवीर्य[1\*]त्याण्डुराजः । आ-  
 12 र्य[1\*] । पुत्रास्तस्य च धर्मजभीमार्जुननकुलसहदेवाः [1\*] पचेन्द्रियवत्पच  
 स्युर्विषयग्राहिणस्तत्र(ः) । [8\*] वृत्तं । येना-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 13 दाहि विजित्य 'काण्डवमयो [ग]ग[ण्डो]विना वज्रिणं युद्धे 'पाशुपताम्बव-  
 [न्वक]रिषोद्यालाभि दैत्यान्वह्निन्द्रार्ह[1\*]सनमध्यरोहि' ज-  
 14 यिना यत्कालिकेयादिकान्हत्वा खैरमकारि [व]गविपिनच्छेदः [कुरुणां वि]-  
 भोः । [५\*] 'ततोऽनुनादभिमन्युरभिमन्योपरिचित् परिचि[1\*]तो जन-  
 15 मेजयः जनमेजयात्केसुकः<sup>6</sup> क्षेसुकाद्वरवाहनः नरवा[ह्न]ग[च्च]तानीक,<sup>7</sup> शता-  
 नीकादुदयनः ततपर तत्प्रभ-  
 16 'तिस्त्रविचित्रसन्तानेष्वयोध्यासिंहासनासीनेष्वेकान्नपट्टिचक्रवर्त्तिषु गतेषु तद्वश्यो<sup>9</sup>  
 विजयादित्यो नाम राज[1\*] विजिगीष-  
 17 या दक्षिणापथं गत्वा त्रिलोचनपल्लवमधिचिप्य दैवदुरोहया लोकान्तरमग-  
 मत् । तस्मिन्सकुले  
 18 पुरोहितेन सार्धमन्तर्व्वर्त्तनी तस्य महादेवी सुडिवे[सु]नामाग्रहारमुपगम्य  
 तद्वास्तव्येन विष्णुभट्ट-  
 19 सोमयाजिना दुहितुनिर्व्विशेषमभिरक्षिता स[ती]<sup>10</sup> विष्णुवर्द्धनमसूत [1\*]  
 सा तस्य च कुमारस्य मा-  
 20 'नव्यसगोत्रहारितपुत्रादिस्त्रचक्रगोत्रक्रमो[चि]तानि कर्म[1\*]णि कारयित्वा  
 तमवर्द्धयत् । स च मा-  
 21 त्रा 'विदितव्रितांतस्त्रनिर्गत्य [च]तुक्थगिरौ न[न्द]ां भगवती गौ[री]मारा-  
 ध्य कुमार[न]ारायणमावृण्णांश्च संतप्य<sup>11</sup> श्वेता-<sup>13</sup>  
 22 'तपत्रैकगखपंचमहाशब्दपालिकेतनप्रतिडक्कावराह[लाच्छन]पिंच[कतसि]हासन-  
 मकरतीरणकन[क\*]दण्डगंगा-

<sup>1</sup> Read 'नाच्छन्तु'.

<sup>2</sup> Read खाण्डव'.

<sup>3</sup> Read 'स्त्रमन्वकरिषो'

<sup>4</sup> Read 'न्वह्नि' । इन्द्रा'

<sup>5</sup> Read ततोर्जुना'

<sup>6</sup> The क of 'यात्केसुक' is corrected from का, read 'यात्वेसुक'.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'नाच्छतानीक

<sup>8</sup> Read 'तिस्त्रविचित्र'

<sup>9</sup> Read तद्वश्यो.

<sup>10</sup> After सती the original has some letter which seems to have been erased by the engraver

<sup>11</sup> Read 'हारितोपुत्रा' The other published versions of this passage (with the exception of the Teki and Pithāpuram plates) read 'पुत्रद्विपचगोत्र'

<sup>12</sup> Read 'वृत्तान्त'

<sup>13</sup> The त्रै of श्वेता' looks like श्वे

<sup>14</sup> Read 'शख', 'प्रतिडक्का' and 'पिक्'

- 23 यमुनादीनि स्वकुलक्रमागतानि निक्षिप्तानीव 'सांवाज्यचि[ज्ञानि] समादाय  
[क]डवगंगादिभूमिपान्निर्जित्य सेतुन-  
24 मंदामध्य सार्द्धसप्तलक्षं [द]क्षिणापधं<sup>१</sup> पालयामास । [स्त्रे]क<sup>२</sup> । तस्यासीद्वि-  
ज[या]दित्यो विष्णुवर्धनभूपतेः [१\*] पञ्चवान्वयज[१\*]-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 25 त[१\*]या महादेव्याश्च नन्दनः [॥ ६\*] [तत्सुतः] 'बोलकेशिवल्लभः तत्पुत्रः  
कीर्त्तिवर्मा[१\*] तस्य तनयः । स्वस्ति श्रीमता सकलभु-  
26 'वनसंस्तुयमानमानव्यसंगोत्राणां हारितीपुत्राणां कौशि[कीवर]प्रसादलब्धरा-  
ज्यानां मातृगणपरिपालितानां  
27 स्वामिमहासेनपादानुध्यातान[१] भगवन्न[१]रायणप्रसादस[१]सादितवरवराह-  
ल्लाघनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृतारा-<sup>३</sup>  
28 तिमण्डलानामश्वमेधावभ्यस्तानपवित्रीकृतवपुषां चालुक्यानां कुलमलकरि-  
ण्योस्त्वयाययवज्जमेन्द्रस्य  
29 भ्राता कुलविष्णुवर्धनोष्टादश वर्षाणि वेंगीदेशमपालयत् । तदात्मजो जय-  
सिंहवल्लभस्तयस्मि-  
30 शतं । तदनुजेन्द्रराजस्य दिनानि [१\*] तत्सुतो विष्णुवर्धनी नव ।  
तत्सूनुर्भागियुवराजः पचविंश-  
31 ति । तत्पुत्री 'जयसिंहस्तयोदश । तदवरजः कोक्किलिष्यमासान् ।  
तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता विष्णुवर्धन-  
32 स्तमुच्चाय सप्तत्रिंशत् । तत्पु[त्री] विजयादित्यभट्टारकोष्टादश । तत्तनुजो  
विष्णुवर्धनप्यष्टत्रिंश-  
33 त । तत्सूनुर्विजयादित्यनरेन्द्रमृगराजश्चाष्टचत्वारिंशत् । तत्सूतः<sup>४</sup> कलि-  
विष्णुवर्धनोध्यर्द्धवर्षं । तत्सुतो गुणगविज-  
34 यादित्यश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशत्<sup>५</sup> । तद्भातुर्विक्रमादित्यभूपतेस्तनयश्चालुक्यभीमस्त्रिंशत् ।  
तत्सुतः कोल्लविगण्डविजयादि-  
35 त्यप्यमासान् । तत्सूनुर्महाराजस्य वर्षाणि । [तत्सुत वि]जयादित्य  
बालमुच्चाय ताडपो म[१\*]समेकं । त जित्वा चालु-  
36 क्यभीमतनयो विक्रम[१\*]दित्य एकादश मासान् । तत्ताडपराजसुतो  
युद्धमल्लस्य वर्षाणि । तं युद्धमल्ल परिहृ-

<sup>१</sup> Read सामाज्य°

<sup>२</sup> Read °पथ

<sup>३</sup> Read श्रीक

<sup>४</sup> Read पील°.

<sup>५</sup> Read °ससूय°

<sup>६</sup> Read °लाङ्घने

<sup>७</sup> Read जयसिंह°.

<sup>८</sup> Read तत्सुत

<sup>९</sup> Read °रिशत.



## Third Plate, First Side

- 37 त्य देशात्पिद्वेतरपामपि शात्रवानाम्<sup>1</sup> [1\*] क्षामम्मराज[1\*]नुजराजभीमो  
भीमस्समा द्वादश रत्तति स्स । [७\*] <sup>2</sup>तत्सुनुरानतारा-
- 38 तिरम्मराजो <sup>3</sup>नृपाग्रणीपंचविशतिवर्षाणि (1) वेगीभुवमपालयत् । [८\*]  
हैम[1\*]तुरोम्मनृपतेर्ह[1\*]न्नृपो<sup>4</sup> राजभीमनृ-
- 39 पतनय. [1\*] विद्याकलापचतुरथतुरतधरामपात्समा[स्य]स्र.<sup>5</sup> । [९\*] अनु  
<sup>6</sup>दाना[1\*]र्गर्नवादासीद्देवदु[ये]ष्टया ततस्सप्त-<sup>7</sup>
- 40 <sup>8</sup>विशतिवर्षाणि वेगीमहिरणायिका<sup>9</sup> । [१०\*] अत्रान्त(1)रे दाननरेन्द्र-  
सूनु[1\*] श्रीशक्तिवर्म्म[1\*] सुरराट्सधर्म्म[1\*] यशोवर्म्मशक्त्या वि-
- 41 निहृत्य शत्रू(न्)न्स द्वादशाब्दा(न्)न्समरत्तदुर्वीम् । [११\*] तस्येव दाननृ-  
पतेस्साध्व्याश्चार्थ्य[1\*]महादेव्याः [1\*] स्र-
- 42 <sup>10</sup>नुव्विमलादित्यस्सत्याश्चयवशवर्द्धनो देवः । [१२\*] अनलानलरन्ध्रगते शक-  
वर्णे वृषभमासि
- 43 सितपत्ते [1\*] यप्पष्टा गुरुप्पुत्थे सिंहे लग्ने प्रसिद्धमभिपिक्त<sup>11</sup> । [१३\*]  
शशिविशदयशोव्याख्या स्स-
- 44 शरीरविवोधनार्थमवहत्कण्ठे [1\*] शशलक्ष्मलक्ष्मलक्ष्मीं शभुर्विरुदकभीमनृ-  
पतेर्यस्य । [१४\*]
- 45 अरिक्करटिक्कुभविटलनमुत्तसमामुत्तरुचिरमुत्तानिकरः [1\*] हार यिव<sup>12</sup> यस्य  
दोरसिर(1)ध्यासितजयन्त्रियो
- 46 भाति चिरम् । [१५\*] यत्तेजपप्रलायितरिपुपुरष्टहशलभजिकामुख-  
रोधो [1\*] लूतापटसु परजनविलोकना-
- 47 सहनवडपट यि[व]<sup>12</sup> भाति । [१६\*] दुस्साधनाधिकविरोधिगजे[न्द्र]सघ-  
निर्वर्मेदतस्त्रिभुवनाकुशनाम युद्धे [1\*] अन्वत्य-
- 48 त[1\*]न्निजमजीगमदुद्धत यो व[हि]ष्ठसिंहपरिहासिपराक्रमश्रीः । [१७\*]  
यस्सार्वभौमधरणीश्वरनीतकल्प-

## Third Plate, Second Side

- 49 <sup>13</sup>प्राघूर्त्तकेभमदसिक्तमहीविभागः [1\*] यस्तर्ज्जितानिलजवाश्वसहस्रसघधाव्या-  
[ह]ताहितशिरोकित-

<sup>1</sup> Read °वाणाम्<sup>4</sup> Read °हान्नृपो<sup>7</sup> Read तत । सप्त°<sup>10</sup> Read °नुव्वि°.<sup>11</sup> Read °प्राघूर्त्त°<sup>2</sup> Read तत्सुनु°<sup>5</sup> Read °मासिस्स<sup>8</sup> Read °विशति°<sup>11</sup> Read इव<sup>3</sup> Read °ग्रणी । पच°<sup>6</sup> Read दानापर्णवा°<sup>9</sup> Read °रनायका<sup>12</sup> Read इव

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- 50 शूलकोटिः । [१८\*] आदौ शुभुशिरोमणिस्तु च सुधासूतिसुधांशुस्ततस्तद्व-  
[श्यो] भरत[स्त\*]तश्च विजयादित्य-
- 51 अलुक्वाकितः [१\*] श्रीसत्याश्रयवत्सभस्तदपि च श्रीसर्वलोकाश्रयो [देवो]  
मुम्भडि[भी]मनामनृपतिर्यो व-<sup>1</sup>
- 52 शकृत्[१]भवत् । [१९\*] सौराष्ट्रान्दारयन्ती निशितपरशुधारायमाना  
शकाना ला[टा]ना गु[र्ज]राणामथ भवति मनो-
- 53 हारिणी वल्लभा वा । शूरान्स्व[\*]स्थान्विधत्ते सुकृतिवदखिला[न्स्वै]र-  
[मन्यान्वि]भीतान् काष्ठान्तन्त-
- 54 प[\*]श्रीरिर्पा<sup>2</sup> नयति रणे शौर्यसम्पद्यदीया । [२०\*] स वीरमकर-  
ध्वजः मकरध्वज यिव<sup>3</sup> ध्वस्तविग्र-
- 55 हः ग्रहपतिरिवाहितान्वतमसापहरः हर इव राजकलाधरः धरणीधर यिव<sup>3</sup>
- 56 रमारामाभिरामः राम यिव<sup>3</sup> परशुक्रियासहः [सह]देव यिव<sup>3</sup> देव[१<sup>+</sup>]-  
ध्वर्यनन्दनः
- 57 नन्दनविशेष<sup>4</sup> यिवाभिलषितफलसमुक्त्विसहजः सहस्राक्षोपमानः मानव्यस-  
गोत्रः गोत्रनि-
- 58 स्तारकः तारकाधिपान्वयवर्द्धी वृद्धिनिशाकरः करदीक्षतारातिपर[म्प]रः  
परनरपतिनिकरमुकुट-
- 59 तटघटितमणिगणकिरणपरिकरितसमरुणितचर[णे]न्दो[व]र[.] वरवराहलाच्छ-  
नालोकनम[१\*]-
- 60 त्र[१]वित्रासिताखिलधराधीशचक्रः चक्रवर्त्तिपदवीसमुचितानेकधवलच्चत्रचाया-  
च्चादितसर्व<sup>5</sup>

## Fourth Plate, First Side

- 61 लोक[ः]स्वर्ल्लोकाश्रयश्रीविष्णुवर्द्धनमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्ट[१]रकपरम-  
ब्रह्मण्यपरम-
- 62 माहेश्वरः । 'गुह्मवादिवि[ष\*]यनिवासिनो 'राष्ट्रकुटप्रमुखान् कुटुंबि[न]-  
स्वर्ल्ल[१]न्समाह्वय मन्त्रिपुरोहि-
- 63 तसेनापतियुवराजदौवारिकाध्यक्षमित्यमाज्ञापयति यथा । आद्यो य[\*]  
स्वयमुद्भव परमत्र-
- 64 ह्या निरुज्यान्वपो वीर्यन्तास्ववष्टमण्डमभवद्भैरवहत्तेन<sup>6</sup> यत् । तस्मात्तो-  
कपितामहो विधिरभूत-

<sup>1</sup> Read वश°<sup>4</sup> Read इवा°<sup>7</sup> Read राष्ट्रकुट°<sup>2</sup> Read °श्रीरिव<sup>5</sup> Read °च्छत्रच्छायाच्छादित°<sup>6</sup> Read °ममह°<sup>3</sup> Read इव<sup>6</sup> Read गुह्मवादि°

- 65 स्नान्मरोथ्यादयः<sup>1</sup> पुत्रा ये दश जज्ञिरे श्रुतिमय[१\*] वर्चस्विनो म[१\*]-  
नसाः । [२१\*] तेषां श्रेष्ठत(१)-
- 66 मो वसिष्ठ इति यस्सारुन्धतीको मुनिस्तस्मात्कुण्डिन<sup>2</sup> इत्यभूदध<sup>3</sup> च तत्कौ-  
ण्डिन्यगोत्रे क्र-
- 67 म[१\*]त् [१\*] यो विद्वानुदितोदितद्विजवरो द्रोणः 'प्रमाणीभर[हु]त्त[१\*]  
स्तुत्ययमतिर्नित्योदय-<sup>5</sup>
- 68 स्तत्यवाक् । [२२\*] दत्ताभिधानसचिवो हरदत्तवरप्रसाद यिव<sup>6</sup> तस्य  
सुतः [१\*] शुभक्त्यभा-
- 69 वमहितः प्रभुमन्त्रोत्साहशक्ति(य)संयुक्तः । [२३\*] तस्य च सद्गुणधाम्नः  
पतिव्रतायाश्च चीडम[१\*]वाय[१\*]: [१\*] व-
- 70 ज्ञाभिधान इति यस्सूनुस्सूनुतवचास्सुमेधास्सुमणः<sup>7</sup> । [२४\*] नित्याकर्त्तनया<sup>8</sup>  
शश्वद्वटुभिपटुभिर्गृहे [१\*] वेद-
- 71 शास्त्राणि यद्वान्नि पठन्ति<sup>9</sup> शु[क]शारिकाः । [२५\*] भीमेश्वरसमो देवो  
वेंगेश्वरस[मो नृ]पः [१\*] वज्रामात्यसमोमा-
- 72 त्यो न भूतो न भविष्यति । [२६\*] <sup>10</sup>नागेन्द्रेर्द्विगिभैश्च षोडशनृपैराद्ये-  
र्दिता<sup>11</sup> क्ष्मा[धु]र[१] वीरैरप्यति[शू]द्रकप्रभृति-

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

- 73 भिश्चाजेर्दुर दुस्सहं [१\*] विभ्रद्यपथि[तं]<sup>12</sup> क्रमान्नयवलाद्वाहावलात्प्राप्त-  
वान्स[१\*]हाय्य विकुदंक-<sup>13</sup>
- 74 भीमनृपतेः कार्येण खड्गेन च । [२७\*] <sup>14</sup>गो[त्रं]चेतुररिचमाधरकुलोद्भे-  
दान्म[हेन्द्रात्म]ः[१\*] [श्री]मान्भूपमहेन्द्र
- 75 एव नितरां गोत्रैकनिस्तारकः [१\*] तद्वज्रादतिरिभ्यते<sup>15</sup> लघुतराद्वज्राभिधोय  
गुरुर्थन्नाथोपि च यज्ञ-
- 76 टश्च विबुधव्रातैरि[ति\*] स्तूयते । [२८\*] <sup>16</sup>[य]ज्ञेधानलधूमधूमघटितैरभै-  
र्निजेहाहितक्षीणीभृत्पुरदाहधूमजनि-
- 77 तांभीभृत्सहस्रैस्सम<sup>17</sup> । व्याप्त व्योम तदीयशत्रुललनादृक्पाथसा[मा च]मा  
सिक्ता यत्परिपा-

<sup>1</sup> Read °रीच्यादय

<sup>4</sup> Read °भवृ°

<sup>6</sup> Read इव

<sup>9</sup> Read पठन्ति

<sup>12</sup> Read प्रथित

<sup>15</sup> Read °रिष्यते

<sup>2</sup> Read °कुण्डिन

<sup>5</sup> Between य and स the engraver has omitted five *aksharas*

<sup>7</sup> Read °सुमनाः

<sup>10</sup> Read नागेन्द्रे°

<sup>13</sup> Read विरुदक°

<sup>16</sup> Read यज्ञेधा°

<sup>3</sup> Read °दध.

<sup>8</sup> Read °कर्णनया

<sup>11</sup> Read °राद्यैहता.

<sup>14</sup> Read गोत्रर्क्षत्°

<sup>17</sup> Read °स्सम

- 78 वनातिथिपदप्रक्षा[ल\*]नाच्चाभसा<sup>1</sup> । [२८\*] य[ः\*] श्रीवज्रामाल्यो <sup>2</sup>धन-  
सन्तप्पितजगज्जनस्तुत्यः [1\*] भूसुर[व]गा-<sup>3</sup>
- 79 दित्यशुचिरतिचतुरो वचोनिरत्ययसत्यः । [३०\*] बुधवज्रप्राकारा<sup>4</sup> गृहनि-  
यमितारिसैनिकचक्र[ः<sup>5</sup> 1\*]
- 80 चक्रभट्टद्वयीक[ः\*] श्रीकण्ठपदारविन्दपट्भरणः<sup>6</sup> । [३१\*] सदा स्ववाचा  
मनसा च कर्मणान्वकारि ये-
- 81 नाधिगुणेन कुण्डिनः [1\*] प्रवृत्तवैतानिक(व)धर्मसंगतिर्दिज[1\*]धिनाधो-  
ययदारतानिधिः<sup>7</sup> । [३२\*] चालुक्यचूडामणिपा-
- 82 दभक्तो भक्तैकचूडामणिरीश[म्]र्त्तिः [1\*] कीर्त्यन्वि[तोम]त्यशिखामणि[ः\*]  
श्रीसौजन्यरत्नाकरनामधेयः<sup>8</sup> । [३३\*] सप्तांगके नृ-
- 83 पपदे प्रभुता प्रधाना तादृश्यमात्यपदवी खलु तद्वितीय<sup>9</sup> । <sup>10</sup>श्रीद्वारपिञ्च-  
करकातपवारणादिस्तस्यां वि-
- 84 शेषमहिमा मदलाभि येन । [३४\*] तस्मै मङ्गलाय कृतकेशाय  
कारमचेडुवास्तव्याय कौण्डिन्यगोत्रा-

*Fifth Plate, First Side*

- 85 य[1\*]माल्यशिखामणये बुधवज्रप्राकाराय सौजन्यरत्नाकराय वज्रियपेगड  
इति प्रसिद्धाभिधा-
- 86 नाय भवद्विषय<sup>11</sup> (i) पा७७व७७नामग्रामेण सार्द्धं रणस्ति[पू]ण्डिनामग्रा-  
मोग्रहारीक्रित्य<sup>12</sup> मत्संवर्द्धि-
- 87 तत्व(1)निमित्ते मय[1\*] दत्त इति विदि[त]मस्तु व[ः] । अस्यावधयः  
पू[र्व]तः कौत नडिपिय [चे]७७वु प७७मटि क-
- 88 दृ । आग्नेयतः श्रीतुक७७तियुं वा[लूरियु] र[ण]स्तिपूण्डियु सुय्यलिकु-  
ट्७७न वेलंगगुण्ड<sup>13</sup> प७७मटि कट्ट । दक्षि-
- 89 णतः पेंजे७७वु कट्ट डिगु[ना]लि त्रौव । नैरित्यतः<sup>14</sup> पालूरियुं गो७७-  
केटियु रणस्तिपूण्डियु
- 90 सुय्यलिकुट्७७न चिन्तगुण्ड<sup>15</sup> । पश्चिमतः को७७केटि पोद७७ । व[1\*]-  
यव्यतः ७७क्षसीमैव सीमा ।

<sup>1</sup> Read °नाच्चाभसा

<sup>2</sup> Read °प्राकारो.

<sup>3</sup> Read °धट्चरण.

<sup>4</sup> Read तद्द्वितीया

<sup>5</sup> Read °रीकृत्य

<sup>6</sup> Read °गुण्ड.

<sup>7</sup> Read °सन्तर्पित°

<sup>8</sup> Instead of से the metre (Udgiti) requires a short syllable.

<sup>9</sup> Read °नाथीयसुदार°.

<sup>10</sup> Read °पिङ्ग°.

<sup>11</sup> Read °गुण्ड.

<sup>12</sup> Read °वंशा°

<sup>13</sup> Read °रत्नाकर°

<sup>14</sup> Read °द्विषये.

<sup>15</sup> Read नैर्षतत.

- 91 उत्तरतः क७७प७७तियुने७७ट्यु सीमैव [सी]मा । ईशानतः<sup>1</sup> ए७७ट्यु  
मोन्तुक७७तियु रणस्तिपूण्डि-
- 92 यु मुय्यलकुट७७ । एतद्रण(र)स्तिपूण्डिनाम[१\*]ग्रहारसंबन्धिन ताक७७-  
पोलमुनामल्लघनचे-
- 93 त्रस्यावधयः पूर्वतो दक्षि[णत]श्च [ग]गले७७ । पश्चिमतः सिरि[पोदि]-  
पूण्डियु गोगनब्रोलियु ७७ल्लयु वोत्तुन कोल्लिकु७७ ।
- 94 उत्तरतः सिरिपोदिपूण्डि[सीमैव] सीमा । अस्योपरि न केनचिद्वाधा  
कर्त्तव्या [१\*] यः करोति स पञ्च[मह]पात(१)को भव-
- 95 ति । तथा चोक्तं भगव[ता] व्यासभट्ट[१]रकेनापि<sup>2</sup> । बहुभिर्वसुधा  
दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपा[लिता] [१\*] [यस्य यस्य] [य\*]दा
- 96 भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तद[१ फ]लं । [३५\*] [स्व]दत्तां प[रदत्तां] व[१\*]  
यो हरेत्<sup>3</sup> वसुधरा [१\*] षष्टिं वर्ष(१)सह[स्र][१\*][णि विष्टायां  
ज][१\*]यते क्रि-

*Fifth Plate, Second Side*

- 97 मिः । [३६\*] अष्टमवर्षवर्द्धने सिहम[१\*]से दत्तस्यास्य शासनस्य ओ-  
दण्डनायक इति द्विज[१\*]धिनायकः । आज्ञासिर्नृ[प\*]का-
- 98 मो राचियपेहेरितनयभीमनभट्टः [१\*] कर्त्तॄणां काव्यानामध<sup>4</sup> शासनले-  
खकश्च जीन्ताचार्यः [॥ ३७\*] ❀

TRANSLATION <sup>5</sup>

[Up to line 36 the text is nearly identical with that of the Chellûr plates (ll 1-42)] <sup>6</sup>

(Verse 7) Having expelled this Yuddhamalla from the country and having crushed the other enemies, the terrible Râjabhima, the younger brother of Ammarâja (I), protected the earth for twelve years.

(V 8) His son Ammarâja (II), the foremost of princes, before whom enemies prostrated themselves, ruled the country of Vēngi for twenty-five years.

(V. 9) The son of king Râjabhima (and) brother of king Amma (II) by a second mother, king Dâna, (who was) skilled in all sciences, ruled for three years the earth to (its) four ends

(V 10) Then after (the reign of) Dânarûva, through the evil action of fate, the country of Vēngi was without a ruler for twenty-seven years.

<sup>1</sup> Read ऐशानत .

<sup>2</sup> Read °केनापि

<sup>3</sup> Read हरेत्

<sup>4</sup> Read °मध

<sup>5</sup> It is my duty to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr Hultzsch for the translation of a number of verses, the meaning of which I could not make out

<sup>6</sup> See the translation in *South Ind Inscr* Vol. I p 57 f.

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***vb***

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(V 11) At this point the son of king Dāna, that glorious Śaktavarman, who resembled (Indra) the king of the gods, having overcome the enemies by the force of (*his*) valour, protected the earth for twelve years

(V 12) The son of this same king Dāna and of (*his*) virtuous great queen Āryā (*was*) king Vimalāditya, who made the family of Satyāśraya (*i.e.* of Polakēśin II) prosper

(V 13) In the Śaka year contained in the fires (3), the fires (3) and the openings of the body (9),—(*i.e.* Śaka-Smṛat 933),—in the month Vṛishabha, in the bright fortnight, on the sixth *tithi*, in (the *nakshatra*) Pushya (combined with) Thursday, in the *lagna* Simha, he was publicly anointed

(V. 14) As (*the whole world*) was filled by the fame—white as the moon—of this king Bīruḍanka-Bhīma, (*the god*) Śambhu (Śiva), in order to make his (*white*) body recognizable, wore on (*his*) throat (*a black spot possessing*) the splendour of the spot in the moon

(V 15) The sword in his arm, to which were sticking a mass of glittering pearls which had dropped at the splitting of the temples of the elephants of (*his*) enemies, is resplendent for a long time, as if it were the necklace of the goddess of victory who rested (*on his arm*)

(V 16) The cobwebs, which cover the faces of the statues in the houses of the towns of the enemies routed by his valour, appear as if they were veils put on (*because they*) could not endure the sight of strangers

(V 17) He, the glory of whose valour laughed at the strongest lions, made significant in battle his proud name Tribhuvanāṅkuśa (*i.e.* 'the elephant-goad of the three worlds') by splitting (*the temples of*) a crowd of numerous mighty elephants of the enemy, which were hard to overcome

(V 18) The ground (*in front of*) his (*palace*) was sprinkled with the rut of strong foreign<sup>1</sup> elephants, brought by the rulers of the country of Sārvabhauma<sup>2</sup> Crores of stakes were surmounted by the heads of enemies, which had been brought (*back*) from raids (*undertaken by*) his troops of thousands of horses which rivalled the wind in swiftness

(V 19) In the beginning the founder of the race was (*the Moon*), the jewel on the head of Śambhu (Śiva), the nectar-producer, the nectar-rayed, then his descendant Bharata, then Vijayāditya surnamed Chalukya; (*then*) the glorious Satyāśrayavallabha, and then the glorious king Sarvalōkāśraya, the prince named Mummadi-Bhīma<sup>3</sup>

(V 20) At its free will his great valour in battle, like the edge of a sharp axe, cuts up the Saurāshtras, like a wife who captivates the mind, deprives the Śakas, Lātas (*and*) Gurjaras of (*their*) courage, like good deeds, causes all heroes to reside in heaven, (*and*) drives others who are afraid to the ends of the quarters, as if the fervency of their austerities led (*them*) to the highest goal

(L 54) This Cupid among heroes, who has put an end to war (*vigraha*), as Cupid has lost his body (*vigraha*), who destroys (*his*) enemies, as the sun dense darkness, who is skilled in royal sciences (*rāja-kalā*), as Hara (Śiva) wears the crescent of the moon (*rāja-kalā*), who is beloved by the goddess Lakshmī (*Ramā-rāmā*), as a mountain is adorned with pleasure-gardens (*ram-ārāma*), who is skilled in the use of the axe, like Rāma, who pleases gods and priests, as Sahadēva is the son of the *Adhvaryus* of the gods (*i.e.* the Āśvins), who gladdens thousands of poets (*samut-kavi-sahasra*) (by granting) the fruit of (*their*) desires, as a kind of Nandana

<sup>1</sup> Literally 'guests' The kings of the North had come on their elephants to visit Vimaladitya

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* by the kings of the North Sārvabhauma is the name of the elephant of the god Kubēra, the regent of the Northern direction

<sup>3</sup> This verse implies that Vimaladitya, to whom the titles Sarvalōkāśraya and Mummadi-Bhīma refer apparently, was considered equal in importance to his ancestors the Moon, Bharata, Vijayaditya (of Ayōdhya) and Polakēśin II

(tree) (bears) desirable fruits coveted by thousands of birds (*samutka-vi-sahasra*), who resembles the thousand-eyed (Indra), who belongs to the *gôtra* of the *Mānavyas*; (who is) the rescuer of (his) family, who increases the race of the Moon; (who resembles) the moon in waxing, who has made crowds of enemies tributary, whose lotus-feet are surrounded and reddened by the rays of clusters of jewels set into the diadems of crowds of (bowing) hostile kings, by the mere sight of whose excellent boar-crest the circle of all the rulers of the earth is terrified, the shade of whose many white parasols, worthy of the dignity of an emperor, overspreads the whole world, the asylum of the whole world (*Sarvalôkâśraya*), the glorious *Vishnuvardhana-Mahârâjâ-dhîrâja*, *Paramêśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭâraka*, the very pious one, the devout worshipper of *Mahêśvara* (*Śiva*), having called together the *Râshtrakûṭas* and all other ryots residing in the district (*viśhaya*) of *Guddavâḍi*, orders as follows in the presence of the ministers, the family-priest, the commander of the army, the heir-apparent, and the door-keepers —

(V 21) The primeval supreme Brahman, who was born spontaneously, subsequently created the waters. The seed emitted by him into these became a great golden egg. Out of this was produced the Creator, the progenitor of the world. From him were born ten learned (and) brilliant sons of the mind, commencing with *Marîchi*.

(V 22) The best of them was the sage called *Vasishtha* whose (wife) was *Arundhatî*. To him was born *Kundina*. And then in due course in that *Kaundinya gôtra* (appeared) *Drôṇa*, a learned *Brâhmana* conversant with the tradition, whose conduct became authoritative, whose mind . . . was praiseworthy, who was continually rising (and) truthful.

(V 23) His son (was) the minister called *Datta*, who, like an excellent boon granted by *Hara* (*Śiva*), performed good deeds, was honoured on account of (his) greatness, (and) possessed the (regal) powers, (*viz*) majesty, counsel and energy.

(V 24) The son of this abode of good qualities and of (his) devoted wife *Chidamāmbâ* is named *Vajra*, whose speech is true and pleasant, (who is) wise (and) benevolent.

(V 25) In his residence parrots and *mainâs* recite the *Vêdas* and *Śâstras*, as they hear (them) continually every day in the house from clever students.

(V 26) There never was nor will there be a god like *Bhimêśvara*,<sup>1</sup> a king like the lord of *Vēṅgi* (*viz* *Vimalâditya*), (and) a minister like the minister *Vajra*.

(V 27) He obtained in due course the high position of companion of king *Birudanka-Bhîma*,—carrying by means of (his) administration through the power of (his) policy the heavy burden of the earth, which had been supported by the lords of serpents, the elephants of the quarters, and the sixteen first kings, and (holding) by (his) sword through the power of (his) arm the front of the battle, (which had been held) also by heroes like *Atisûdraka* (?).

(V 28) Hosts of wise men praise both the master and the servant, because the glorious *Bhûpa-Mahêndra* (*viz* *Vimalâditya*) alone is much more able than (the god) *Mahêndra*, who destroyed the mass of hostile mountains (as the former) hostile kings, (but) split families<sup>2</sup> (while the former is) the only rescuer of (his) family, (and) because the weighty man named *Vajra* is superior to his (*viz* *Indra*'s) very light thunderbolt (*vajra*).

(V 29) The sky is filled with the clouds formed by the dark smoke of his triple fire, together with the thousands of clouds produced by the smoke of the conflagration of the cities of (all) kings on this earth hostile to him, (while) the earth is sprinkled by the pure water (used in) washing the feet of his holy guests, together with the tears of the wives of his enemies.

(V 30) This glorious minister *Vajra* is to be praised by (all) the people of the world whom (he) has gratified by (gifts of) money, the sun of the *Brâhmana* caste, pure, very clever (and) of faultless truth in (his) speech.

<sup>1</sup> Evidently the temple at *Drakshârâma* is meant, see above, Vol IV p 37, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> The author here attributes this meaning to *Indra*'s surname *Gôtrachêḥṣṭîtri*, or *Gôtrabhid*, which properly means 'the mountain splitter'.

(V 31) (*This*) Budhavajraprākāra<sup>1</sup> keeps the troop of the soldiers of the enemy at home,<sup>2</sup> possesses the happiness and prosperity of the discus-bearer (Viṣṇu), (*and is*) a bee at the lotus-feet of Śrīkantha (Śiva)

(V 32) This very virtuous lord of the twice-born, who always equalled Kundina<sup>3</sup> in his speech, thoughts and actions, has performed a mass of sacrificial rites (*and is*) a treasury of liberality

(V 33) (*This*) Amātyasīkhāmanī<sup>4</sup> is devoted to the feet of the crest-jewel of the Chālukyas (*viz* Vimalāditya), (*is*) the only crest-jewel among devotees, resembles Īśa (Śiva), has acquired fame, (*and*) bears the glorious name Saujanyaṛatnākara<sup>5</sup>

(V 34) Among the seven constituent parts of a kingdom the foremost is sovereignty, (*and*) second to it (*is*) a suitable ministry. Special distinctions, such as *śrīdvāra*,<sup>6</sup> a peacock's tail, a water-pot and a parasol, he (*viz* Vajra) received from me in that (*office*)

(L 84) "Be it known to you that, for the sake of my prosperity, I have granted the village named Ranastipūṇḍi in your district, having made (*it*) an *agrahāra*, together with the village named Pāruvaḷa, to this Amātyasīkhāmanī Budhavajraprākāra Saujanyaṛatnākara, who is known by the name Vajriya-Peggada, is devoted to me, has taken pains (*in my service*) resides at Kāramachēḍu, (*and*) belongs to the Kaundinya *gōtra* "

(L 87) The boundaries of this (*village are*) — In the east, the western bank of the tank in the middle of Kauta, in the south-east, the western bank of the Wood-apple pond (*Velanguṇṭa*) at the spot where the three boundaries of Mrontukarṇu, Pālūru and Ranastipūṇḍi meet,<sup>7</sup> in the south, the road on the ridge (*āl*) sloping to the bank of the Big tank (*Peñjeruvu*), in the south-west, the Tamarind pond (*Ohinta-guṇṭa*) at the spot where the three boundaries of Pālūru, Koṟukēru and Ranastipūṇḍi meet, in the west, a bush in Koṟukēru, in the north-west the boundary (*is*) the boundary of Lulla, in the north the boundary (*is*) the boundary of Kaḷapaṟṇu and Elta, in the north-east, the spot where the three boundaries of Elta, Mrontukarṇu and Ranastipūṇḍi meet

(L 92) The boundaries of the Amallanghana (?) field in the fields of Tāṅkaḷa, which belongs to this *agrahāra* named Ranastipūṇḍi, (*are*) — In the east and south, the [G]āṅgalēru (*river*), in the west, Kollikurru near (?) Sīripodipūṇḍi, Gonganaṇṛōlu and Lulla, in the north the boundary (*is*) the boundary of Sīripodipūṇḍi.

(L 94) Nobody shall cause trouble to this (*grant*), he who does (*it*) becomes possessed of the five great sins

(L 95) And the venerable lord Vyāsa has also said — [Verses 35 and 36 contain admonitions to future rulers]

(L 97 and v 37) The executor (*ājñapti*) of this grant, which was given in the prosperous eighth year, in the month Simha, (*was*) Nṛi[pa]kāma, the lord of the twice-born, entitled the glorious Dandanāyaka. The author of these verses (*was*) Bhīmanabhata, son of Rāchīya-Peddēri. And the writer of the edict (*was*) Jontāchārya

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* 'the wall of adamant (in protecting) wise men'

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* they are afraid to leave their houses

<sup>3</sup> According to verse 22, Vajra belonged to the *gōtra* of Kundina

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.* 'the crest-jewel of ministers'

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.* 'the ocean of gentleness'

<sup>6</sup> Compare *makarātōraṇa* which, as well as the peacock's tail, was one of the emblems of the Eastern Chālukyas. Compare also above, Vol III p 92, verse 38, and Vol IV p 48, verse 3

<sup>7</sup> Regarding *muyyalskutru* see above Vol IV p 96, note 4



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<sup>1</sup> The figures refer to pages, 'n' after a figure, to footnotes, and 'add' to the additions on pp v to vi. The following other abbreviations are used — *ch* = chief, *co* = country; *di* = district or division, *do* = ditto, *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *f* = female, *k* = king, *m* = male, *mo* = mountain, *vi* = river, *s a* = same as, *sur* = surname, *te* = temple, *vi* = village or town, *W* = Western

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